

11 Oct. Dec

THE
Parliamentary Register;
OR,
HISTORY
OF THE
PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES
OF THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS;

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF

The most interesting SPEECHES and MOTIONS; accurate
Copies of the most remarkable LETTERS and PAPERS;
of the most material EVIDENCE, PETITIONS, &c.
laid before and offered to the House,

DURING THE

SIXTH SESSION of the FOURTEENTH PARLIAMENT
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

Begun to be holden at Westminster on the 29th Day of
Nov. 1774, and dissolved on the first Day of Nov. 1780.

V O L. XVII.

LONDON:

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MDCCLXXX.



THE HISTORY

OF THE PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES

Of the SIXTH SESSION of the HOUSE of COMMONS,

OF THE
Fourteenth Parliament of *Great-Britain*.

Appointed to be held at *Westminster*, on *Thursday*, the 25th of
November, 1779.

Mr. SECRETARY at WAR presented the following

Account of Extraordinary Services incurred and paid by the Right Honourable Richard Rigby, Paymaster General of his Majesty's Forces, between the 31st of January, 1779, and the 1st of February, 1780, and not provided for by Parliament.

Dates of warrants.

1779.	T O Thomas Harley and Henry Drummond, Esquires, in full of			
Oct. 15.	a warrant for 352,705l. 12s. 7d. to be by them applied and invested in the purchasing Spanish and Portugal coins, for the use and service of his Majesty's forces in North America	308,585	17	7
Nov. 6.	To do. for do. service	42,154	0	5
17.	To do. for do. service	212,287	4	0
Dec. 9.	To do. for do. service	25,000	0	0
15.	To do. for do. service	25,000	0	0
	To do. for do. service	25,000	0	0
		638,027	2	0
Mar. 31.	To Sir Wm. James, Bart. Abel Smith, John Roberts, and Richard Atkinson, Esquires; for provisions delivered into his Majesty's store houses at Corke, for the use of the forces serving in North America	41,030	18	10
May 19.	To do. for do. service	21,640	0	11
June 9.	To do. for do. service	40,453	1	0
	To do. for do. service	4,612	17	0
July 8.	To do. for do. service	8,748	14	5
Sept. 28.	To do. for do. delivered into store-houses at Deptford, and elsewhere in the river Thames, for the use of the forces serving in Canada	15,000	0	0

Dates, &c.

£. s. d.

T Sir William James, bart. Abel Smith, William Baynes, and Richard Atkinson, Esqrs. for provisions delivered at Quebec, for the use of the forces serving in Canada

8,926 7 8

Feb. 3. To Sir George Wombwell, Bart. John Henniker, and William Devaynes, upon account, for provisions delivered into his Majesty's stores at Corke, for the use of the forces serving in North America

4,202 7 4

To do. for do. service

7,385 0 0

To do. for do. service

9,601 13 4

Mar. 31. To do. for do. service

12,050 10 7

To do. for do. service

13,849 11 4

Apr. 16. To do. for do. service

15,535 11 6

28. To do. for do. service

13,029 4 6

May 6. To do. for do. service

5,981 14 6

19. To do. for do. service

9,544 15 10

June 9. To do. for do. service

4,587 18 4

To do. for do. service

11,900 5 10

23. To do. for do. service

2,085 8 4

To do. for do. service

6,256 5 0

July 8. To do. for do. service

6,017 19 10

Sept. 8. To do. for do. service

776 17 8

To do. upon account

13,700 0 0

Feb. 16. To John Durand, Esq; for provisions delivered into his Majesty's stores at Corke, for the use of the forces serving in North America

4,050 6 4

Mar. 4. To do. for do. service

10,151 8 10

Apr. 16. To do. for do. service

7,023 10 6

To do. for do. service

5,700 0 3

May 6. To do. for do. service

2,977 14 8

June 2. To do. for do. service

1,593 7 6

9. To do. for do. service

3,327 10 0

17. To do. for do. service

2,808 15 0

Aug. 20. To do. for do. service

2,297 14 1

Sept. 8. To do. upon account

7,275 0 0

Feb. 3. To Robert Mayne, Esq; for provisions delivered into his Majesty's stores at Corke, for the use of the forces serving in North America

7,530 19 2

To do. for do. service

3,721 7 6

Mar. 31. To do. for do. service

19,842 0 2

Apr. 28. To do. for do. service

7,530 17 4

July 28. To do. for do. service

116 4 0

Sept. 8. To do. for do. service

7,275 0 0

Feb. 3. To Anthony Bacon, Esq. for provisions delivered into his Majesty's stores at Corke, for the use of the forces serving in North America

6,832 10 2

Mar. 12. To do. for do. service

7,803 10 6

Apr. 16. To do. for do. service

13,932 14 11

June 9. To do. for do. service

6,720 6 10

To do. for do. service

1,960 11 6

Feb.

A. 1780.

D E B A T E S.

3

Dates, &c.

£. s. d.

Feb. 3. To Arnold Nesbitt, Adam Drummond, and Moses Franks, Esquires, on account, for provisions, delivered into his Majesty's stores at Corke — —

3,102 17 2

To do. for do. service — — —

8,099 11 8

To do. for do. service — — —

9,444 3 4

Mar. 4. To do. for do. service — — —

11,220 14 2

31. To do. for do. service — — —

6,162 16 0

Apr. 16. To the representatives of Arnold Nesbitt, Adam Drummond, and Moses Franks, Esquires, for do. service — — —

12,082 17 6

To do. for do. service — — —

7,319 1 8

28. To do. for do. service — — —

6,934 15 0

June 2. To do. for do. service — — —

9,915 18 4

9. To do. for do. service — — —

4,170 16 8

23. To do. for do. service — — —

1,733 4 0

July 28. To do. for do. service — — —

14,838 3 6

To do. for do. service — — —

10,655 0 10

To do. for do. service — — —

9,361 1 8

Dec. 27. To do. for do. service — — —

1,910 16 3

3. To Adam Drummond, Moses Franks, and John Nesbitt, Esquires, on account of their contract, for provisions delivered into stores at Corke, for the use of the forces serving at New York and its dependencies, Georgia, and East Florida — — —

13,700 0 0

27. To do. for do. service — — —

20,305 15 7

Mar. 10. To Benj. Smith, William Fitzhugh, and Simon Halliday, Esquires, on account, for provisions delivered into stores at Corke, for the use of the forces serving in North America — — —

10,000 0 0

Apr. 28. To do. for provisions delivered in stores at Corke — — —

19,123 6 10

May 6. To do. for do. service — — —

4,176 8 11

June 9. To do. for do. service — — —

21,683 5 4

23. To do. for do. service — — —

12,792 14 6

July 8. To do. for do. service — — —

7,451 0 0

16. To do. for do. service — — —

1,950 0 0

July 28. To Benjamin Smith, William Fitzhugh, and Simon Halliday, Esquires, for provisions delivered into stores at Corke — — —

9,961 11 9

Oct. 15. To do. for do. service — — —

59 7 6

Sept. 8. To Thomas Hazlewood, Esq. on account of his contract for delivering provisions into stores at Corke, for the use of the forces serving at New York and its dependencies, Georgia and East and West Florida — — —

2,250 0 0

To Kender Mason and John Whitelock, Esquires, on account of their contract for do. service — — —

4,500 0 0

To James Bogle French, Esq; on account of his contract for do. service — — —

2,100 0 0

To Benjamin Smith, William Fitzhugh, and James Powis, Esquires, on account of their contract, for do. service — — —

10,000 0 0

B 2

Feb.

Dates, &c.

£. s. d.

Feb. 3. To John Stephenson and John Blackburn, Esquires, for provisions issued to the forces in Nova Scotia, and garrison of Placentia, in Newfoundland, between the 30th of Sept. and 1st of Dec. 1778

157 10 0

March 4. To do. for provisions issued to the forces in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, between Dec. 24, 1777, and June 2, 1778

874 16 10

19. To do. for provisions issued to the forces at St. John's, Newfoundland, between Oct. 29 and Dec. 23, 1778,

781 2 6

Apr. 26. To do. in part of 25,555l. 6s. 5d. for provisions issued to the forces in Nova Scotia, between Sept. 9, 1778, and Jan. 26, 1779

12,500 0 0

June 23. To do. upon account

12,500 0 0

Sept. 8. To do. for provisions issued to the forces at St. John's, Newfoundland, between May 13 and June 25, 1772

600 18 1

Oct. 15. To John Stephenson and John Blackburn, Esqrs. for provisions issued to the forces in Nova Scotia, between Jan. 27, and April 20, 1779

9,064 10 11

21. To do. for provisions issued to the forces at Placentia in Newfoundland, between March 3 and June 1, 1779

206 1 3

Dec. 27. To do. for provisions issued to the forces at St. John's and its dependencies, in Newfoundland, between June 26 and Nov. 4, 1779, and for do. issued to the garrison of Placentia, in ditto between June 2 and Oct. 5, 1779

2,285 17 6

To do. for provisions issued to the forces at Halifax, by order of Lieut. Col. Bruce

6,175 9 8

To do. for provisions issued to the forces at Halifax, from Sept. 8 to Oct. 5, 1779

2,686 1 1

March 31. To John Stephenson and John Blackburn, Esqrs. for victualling the armed sloop Catherine, at Pensacola, May 31, 1778; for do. issued to the forces there, between June 25 and Oct. 24, 1778; for three months provision for the use of the ship Sylph, shipped on board the Catherine, and lost in the River Mississippi; and for victualling the civil branch of ordnance, between April 1, and Sept. 30, 1778

3,862 6 5

To do. for provisions issued to the forces at Pensacola

964 15 2

July 8. To do. for provisions damaged by wind; for do. issued between Oct. 25, 1777, and March 16, 1779; for do. issued between May 12 and Dec. 24, 1778; for do. lost in the River Mississippi; for do. issued between June 24, 1778, and Feb. 23, 1779; for do. issued between Oct. 25, and Dec. 24, 1778; for do. issued between Dec. 25, 1778, and Feb. 23, 1779; and for ditto condemned at Pensacola

8,449 2 13

Aug. 4. To John Stephenson and John Blackburn, Esqrs. for provisions supplied J. Lorimer, surgeon to the hospi-

tal,

A. 1780.

D E B A T E S.

tal, betwten Dec. 25, 1777, and Dec. 24, 1778, and for provisions issued to the forces at Pensacola and Mobile, between Feb. 25, and Apr. 2, 1779		2,887	5	9
Sept. 8. To do. on account, for provisions delivered at Deptford, and elsewhere in the River Thames, for the use of the forces serving in West Florida	_____	4,500	0	0
Dec. 3. To do. upon account	_____	12,603	13	11
July 8. To Kender Mason, Esq. for provisions issued to the forces in the garrison of St. Augustine, to Feb. 23, 1779, for provisions issued to the out posts dependent on the said garrison, from Dec. 25, 1778, to Feb. 23, 1779, and for do. condemned at St. Augustine, between May 14, 1778, and Feb. 23, 1779	_____	5,508	10	3
Aug. 25. To do. upon account	_____	3,000	0	0
Sept. 3. To do. for provisions issued to the forces at St. Augustine, between Aug. 25, and Oct. 24, 1778, for provisions issued to the outposts dependent on the said garrison, between the said time; and for provisions issued to the armed vessels in his Majesty's service, between the said time	_____	4,095	5	7
Oct. 12. To do. upon account	_____	8,000	0	0
15. To do. for provisions issued to the forces in the garrison of St. Augustine, between Feb. 24, and June 24, 1779; and for provisions issued to the outposts dependent on the said garrison, between the said time	_____	8,435	14	1
Feb. 16. To John Durand, Esq. for provisions shipped to the islands of St. Vincent and Tobago, and issued in the island of Grenada; and for provisions condemned there	_____	950	16	7
Mar. 31. To do. for provisions deposited in stores in the islands of Dominica and Tobago, between June 13, 1777 and April 25, 1778	_____	2,257	19	7
Mar. 31. To do. in full payment of the sum of 1,079l. 15s. 8d. for provisions issued in the Ceded Islands	_____	79	15	8
To ditto, in full of the sum of 7,807l. 2s. 2d. for do. service	_____	807	2	2
Nov. 11. To do. for provisions issued in the Ceded Islands, between Aug. 20, 1777 and May 26, 1778	_____	2,763	0	3
Aug. 20. To Anthony Bacon, Esq; on account for provisions delivered into his Majesty's storehouses at Deptford, and elsewhere in the river Thames, for the use of the forces serving in the West Indies	_____	7,000	0	0
Oct. 15. To do. for do. service	_____	15,228	17	8
Carried over		803,190	13	54
Towards the expence of provisions delivered to the forces in North America, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, &c. apply the sum voted upon estimate 1779, for that service		72,095	0	0
Carried over		72,095	0	0

Dates, &c.

Brought over

£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
72,095	0	0	803,190	13	5½

Towards the expence of provisions delivered to the forces in the Ceded Islands, apply the sum voted upon do.

17,684 5 0

Towards the expence of provision delivered to the foreign troops serving in North America, apply the sum voted upon ditto

48,868 3 9½

Also the sum stopped for provisions delivered to the said forces between Dec. 25, 1777 and June 24, 1778, information or which was not received in time at the time at the pay office, to be inserted in the account of extraordinaries ending Jan. 31, 1779

28,956 6 1½

Do. for provisions delivered to do. between June 25, 1778, and Dec. 24, following

72,814 11 8½

Do. for provisions delivered to do. between Dec. 25, 1778, and June 24, 1779

71,364 7 6½

173,135 6 2½

311,782 14 11½

Total

491,407 18 6½

Feb. 15. To Messrs. Mure, Son, and Atkinson, for freight of sundry ships employed in carrying provisions and stores to North America, for the use of the forces there

11,295 14 8

To do. for do. service

1,125 7 7

To do. for do. service

1,875 4 3

To do. for do. service

456 15 0

To do. for do. service

7,981 4 1

Mar. 9. To do. for do. service.

6,169 3 5

To do. for do. service

4,090 0 10

To do. for do. service

4,386 1 4

To do. for do. service

1,475 11 1

To do. for do. service

1,283 19 6

To do. for do. service

4,225 13 8

Apr. 23. To do. for do. service

8,472 13 0

To do. for do. service

2,225 7 9

To do. for do. service

475 0 4

To do. for do. service

1,531 7 7

To do. for do. service

833 11 4

29. To do. for do. service

12,523 18 1

May 7. To do. for do. service

3,904 18 2

To do. for do. service

2,340 16 10

To do. for do. service

1,518 13 10

21. To do. for do. service

18,892 8 1

June

A. 1780.

D E B A T E S.

7

Dates, &c.

£. s. d.

June 11, 1779. To Messrs. Mure, Son, and Atkinson, for
freight of sundry ships, employed in carrying provisions
and stores to North America for the use of the forces there

			456	15	0
To do. for do. service	—	—	2,294	14	2
To do. for do. service	—	—	1,473	0	4
To do. for do. service	—	—	1,125	7	7
To do. for do. service	—	—	9,686	11	11
July 20. To do. for do. service	—	—	12,086	6	9
To do. for do. service	—	—	2,858	9	9
To do. for do. service	—	—	1,475	11	1
To do. for do. service	—	—	2,610	3	5
To do. for do. service	—	—	2,565	2	2
Aug. 16. To do. for do. service	—	—	1,889	3	4
To do. for do. service	—	—	833	11	4
To do. for do. service	—	—	3,604	1	3
To do. for do. service	—	—	1,531	7	7
Sep. 14. To do. for do. service	—	—	3,121	14	8
To do. for do. service	—	—	1,023	17	7
To do. for do. service	—	—	1,518	13	10
To do. for do. service	—	—	5,150	18	5
To do. for do. service	—	—	962	4	5
To do. for do. service	—	—	864	18	5
Oct. 29. To do. for do. service	—	—	1,554	3	4
To do. for do. service	—	—	1,915	18	3
To do. for do. service	—	—	880	10	3
To do. for do. service	—	—	216	19	1
To do. for do. service	—	—	456	15	0
To do. for do. service	—	—	17,154	4	3
To do. for do. service	—	—	2,490	16	2
Nov. 26. To do. for do. service	—	—	1,092	7	10
To do. for do. service	—	—	2,052	6	7
To do. for do. service	—	—	2,565	2	2
To do. for do. service	—	—	1,658	18	3
To do. for do. service	—	—	42,835	11	10
Dec. 23. To do. for do. service	—	—	3,087	12	7
To do. for do. service	—	—	1,446	19	8
To do. for do. service	—	—	1,150	15	1
To do. for do. service	—	—	596	6	3
To do. for do. service	—	—	833	11	4
To do. for do. service	—	—	8,992	1	5
Jan. 25, 1780. To do. for do. service	—	—	929	6	8
To do. for do. service	—	—	475	0	5
To do. for do. service	—	—	376	7	2
To do. for do. service	—	—	419	19	1
To do. for do. service	—	—	24,575	13	11

271,973 10 0

Mar.

June

PARLIAMENTARY.

A. 1780.

Dates, &c.

£. s. d.

Mar. 19. 1779. To Messrs. Mure, Son, and Atkinson, for cannon shipped for Cork for the armament of sundry transports employed in carrying provisions and stores to North America

2,244 0 4

Aug. 16. To do. for the amount of sundry transports

12,991 17 7

15,235 17 11

Feb. 15. To Messrs. Mure, Son, and Atkinson, for the value of 3 ships taken in carrying oats to North America

5,207 17 5

Mar. 19. To do. for the value of the ship William and Ann, taken by the rebels in carrying provisions to North America

1,814 16 2

May 7. To do. for the value of four oat ships taken by the enemy

4,933 15 1

Aug. 16. To do. for the value of two ships which were taken by the enemy

8,467 0 4

Sept. 14. To do. for the value of the ship Meredith, taken by the enemy

1,475 13 2

Nov. 26. To do. for the value of the Maria transport, taken by the enemy

3,547 7 1

Dec. 23. To do. for the value of two ships taken by the enemy

4,825 19 9

30,272 9 10

Feb. 15. To Messrs. Mure, Son, and Atkinson, for the hire and maintenance of extra seamen, put on board sundry ships employed in carrying provisions and stores to North America, for the use of the forces there

11,265 11 2

Apr. 23. To do. for do. service

10,903 16 8

29. To do. for do. service

5,564 7 11

May 7. To do. for do. service

7,749 10 6

21. To do. for do. service

8,561 13 0

July 20. To do. for do. service

12,799 12 9

Aug. 16. To do. for do. service

8,128 3 7

Sep. 14. To do. for do. service

7,345 19 4

Oct. 29. To do. for do. service.

6,002 7 5

Dec. 23. To do. for do. service

5,267 6 10

Jan. 25. 1780. To do. for do. service

10,119 14 8

93,709 3 10

Mar. 19. 1779. To Messrs. Mure, Son, and Atkinson, for camp equipage, materials for cloathing, and other stores, shipped for the use of the forces in North America

42,904 0 9

Apr. 29. To do. for do. sent to Quebec for do. service

9,232 14 4

To do. for oats sent to North America

6,198 16 11

Aug. 31. To do. for naval stores sent to Canada

12,863 2 4

Sept. 14. To do. for oats sent to North America

9,737 18 2

Oct. 29. To do. for do. service

9,339 11 2

Dec. 23. To do. for do. service

8,877 13 4

Mar.

A. 1780.

D E B A T E S.

9

£. s. d.

Mar. 5, 1779. To Thomas Harley, Esq. for blankets and stockings provided for the use of the forces in North America	12,362	18	9
31. To do. for do. service	2,729	5	11
Apr. 26. To do. for materials for cloathing sent to North America	6,150	3	1
Dec. 18. To do. for blankets sent to North America, for the use of the forces there	3,514	7	8
May 7. To Robert Knox, Esq. for presents for Indians bordering on the colonies in North America	15,265	13	5½
June 3. To do. for pork sent to Pensacola in West Florida, for the service of the Indians there	1,893	2	9
Aug. 16. To do. for presents for Indians bordering on the colonies in North America	9,997	15	5
Oct. 22. To do. for presents for Indians in West Florida	5,924	9	9
To Richard Cumberland, Esq. for presents for Indians at Nova Scotia	497	18	2
Apr. 30. To John Trotter, Esq. for hospital stores for the use of the army in Canada	387	19	10
Oct. 6. To do. for providing stores for the general hospital in North America, in the year 1779	6,207	6	2½
To do. for providing stores for the use of the hospital to be established at Georgia	2,490	3	7½
Nov. 17. To do. for providing hospital bedding for the use of the hospitals in West Florida, for the year 1779	668	4	8
Feb. 5. To Captain Thomas Hutchins, for charges incurred in the engineer's department in West Florida	325	5	4
17. To Lieutenant William Stewart, being his Majesty's bounty for the loss of the use of his leg in the Jerseys	262	10	4
Mar. 4. To Lieut. Ambrose Russell, for the cure of a wound he received at Fort Montgomery, Oct. 6, 1777	60	0	0
10. To Lieutenant General Gage, to enable him to pay the value of a ship and her cargo, taken for the service of the army at Boston, in the year 1775	1,356	0	5
26. To Joseph Scott, Esq. in full satisfaction and discharge of all demands for provisions and provender for the forces in North America	2,156	3	6
April 12. To Captain Richard Baily, in full compensation of sundry expences incurred by him, in superintending the embarkation of parties, camp equipage, cloathing, and stores, for the army in North America, from March 11, 1778, to March 10, 1779	157	15	6
15. To Ann Campbell, being his Majesty's bounty for herself and child, in consideration of the loss of her husband	413	13	4
June 3. To Captain Robert Pringle, for reimbursing labourers and artificers, employed at St. John's, New-			

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C

foundland

Dates, &c.

	£.	s.	d.
foundland, and for cloathing, while they were doing duty as soldiers, without pay	305	2	6
11. To Anthony Bacon, Esq. for coals sent to North America, for the use of the forces there	807	6	0
July 8. To James Hughes, Esq. on account of a contract made by Jacob Jorden, Esq. with General Burgoyne, for the service of a provision train for the army under his command in the year 1777	3,000	0	0
15. To Robert Adair, Esq. upon account, for sundry stores that are to be sent to New York and Georgia, for the use of the hospitals there	1,800	0	0
To Lieutenant William Richardson, being his Majesty's bounty for the loss of the use of his arm in action at Saratoga in America, Oct. 19, 1777	156	6	4
Aug. 20. To Patrick Tonyn, Esq. governor of East Florida, for keeping up a schooner for the service of that province for one year, to Aug. 29, 1780	417	5	0
Sept. 20. To Captain Michael Jacob, of the 64th regiment of foot, for the expence attending the cure of the wounds he received in the action at Brandewine in North America, Sept. 11, 1777	59	10	0
Sept. 20. To Lieutenant John Rowe, for the expence attending the cure of the wounds he received at the attack of the rebels at Hubberton, in North America, July 7, 1777	52	8	0
27. To Arehibald Rutherford, for the expence attending the cure of his wounds received on the expedition to Danbury, in North America, April 28, 1779	80	6	0
28. To Kender Mason, Esq. due to Mess. Cumming, Jones, and Mason, for remitting money to East Florida, between December 25, 1775, and Feb. 24, 1778	650	9	8
Oct. 14. To Mary Stewart, being his Majesty's bounty for herself and child, in consideration of the loss of her husband	243	6	8
To Captain Henry Crawford, being his Majesty's bounty, for the loss of his leg at Bunker's Hill, June 17, 1775	133	16	4
To Captain James Gambier, for the passage of Major General Robertson and his suite, from Great Britain to North America	150	0	0
Nov. 17. To Major General Vaughan, in consideration of the losses he sustained by a fire at New York, in July 1778	160	0	0
To Sarah and Henry Addison, being his Majesty's bounty, in consideration of the loss of their father	121	13	4
Dec. 10. To Major General Vaughan, for an equipage as commander in chief in the Leeward and Charibbee Islands, in North America	1,000	0	0

17. To

A. 1780.

D E B A T E S.

Dates &c.

17. To Edward Lewis, Esq. for remitting money to West
Florida, from December 25, 1777, to June 24, 1779

£. s. d.

706 17 0

182,519 1 6½

Jan. 8. To the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, in full for levy money for 960 re-
cruits, furnished by him in the year 1779

6,930 0 0

1779.

March 26. To bills of exchange drawn by
General Elliott, for public services£. s. d.
2,470 16 9

Aug. 20. To do. for do. service —

2,147 5 4

Sept. 11. To do. for do. service —

10,600 0 0

Oct. 22. To do. for do. service —

5,580 0 0

20,798 2 1

Apr. 26. To bills of exchange drawn by
Patrick Tonym, Esq. for public services

13,266 15 0

Aug. 20. To do. for do. service —

6,743 3 4

Oct. 20. To do. for do. service —

4,380 0 10

24,389 19 2

Apr. 26. To bills of exchange drawn by
Robert Gorden, Esq. for public services

5,000 0 0

May 29. To do. for do. service —

2,000 0 0

Aug. 20. To do. for do. service —

4,000 0 0

Oct. 20. To do. for do. service —

4,395 7 4½

1780.

Jan. 12. To do. for do. service —

2,000 0 0

1779.

Apr. 26. To bills of exchange, drawn by
Lord Macartney, for public services

2,950 0 0

May 29. To do. for do. service —

800 0 0

Oct. 20. To do. for do. service —

15,750 0 0

19,500 0 0

Apr. 26. To bills of exchange, drawn by
Frederick Haldimand, Esq. for public
services —

4,366 5 0

Oct. 20. To do. for do. service —

2,250 0 0

1780.

Jan. 12. To do. for do. service —

18,566 5 0

1779.

Aug. 20. To bills of exchange, drawn by
Andrew Rainsford, Esq. for public services

1,946 2 7½

Oct. 20. To do. for do. service —

400 0 0

2,346 2 7½

Apr. 26. To bills of exchange, drawn by
John Clarke, Esq. for public services

1,350 5 2½

May 29. To do. for do. service —

524 2 8

1,874 7 10½

Oct. 20.

C 2

Dates, &c.

	£.	s.	d.	
Oct. 20. To bills of exchange, drawn by				
John Stuart, Esq. for public services	2,862	19	10	
To do. for do. service	1,191	5	2	
				4,054 5 0
Apr. 26. To bills of exchange, drawn by				
John Campbell, Esq. for public services	5,000	0	0	
Aug. 20. To do. for do. service	2,456	14	6	
				7,456 14 6
Apr. 26. To bills of exchange, drawn by				
Valentine Morris, Esq. for public services	6,606	18	7	
May 29. To do. for do. service	200	0	0	
Aug. 20. To do. for do. service	3,908	0	9	
Oct. 20. To do. for do. service	510	0	0	
				11,224 19 4
Apr. 26. To bills of exchange, drawn by				
William Faucitt, Esq. for public services	510	0	0	
Aug. 20. To do. for do. service	2,910	7	2	
Oct. 20. To do. for do. service	180	0	0	
				3,600 7 2
Apr. 26. To bills of exchange, drawn by				
Peter Chester, Esq. for public service,	3,997	14	8½	
Oct. 20. To do. for do. service	250	0	0	
To do. for do. service	392	0	0	
				4,639 14 8½
May 29. To bills of exchange, drawn by				
William Newton, Esq. for public services	19,800	0	0	
June 11. To do. for do. service	20,193	15	0	
Oct. 20. To do. for do. service	14,793	15	0	
1780.				
Jan. 12. To do. for do. service	7,240	0	0	
				62,027 10 0
May 29. To bills of exchange, drawn by				
James Murray, Esq. for public services	1,750	0	0	
Aug. 20. To do. for do. service	300	0	0	
Oct. 20. To do. for do. service	1,000	0	0	
To do. for do. service	300	0	0	
1780.				
Jan. 12. To do. for do. service	834	3	10½	
				4,184 3 10½
Apr. 26. To bills of exchange, drawn by William Tryon,				
Esq. for public services				
1780. To do. drawn by Richard Hughes, Esq.	397	11	4½	
Jan. 12. To do. for do. service	1,432	15	1	
1779.				1,830 6 5½
May 29. To bills of exchange, drawn by Joseph Martin,				
Esq. for public services				
To do. drawn by Philip Calbeck, Esq. for public services	500	0	0	
June 11. To bills of exchange, drawn by Robert Pringle,	401	7	0	
Esq. for public services				41 18 6

d.

Dates, &c.

£. s. d.

To bills of exchange drawn by David Hay, Esq. for public services

63 19 0

Aug. 20. To do. drawn by Mathew Burt, Esq. for public services

683 16 5

To do. drawn by John Dalling, Esq. for do 1,049 16 5

1780. Jan. 12. To do. for do. service — 250 0 0

1779. Aug. 20. To do. drawn by A. Prevost, Esq. for public services

1,299 16 5

Oct. 20. To do. drawn by George Young, Esq. for do.

1,050 0 0

To do. drawn by Thomas Shirley, Esq. for do. —

626 15 10

200 0 0

216,872 3 3½

Mar. 1. To Robert Haldane Bradshaw, Esq. deputy paymaster in the West Indies, cash paid him on account of pay and extraordinaries of the forces detached from New York, on an expedition under the command of Major General Grant, pursuant to treasury direction of October 26, 1778

30,000 0 0

Sept. 30. To a bill of exchange drawn by him, on account of expences incurred for the use of the army under the Command of Major General Grant

2,000 0 0

To do. for do. service —

3,000 0 0

To do. for do. service —

3,000 0 0

To do. for do. service —

3,500 0 0

Oct. 28. To do. for do. service —

14,800 0 0

To do. for do. service —

100 0 0

To do. for do. service —

300 0 0

To do. for do. service —

601 15 9

To do. for do. service —

330 18 9

57,632 14 6

Mar. 4. To the representatives of the late Philip Fonnereau, Esq. and Sir Merrick Burrell, Bart. for victualling the forces in the garrison of Gibraltar, between July 6, and Oct. 25, 1778

12,000 0 0

22. To do. for bills drawn on them by Governor Elliott, for fresh provisions for Gibraltar

700 0 0

May 6. To the representatives of the late Zachary Philip Fonnereau, Esq. and Sir Meyrick Burrell, Bart. for insurance on provisions issued to the garrison of Gibraltar, between Sept. 29, 1777, and Oct. 25, 1778

2,798 14 3

19. To do. for victualling the forces in do. between Jan. 18, and March 14, 1779

1,573 6 6

June 23. To do. for insurance on provisions issued to do. between Oct. 26, 1778, and Jan. 17, 1779

1,071 6 4

May 19. To Sir George Wombwell, Bart. for victualling the forces in the garrison of Gibraltar, between Jan. 18, and March 14, 1779

8,635 14 6

June

Dates, &c.

£. s. d.

June 17. To do. to compleat 21,000 l. advance on the Gibraltar contract

10,500 0 0

July 8. To do. for victualling the forces in the garrison of Gibraltar, between March 15, and April 11, 1779

4,299 2 0

Sept. 8. To do. for victualling the forces in do. between April 12, and June 6, 1779

8,610 2 6

Nov. 17. To do. for victualling the forces in do. between June 7, and July 4, 1779

4,413 6 0

54,601 12 0

Towards the expence of provisions delivered to the British regiments at Gibraltar, apply the sum voted upon estimate 1779, for the service

22,816 6 0

Also the sum voted upon estimate 1779 for the foreign regiments in that garrison

9,564 17 1

32,381 3 1

22,220 8 11

Feb. 5. To George Browne, Esq. on account of his contract for provision sent by him for victualling the forces in Senegambia

1,000 0 0

Mar. 26. To do. for do. shipped for the forces in do.

1,448 8 9

Apr. 29. To Samuel Smith, Esq. for victualling the forces in do.

3,500 0 0

July 8. To George Browne, Esq. for provisions sent by him for the forces in do.

1,000 0 0

Aug. 20. To Messrs. Dennison and Co. for provisions and stores furnished for the garrison of fort James, in the river Gambia

204 1 10½

Dec. 27. To George Browne, Esq. for sundry articles of provisions shipped for the service of the forces at Goree

2,055 3 3

9,207 13 10½

Towards the expence of provisions delivered to the corps in Africa, apply the sum voted upon estimate 1779, for that service

2,321 14 10

6,885 19 0½

June 17. To Thomas Harley, Esq. upon account, for provisions sent by him for the supply of the garrison of Minorca

6,500 0 0

Apr. 28. To Henry Budd, gentleman, for keeping up provisions in store for the island of Jersey

313 0 4

Sept. 28. To do. for do. service

313 0 4

To William Budd, Gentleman, for do. service

1,453 13 4

Oct. 21. To do. for do. service

300 0 0

Apr. 28. To Henry Budd, gentleman, for keeping up provisions in store for the island of Guernsey

313 0 4

Sept.

A.178c.

D E B A T E S.

15

Dates, &c.

	£.	s.	d.
Sept. 28. To do. for do. service	313	0	4
To William Budd, Gent. for do. service	1,453	13	4
Oct. 21. To do. for do. service	300	0	0
	4,759	8	0

June 2. To John Maton, Esq. by way of advance on his contract for supplying bread, forage, wood, and straw, to the forces encamped in the summer

1779	20,000	0	0
Aug. 25. To do. in further advance	20,000	0	0
Oct. 12. To do. in further advance	10,000	0	0
21. To do. in further advance	5,000	0	0
Nov. 6. To do. in further advance	5,000	0	0
17. To do. in further advance	5,000	0	0

65,000 0 0

Jan. 25. To Humphry Bland Gardiner and James Kempt, for necessaries for the use of the forces in North Britain, and for the charge of oatmeal and money issued to officers, &c.

3,154 9 0

Feb. 5. To Major General Robert Skene, for the 47th year's allowance for repairing roads and bridges in North Britain

500 0 0

Mar. 15. To Sir John Inglis, Bart. and Thomas Dundas, Esq. executor to the late Colonel James Masterton, for oatmeal, firing, candles, &c. furnished to the forces at Fort William, Castle Duart, Fort Augustus, Fort George, and the barracks of Bernera, Invernaid, Cargaff and Braemar, the out posts stationed in their neighbourhood, from Jan. 1, 1778 to Dec. 31 following, both inclusive

3,192 9 7

26. To William Simpson, Esq. for a bill of exchange drawn by him as cashier of the Royal Bank of Scotland

286 5 2

29. To Sir James Adolphus Oughton, for disbursements in North Britain

300 0 0

Apr. 30. To Major General Robert Skene, for superintending the recruiting of the additional companies in North Britain, and for expences incurred in the embarkation of sundry regiments, from Dec. 25, 1777, to June 24, 1778.

421 19 4

Dec. 10. To Humphry Bland Gardiner and James Kempt, for necessaries for the use of the forces in North Britain, and for the charge of oatmeal and money issued to the officers

2,564 8 0

10,409 11 1

Jan. 29. To Lieutenant Governor Wemyss, for coals, candles, &c. for the forces in Edinburgh Castle, from Oct. 1, 1778, to Dec. 31, following

229 11 0

To

Dates, &c.

To E. B. De la Fontaine, Esq. for do. for the additional companies in the Savoy barracks, between June 24, 1778, and Dec. 25, following	226	13	6
Feb. 16. To John Powell, Esq. being his Majesty's proportion of 1,498½ chaldron, of coals, for the use of the garrison of Gibraltar, from Feb. 6, 1778, to Nov. 1, following	4,570	8	6
17. To Henry Henderson, for coals, candles, &c. for the use of the forces in the barracks at Portsmouth	286	14	7
Apr. 29. To Lieutenant Governor Singleton, for do. for the forces in Languard Fort, from June 25, 1778, to Dec. 24 following	162	18	10
May 12. To Captain George Brisac, for do. provided for the use of the forces quartered in Chatham barracks, from Oct. 5, 1778, to April 5, 1779	1,790	5	10
20. To Lieutenant Governor Wemyss, for do. for the forces in Edinburgh Castle, from Jan. 1, to March 31, 1779	239	9	0
June 11. To Andrew Clinton, Esq. upon account, to enable him to provide coals and candles for the forces in Plymouth dock	500	0	0
July 8. To E. B. De la Fontaine, for supplying the additional companies in the Savoy barracks with do. between Dec. 25, 1778, and June 24, 1779	242	17	0
July 8. To Andrew Clinton, Esq. for providing coals and candles for the troops at Plymouth and St. Nicholas island, from Dec. 25, 1778, to June 24, 1779	515	9	0
Aug. 5. To Joshua Darwin, Esq. for providing do. for the forces quartered in Tinmouth barracks, from Dec. 25, 1777, to Dec. 24, 1778	164	14	0
13. To Lieutenant Governor Wemyss, for do. for the forces in Edinburgh castle, from April 1, to June 30, 1779	199	9	0
25. To the Earl of Darlington, for do. for the forces in the garrison of Carlisle, from Dec. 25, 1777, to Dec. 24, 1778	78	8	0
Sept. 1. To Andrew Clinton, Esq. upon account, to enable him to provide do. for the forces at Plymouth dock	500	0	0
8. To Thomas Best, Esq. for providing do. for the forces in Dover castle, from June 25, 1778, to June 24, 1779	871	8	0
17. To Moses Corbet, Esq. for candles for the forces in Jersey, from Lady Day 1778 to Lady Day 1779	69	8	0
To do. for coals for do. from Lady Day 1779 to Lady Day 1780	1,200	1	0
20. To Joshua Darwin, for providing coals and candles for the forces in Tinmouth barracks, from Dec. 25, 1778, to June 24, 1779	85	9	0
Oct. 1. To John Powell, Esq. being his Majesty's proportion of 634½ chaldron of coals for the use of the garrison of Gibraltar, between Dec. 27, 1778, and May 25, 1779	1,934	9	14

A. 1780.

D E B A T E S.

17

Dates, &c.

£. s. d.

Oct. 14. To Lieutenant Governor Singleton, for providing
coals, candles, &c. for the forces in Languard Fort, from
Dec. 25, 1778, to June 24, 1779

167 9 0

Oct. 29. To Lieutenant Governor Wemyss, for providing
coals, candles, &c. for the forces in Edinburgh castle,
from July 1 to Sept. 30, 1779

219 2 6

Nov. 11. To Captain George Brisac, for do. for the forces
in Chatham barracks, &c. from April 5, 1779, to Oct. 5
following

1,270 14 6

29. To Andrew Clinton, Esq. upon account, to enable him
to provide do. for the forces that are or may be in Ply-
mouth dock

500 0 0

Dec. 10. To Lieutenant Governor Irving, for providing
coals, candles, &c. for the troops at Guernsey, from
Oct. 11, 1777, to Oct. 9, 1779

1,397 4 7

1780.

Jan. 6. To E. B. De la Fontaine, for supplying the addi-
tional companies, &c. in the Savoy barracks with coals and
candles from June 25, 1779, to Dec. 24 following

226 13 3

19. To Lieutenant Governor Wemyss, for providing coals
candles, &c. for the use of the forces quartered in Edin-
burgh castle, from Oct. 1 to Dec. 31, 1779

171 13 3

26. To Andrew Clinton, Esq. for providing coals, candles,
and utensils, for the troops at Plymouth and St. Nicholas
Island, from June 25, 1779, to Dec. 24 following

203 2 5

18,023 15 10

Mar. 15. To Lieutenant General Carpenter, for grats money for the 4th regi-
ment of dragoons, in the summer 1778

540 0 6

To Lieutenant General Johnston, for do. for the 6th regi-
ment of do. in do. summer

528 0 9

19. To the Earl of Panmure, for do. for the 2d regiment
of do. in do. summer

766 15 0

Apr. 15. To Lieutenant General George Viscount Town-
shend, for do. for the 2d regiment of dragoon guards, in
do. summer

518 15 11

To Lieutenant General Elliott, for do. for the 15th regi-
ment of dragoons, in do. summer

862 6 0

30. To Sir John Mordaunt, for do. of the 10th regiment of
do. in do. summer

496 5 9

Apr. 30. To Sir George Howard, for grats money for the
7th regiment of dragoons, in the summer 1778

525 1 2

To Lieutenant General Burgoyne, for do. for the 16th re-
giment of do. in do. summer

405 5 9

May 5. To General Elliott, for extra feeding for horses, and
extra allowance to the non-commissioned officers and private
men of a detachment of light dragoons, employed in 1778

300 0 0

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Dates, &c.

- June 9. To Lieutenant General Johnston, for grass money for the 11th regiment of dragoons, in the summer 1778
 To the Earl of Pembroke, for do. of the 1st regiment of do. in do. summer
 18. To Lord Robert Manners, for do. for the 3d regiment of dragoon guards, in do. summer
 To Sir George Howard, for do. of the 1st regiment of do. in do. summer
 Aug. 13. To Lieutenant General Fitzroy, for do. for the 3d regiment of dragoons, in do. summer
 Dec. 15. To Sir John Mordaunt, for do. for the 10th regiment of do. in the summer 1779
 To Sir Henry Clinton, for do. for the 7th regiment of do. in do. summer.
 23. To Lieutenant General Burgoyne, for do. for the 16th regiment of do. in do. summer

£. s. d.

766 15 0

536 3 5

541 13 8

826 3 9

557 9 2½

622 18 0

622 18 0

957 17 0

10,374 8 10½

1779.

- Jan. 1. To Major General Faucitt, for 270 days additional pay as deputy adjutant general, from March 28, 1778, to Dec. 24 following
 25. To Messrs. Powell and Cooke, for the pay of several supernumery officers of the invalids, lately reduced, from Dec. 25, 1777, to Dec. 24, 1778
 To Major General Morrison, quarter master general, for pay of his two assistants, from Dec. 25, 1777, to Dec. 24, 1778
 Feb. 8. To Roger Johnson, Esq. for 183 days pay as assistant commissary in America, from Dec. 21, 1778, to Dec. 30 following
 Feb. 12. To Colonel Samuel Townsend, for his pay as superintendant of the recruiting service, from Dec. 25, 1777, to Dec. 24, 1778
 To Robert Adair, Esq. for 92 days pay, as inspector general of the hospitals, from Dec. 25, 1777, to March 24, 1778, at 30s. per diem
 To do. for 274 days do. from March 24 to Dec. 24, 1778, at 40s per diem
 22. To Captain John Money, for 183 days pay, as deputy quarter master general, under General Burgoyne, from June 25 to Dec. 24, 1777
 Mar. 5. To Robert Gordon, Esq. for 92 days pay, as commissary at Cork, from Nov. 22, 1778, to Feb. 21, 1779
 To Major General Faucitt, for 92 days pay, as commissary in Germany, from Nov. 3, 1778, to Feb. 2, 1779
 10. To Isaac Winslow Clarke, Gent. for 660 days pay, as assistant commissary in Canada, from Dec. 29, 1776, to Oct. 20, 1778

405 0 0

1,464 15 0

182 10 0

183 0 0

183 0 0

547 10 0

136 10 0

548 0 0

684 10 0

91 10 0

92 0 0

460 0 0

660 0 0

April

A. 1780.

D E B A T E S.

19

Dates, &c.

£. s. d.

Apr. 12. To Capt. Richard Baillie, for 365 days pay, for
superintending the embarkation of parties, cloathing, camp
equipage, &c. of the armies in North America, from 11
March, 1778, to 10 March, 1779 —

182 10 0

20. To Daniel Wier, Esq. for 365 days pay, as commissary
in America, from 2 Feb. 1778, to 1 Feb. 1779

730 0 0

30. To Jonathan Clarke, Gent. for 184 days pay, as affi-
sistant commissary in America, from 31 March, 1778, to
30 Sept. following

184 0 0

May 5. To Major General Robert Skeene, for 155 days pay,
as adjutant general in North Britain, from 25 Dec. 1777,
to 28 May, 1778

232 10 0

May 7. To James Porteus, Esq. for 365 days pay, as affi-
sistant commissary in America, from 1 April, 1778, to 1 Apr.
1779

365 0 0

13. To Francis Rushe Clarke, Esq. for 180 days pay, as in-
spector and superintendant of the provision train of horses
and waggons in America, from 6 Oct. 1778, to 3 Apr.
1779

180 0 0

To Major Gen. William Faucitt, for 89 days pay, as com-
missary in Germany, from 3 Feb. 1779, to 2 May follow-
ing

445 0 0

To Col. John Burgoyne, for 184 days pay, as commissary
for mustering foreign troops in America, from 29 July,
1778, to 29 Jan. 1779

368 0 0

To Peter Paumier, Esq. for 182 days pay, as deputy commis-
sary in America, from 3 Oct. 1778, to 2 Apr. 1779

273 0 0

18. To Fleetwood Parkhurst, Esq. for 365 days pay, as de-
puty commissary in Canada, from 21 May, 1778, to 20
May, 1779

574 10 0

To Robert Gordon, Esq. for 89 days pay, as commissary at
Corke, from 22 Feb. to 21 May, 1779

89 0 0

28. To Fred. Wm. Hecht, Gent. for 180 days pay, as af-
sistant commissary in America, from 6 Oct. 1778, to 3 Apr.
1779

180 0 0

June 9. To Dr. Robert Knox, for 262 days pay, as phy-
sician and inspector of the hospitals in Canada, from 25
Dec. 1777, to 12 Sept. 1778

524 0 0

24. To John Morrison, Esq. for 181 days pay, as deputy
commissary in America, from 25 Sept. 1778, to 24 March,
1779

271 10 0

To George Brindley, Esq. 182 days pay, as deputy commis-
sary in America, from 4 Oct. 1778, to 3 April, 1779

273 0 0

Aug. 5. To Nathaniel Day, Esq. for 253 days pay, as com-
missary in Canada, from Sept. 21, 1778, to May 1779

506 0 0

To Col. John Burgoyne, for 181 days pay as commissary for
mustering foreign troops in America, from Jan. 30 to
July 29, 1779

362 0 0

20. To Major General William Faucitt, for 92 days pay,

Dates, &c.

as commissary for mustering foreign troops in Germany, from May 3, to August 2, 1779	£. s. d.
Sept. 14. To Robert Gordon, Esq. for 92 days pay, as commissary at Corke, from May 2 to Aug. 21, 1779	460 0 0
20. To John Lamb, Esq. for 9 days pay of the commissioned officers appointed to the 72d regiment of foot, from Dec. 16 to 24, 1777, being previous to the commencement of their establishment	92 0 0
Oct. 13. To Lieut. Gen. Boyd, for 358 days additional pay, as Lieut. Governor of Gibraltar, from Jan. 1, 1778, to Dec. 24 following	124 6 7
22. To Roger Johnson, Esq. for 182 days pay, as assistant commissary in America, from Dec. 21, 1778, to June 20, 1779	716 0 0
To Jonathan Clarke, Esq. for 181 days pay, as assistant commissary in America, from Oct. 1, 1778, to March 30, 1779	182 0 0
25. To John Fenton, Esq. for 181 days pay, as captain and commandant of William and Mary Castle, in North America, from Jan. 6 to July 5, 1779	181 0 0
Nov. 17. To Lieut. Dalrymple, Lieut. Henry Blacher, and Lieut. Thomas Serle, for 82 days pay, as adjutants at Coxheath during the encampments, from Aug. 13, 1778, to Nov. 2, following	49 4 0
Dec. 7. To John Morrison, Esq. for 184 days pay, as deputy commissary in America, from March 25 to June 24, 1779	276 0 0
To William Butler, Gent. for 175 days pay, as assistant commissary in America, from Oct. 11, 1778, to April 3, 1779	175 0 0
To Major Gen. William Faucitt, for 92 days pay, as commissary in Germany, from August 3 to Nov. 2, 1779	460 0 0
14. To Fleetwood Parkhurst, Esq. for 194 days pay, as deputy commissary in America, from May 21 to Nov. 30, 1779	291 0 0
To Nathaniel Day, Esq. for 115 days pay, as commissary in Canada, from June 1 to Oct. 3, 1779	230 0 0
To James Farquharson, Esq. for 365 days pay, as assistant commissary in Canada, from Sept. 19, 1778, to Sept. 18, 1779	365 0 0
20. To sundry general and staff officers in North America, for pay for their respective periods therein mentioned	10,096 0 0
23. To John Drummond, Esq. for 362 days pay, as deputy commissary in Canada, from April 2, 1778, to Dec. 24, 1779	948 0 0
To Isaac Winslow Clarke, Esq. for 365 days pay, as assistant commissary in Canada, from Oct. 21, 1778, to Oct. 20, 1779	365 0 0
1780. Jan. 6. To Major Gen. Morrison, quartermaster general, for the pay of his two assistants, from Dec. 25, 1778, to Dec. 24, 1779	182 10 0

Dates, &c.

£. s. d.

Jan. 14. To Robert Adair, Esq. for 365 days pay, as inspector general of the hospitals, from Dec. 25, 1778, to Dec. 24,

730 0 0

1779

25. To Geo. Brindley, Esq. for 183 days pay, as deputy commissary in America, from April 4, to Oct. 3 following

274 10 0

1780. Jan. 26. To Lieut. Gen. William Amherst, for his additional pay as adjutant general, for 56 days, from Dec.

25, 1778, to Feb. 8, 1779

112 0 0

To do. for do. as do. for 309 days, from Feb. 19, 1779, to Dec. 24 following

1,236 0 0

29. To Lieut. Gen. John Burgoyne, for his pay for the year 1776

1,812 10 0

To 365 days allowance to Major Hayman Rooke, as major to the late 98th regiment of foot, to Dec. 24, 1779

273 15 0

To 365 days pay of George Munro, Esq. as commissary of stores in North America to do.

182 10 0

To 365 days allowance to Lieut. Col. Birch, in lieu of a troop of light dragoons to do.

282 17 6

To 365 days do. to Major Gen. George Preston, in lieu of a troop of light dragoons to do.

282 17 6

To 365 days do. to Admiral Montague, as governor of Newfoundland, to March 14, 1779

547 10 0

To one year's allowance to Lewis Lochee, Esq. being his Majesty's bounty for the year 1779

100 0 0

31,692 5 7

1779. Nov. 24. To Lieut. Col. Commandant L. F. Carey, for subsistence of the non-commissioned officers and private men of the 89th regiment of foot, from the respective dates of their attestations to the 18th of October last, (exclusive) the commencement of their establishment

931 0 8

To the Earl of Harrington, for subsistence of do. of the 85th regiment of foot, from do. to the 30th Aug. last (exclusive) the commencement of their establishment

1,096 8 6

29. To Major Thomas Lister, for subsistence of do. of his corps of light dragoons, from do. to Sept. 4 last, (exclusive) the commencement of their establishment

421 18 5

Dec. 31. To Sir Thomas Egerton, Bart. for subsistence of do. of his corps of foot, from do. to 5 Oct. last (exclusive) the commencement of their establishment

753 8 8

To Col. Thomas Keating, for subsistence of the non-commissioned officers and private men of the 88th regiment of foot, from the respective dates of their attestations to 12 Oct. last (exclusive) the commencement of their establishment

1,410 13 6

1780. Jan. 1. To Col. Anthony St. Leger, for subsistence of do. of the 86th regiment of foot, from do. to 30 Sept. last, the commencement of their establishment

1,349 2 0

6. To Earl Fauconberg, for subsistence of the non-commissioned officers and private men of his regiment of foot,

from

Dates, &c.

from do. to 18th Nov. last (exclusive) the commencement
of their establishment

£. s. d.

1,261 1 4

7,273 13 1

1779. Jan. 25. To Messrs. Fitter and co. to enable them to
reimburse the non-commissioned officers and private men of
the 15th and 69th regiments of foot, the stoppages made
for the surgeons and paymasters allowances, from 25 Dec.
1777, to 24 June, 1778, and for the allowance of bread
money to the 15th regiment from do. to do.

215 4 8

To Messrs. Anderson and Co. to enable them to reimburse do.
of the 42d regiment of foot, the stoppages made for do.
from do. to do.

165 13 6

To Messrs. Meyrick, to enable them to reimburse do. of the
17th regiment of foot, the stoppages made for do. from
do. to do.

96 6 10

To L. G. Haviland, to enable him to reimburse do. of the
47th reg. of foot, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do

96 6 10

To Edward Bifshopp, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do.
of the 5th and 29th regiments of foot, the stoppages made
for do. from do. to do.

242 16 6

To Adam Wood, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the
31st regiment of foot, the stoppages made for do. from do.
to do. and for the allowance of bread money for do.

137 5 6

Jan. 25. To Messrs. Roberts, to enable them to reimburse
the non-commissioned officers and privates of the 24th,
27th, and 38th regiments of foot, the stoppages made for
the surgeons and paymasters allowances, from Dec. 25,
1777, to June 24, 1778

289 0 6

To Messrs. Meyricks, to enable them to reimburse do. of
sundry regiments of foot, the stoppages made for do. from
do. to do.

1,200 12 11

Mar. 29. To Messrs. Hesse, to enable them to reimburse do.
of the 37th regiment of foot, the stoppages made for do.
from do. to do.

99 18 2

To do. to enable them to reimburse do. of do. reg. the stops.
made for do. from Dec. 25, 1776, to June 24, 1777

96 6 10

To Messrs. Ross and Gray, to enable them to reimburse do.
of sundry regts. of foot, the stoppages made for do. from
Dec. 25, 1778, to June 24, 1778,

2,367 15 0

Apr. 9. To John Lamb, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do.
of the 72d regiment of foot, the stoppages made for do.
from do. to do.

137 10 9

To Edmund Armstrong, Esq. to enable him to reimburse
do. of the 8th regt. of foot, the stoppages made for do.
from do. to do. and for the allowance of bread money

121 3 7

May 12. To Messrs. Meyrick, to enable them to reimburse
do. of sundry regiments of foot, the stoppages made for
do. from June 25, 1778, to Dec. 24, following

1,275 10 10

To

Dates, &c.

£. s. d.

To John Lamb, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the 72d. regiment of foot, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

137 10 7

To Messrs. Bifshopp and Co. to enable them to reimburse do. of sundry regiments of foot, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

454 13 1

To Josiah Handsford, Esq. to enable him to reimburse the non-commissioned officers and private men of the 17th and 45th regiments of foot, the stoppages made for the surgeon and paymaster's allowance, from June 25, 1778, to Dec. 24, following

188 9 8

To Messrs. Rois and Gray, to enable them to reimburse do. of sundry regiments of foot, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

2,054 15 4

To do. for bread money to recruiting parties, and recruits belonging to sundry regiments in the year 1778

146 7 0

To do. for do. to do. in the year 1778

1,572 4 6

To Messrs. Gray and Ogilvie, for do. to the 35th regiment of foot, in the year 1778

22 7 5

28. To Edmund Armstrong, Esq. to enable him to reimburse the non-commissioned officers and private men of the 8th regiment of foot, the stoppages made for the surgeon and paymaster's allowance, from June 25, 1778, to Dec. 24 following

99 6 4

June 4. To Messrs. Cox and Mair, to enable them to reimburse do. of sundry regiments of foot, the stoppages made for do. from Dec. 25, 1777, to June 24 1779

2,555 19 1

To do. to enable them to reimburse do. of sundry regiments of foot, the stoppages made for do. from June 25, to Dec. 24, 1778

2,565 16 4

July 1. To Edward Bifshopp, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the 5th and 29th regiments of do. the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

236 3 9½

30. To Messrs. Fitter and Co. to enable them to reimburse do. of the 15th and 69th regiments of foot, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

202 10 4

Aug. 5. To A. Wood, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the 31st regiment of foot, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do. and for their allowance of bread money

122 2 10

18. To Messrs. Roberts, to enable them to reimburse the non-commissioned officers and private men of sundry regiments of foot, the stoppages made for the surgeon and paymasters allowance, from June 25, 1778, to Dec. 24, following, and for the allowance of bread money for the years 1776, 1777, and 1778

440 17 11

To Messrs. Meyrick, for bread money for the 75th regiment of foot, and to sundry parties of recruits belonging to several regiments in barracks

504 13 5½
To

Dates, &c.

£. s. d.

To Messrs. Anderson and Co. to enable them to reimburse the non-commissioned officers and private men of the 42d. regiment of foot, the stoppages made for the surgeon and paymaster's allowance, from June 25, to Dec. 24, 1778, and for the allowance of bread money from do. to do.

170 9 10

To Fountain Elwyn, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the 70th regiment of foot, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

75 12 4

Sept. 1. To Messrs. Bishopp and Co. to enable them to reimburse do. of sundry regiments of foot, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do. and for the allowance of bread money to those in barracks

4,190 18 3

20. To Kenneth Mackenzie, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the 78th regiment of foot, the stoppages made for do. from Jan. 8, 1778, to June 24, following

127 4 6

Oct. 20. To Edward Bishopp, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the 5th and 29th regiments of foot, the stoppages made for do. from Dec. 25, 1778, to June 24, 1779, and for the allowance of bread money to parties in barracks

268 19 2

To Messrs Fitter and Co. to enable them to reimburse do. of the 69th regiment of foot, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

116 19 11

To John Lamb, Esq. to enable him to reimburse the non-commissioned officers and private men of the 72d regiment of foot, the stoppages made for the surgeons and paymaster's allowance, from Dec. 25, 1778, to June 24, 1779

137 10 7

To Adam Wood, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the 31st regiment of foot, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do. and for the allowance of bread money to do.

141 9 6

To Messrs. Anderson and Co. to enable them to reimburse do. of the 42d regiment of foot, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

165 7 0

To Messrs. Meyrick, to enable them to reimburse do. of sundry regiments of foot, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

4,557 1 5

29. To Josiah Hansard, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the 17th and 45th regiments of foot, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do. and for the allowance of bread money to do.

314 5 3

To Messrs. Bishopp and Co. to enable them to reimburse the non-commissioned officers and private men of sundry regiments of foot, the stoppages made for do. and for the allowance of bread money, from Dec. 25, 1778, to June 24, 1779

1,194 17 8

To Messrs. Cox and Mair, to enable them to reimburse do. of sundry regiments of foot, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

3,200 4 9
Nov.

A. 1780.

D E B A T E S.

25

Dates, &c.

£. s. d.

Nov. 3. To Edmund Armstrong, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the 8th regiment of foot, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

116 19 10

17, To Messrs. Cox and Mair, for the allowance of bread money to sundry regiments of foot, from June 25, 1776, to Dec. 24, 1778

1,750 17 8

Nov. 24. To Messrs Roberts, to enable them to reimburse the non-commissioned officers and private men of sundry regiments of foot, the stoppages made for the surgeon and paymaster's allowance, from Dec. 25, 1778, to June 24, 1779

329 16 10

To Messrs. Meyrick, for the allowance of bread money to the 75th regiment of foot, from Jan. 3, 1779, to May 3, following, and for recruiting parties for six months, to June 1779

279 6 1

Jan. 26, 1780. To Messrs. Adair and Co. to enable them to reimburse the non-commissioned officers and private men of sundry regiments of foot, the stoppages made for the surgeon and paymaster's allowance, from June 25, 1777, to Dec. 24, 1779

1,487 13 2

To Messrs. Meyrick, to enable them to reimburse do. of a detachment of foot guards, and sundry regiments of foot, the stoppages made for do. from June 25, 1779, to Dec. 24, following

1,621 7 6

To Messrs. Fitter and Co. to enable them to reimburse do. of the 60th regiment of foot, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

116 19 11

 32,219 11 3½

Jan 29, 1779. To Colonel Hodges, to enable him to reimburse the non-commission officers and private men of the Surrey militia, the stoppages made for the surgeon and paymaster's allowance, from Mar. 26, to June 24, 1778

55 15 6

To Messrs. Roberts, to enable them to reimburse do. of the north battalion of the Devonshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

35 19 3½

To Colonel Henry Herbert, to enable him to reimburse do. of the Wiltshire militia, the stoppages made for do. to do.

55 0 6

To Lord Viscount Mount Stuart, to enable him to reimburse do. of the Glamorganshire militia, the stoppages made for do. to do.

26 17 8

Jan. 29. To the Duke of Devonshire, to enable him to reimburse the noncommissioned officers and private men of the Derbyshire militia, the stoppages made for the surgeons and paymaster's allowance from Mar. 26, to June 24, 1778

39 19 2½

To the Earl of Cholmondeley, to enable him to reimburse

do.

Vol. XVII.

E

Dates, &c.

	£.	s.	d.
do. of the East regiment of militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.	39	18	8
Feb. 12. To Thomas Brookbank, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the east regiment of Middlesex militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.	37	13	1
To Tho Willis, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the east regiment of Suffolk militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.	34	14	3
Mar. 29. To Simon Halliday, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the Somersetshire Militia, the stoppages made from do. to do.	58	0	7
To Messrs. Bishopp and Co. to enable them to reimburse do. of the Huntingdonshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.	25	5	6
To J. Purrier, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the north battallion of the Hampshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.	34	14	3
Apr. 9. To William Field, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the east and west battalions of the Essex militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.	64	19	6
To Vincent Mathias, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the Dorsetshire and East Riding of Yorkshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.	75	6	5
To George Aust, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the Cambridgeshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.	34	7	7
15. To John Ballard, Esq. to enable him to reimburse the non-commissioned officers and private men of the Worcesterhire militia, the stoppages made for the surgeon and paymaster's allowance, from Mar. 26, to June 24, 1778.	39	14	9
To Messrs. Bishopp and Co. to enable them to reimburse do. of sundry regiments of militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.	217	14	7
To John Fenwick, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of sundry regiments of militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.	21	14	6
To Messrs. Meyrick, to enable them to reimburse do. of the Leicestershire and Warwickshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.	80	19	3
To John Powell, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the Bedfordshire and West Middlesex militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.	66	4	3
29. To Messrs. Thomas and Roberts, to enable them to reimburse do. of the Brecknockshire and Radnorshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.	21	10	7
30. To John Martin, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the West Kent militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.	43	14	0

May

A. 1780.

D E B A T E S.

27

Dates, &c.

£. s. d.

May 12. To Keene Stables, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the Northamptonshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

44 15 4

To James Ballard, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the Worcestershire militia, the stoppages made for do. from June 25, to Dec. 24, 1778

72 13 1

To John Martin, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the west battalion of the Kent militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

84 0 6

To George Aust, Esq. to enable him to reimburse the non-commanding officers and private men of the Cambridge-shire militia, the stoppages made for the surgeon and paymaster's allowance, from June 25, to Dec. 24, 1778

62 6 0

To George Snowden, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the Derbyshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

73 2 5

To Vincent Mathias, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the Dorset and East Riding of Yorkshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

139 2 8

To George Blount, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the Cheshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

73 1 4

To Thomas Lloyd, to enable him to reimburse do. of the Cornwall militia, the stoppages made for do. from Mar. 26, to June 24, 1778

43 6 3

To do. to enable him to reimburse do. of do. militia, the stoppages made for do. from June 25, to Dec. 23, 1778

83 4 9

To Messrs. Adair and Co. to enable them to reimburse do. of fundry regiments of militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

682 5 7½

To Messrs. Fitter and Co. to enable them to reimburse do. of the Surrey militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

108 8 11½

To John Owens, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the Denbighshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from Mar. 26, to June 24, 1778

21 5 6

To Messrs. Roberts, to enable them to reimburse do. of the Durham and Merionethshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

34 9 0

May 12. To Messrs. Roberts, to enable them to reimburse the non-commissioned officers and private men of the Durham and Merionethshire regiments of militia, the stoppages made for the surgeon and paymaster's allowance, from June 25, to Dec. 24, 1778

62 8 0

To Messrs. Bishopp and Co. to enable them to reimburse do. of the Huntingdonshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

52 7 1

To John Fenwick, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of

Dates, &c.

fundry regiments of militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

£. s. d.

35 15 0

To Charles Bembridge, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the Staffordshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from Mar. 26, to Dec. 24, 1778

112 19 11

To John Lamb, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the Wiltshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from June 25, to Dec. 24, 1778

106 13 3

To J. Purrier, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the north battalion of the Hampshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

69 5 0

To Messrs. Thomas and Roberts, to enable them to reimburse do. of the Brecknockshire and Radnorshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

36 9 10

To Messrs. Conway and Peart, to enable them to reimburse do. of the north Battalion of the Lincolnshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

81 13 10

To Thomas Willis, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the west regiment of Suffolk militia, the stoppages made for do. from Mar. 26, to June 24, 1778

34 14 3

To Messrs. J. and W. Maude, to enable them to reimburse do. of the West Riding of the Yorkshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from Mar. 26, to Dec. 24, 1778

121 6 3

To Josiah Hansard, Esq. to enable him to reimburse the non-commissioned officers and private men of the 2d West riding of Yorkshire militia, the stoppages made for the surgeon and paymaster's allowance, from Mar. 26, to Dec. 24, 1778

189 1 4

To Thomas Brooksbank, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the east regiment of the Middlesex militia, the stoppages made for do. from June 25, to Dec. 24, 1778

361 8 9

To Simon Halliday, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the Somersetshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

195 9 2

June 18. To John Owens, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the Denbighshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

38 0 5

To John Russell, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the Glamorganshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

54 16 0

To Edmund Armstrong, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the Hertfordshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

113 4 8

To Keene Stables, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the Northamptonshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

86 2 7

To John Powell, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the

west

80.

A. 1780.

D E B A T E S.

29

d.

Dates, &c.

£. s. d.

o

west regiment of Middlesex militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

131 16 3

11

July 8. To John Radcliffe, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the south battalion of the Devonshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from Mar. 26, to Dec. 24, 1778

101 0 1

3

15. To Messrs. Meyrick, to enable them to reimburse do. of the Leicestershire and Warwickshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from June 25, to Dec. 24, 1778

165 10 11

o

To Henry Critcher, Esq. to enable him to reimburse the non-commissioned officers and private men of the Westminster militia, the stoppages made for the surgeons and paymaster's allowance, from Mar. 26, to Dec. 24, 1778

106 3 5

10

Sept. 1. To Messrs. Bishopp and Co. to enable them to reimburse do. of sundry regiments of militia, the stoppages made for do. from June 25, to Dec. 24, 1778, and for the allowance of bread money to the Northumberland militia

791 9 7

10

20. To William Field, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the east and west regiments of Essex militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do. and for the allowance of bread money to do.

451 18 0

3

30. To Messrs. Peart and Conway, to enable them to reimburse do. of sundry regiments of militia, the stoppages made for do. from Mar. 26, to Dec. 24, 1778

334 16 3

3

To William Moone, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the east and west regiments of Norfolk militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

200 3 2

4

Oct. 14. To Messrs. Peart and Conway, to enable them to reimburse do. of sundry regiments of militia, the stoppages made for do. from Dec. 25, 1778, to June 24, 1779

279 17 8

q

To Henry Critchett, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the Westminster militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

80 1 5

2

To Keene Stables, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the Northamptonshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

86 2 7

5

To George Snowdon, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the Derbyshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

76 10 5

o

To John Martin, Esq. to enable him to reimburse the non-commissioned officers and private men of the west battalion of the Kent militia, the stoppages made for the surgeon and paymaster's allowance, from Dec. 25, 1778, to June 24, 1779

84 0 6

8

To John Owens, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the Denbighshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

45 18 11

7

To Messrs. Fitter and Co. to enable them to reimburse do. of

west

the

Dates, &c.

	£.	s.	d.
the Surry militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.	108	8	11
To John Lamb, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the Wiltshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.	106	13	3
To Vincent Mathias, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the Dorsetshire and East Riding of Yorkshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.	151	13	8
To George Blount, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the Cheshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.	79	17	4
To Messrs. Roberts, to enable them to reimburse do. of the Merionethshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.	70	19	5
To John Russell, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the Glamorganshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.	61	12	0
To George Aust, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the Cambridgeshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.	68	15	1
To William Field, Esq. to enable him to reimburse the non-commissioned officers and private men of the east and west regiments of the Essex militia, the stoppages made for the surgeon and paymaster's allowance, from Dec. 25, 1771, to June 24, 1779	137	10	8
To Josiah Hansard, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the two West Riding of Yorkshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.	170	3	6
To John Powell, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the west regiment of Middlesex and the Bedfordshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.	143	6	8
To Messrs. Adair and Co. to enable them to reimburse do. of sundry regiments of militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.	538	3	4
22. To James Ballard, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the Worcestershire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.	79	19	10
29. To Thomas Lloyd, Esq. to enable them to reimburse do. of the Cornwall militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.	86	11	5
Nov. 3. To Messrs. Meyricks, to enable them to reimburse do. of the Leicestershire and Warwickshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.	176	12	9
To John Fenwicke, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of sundry regiments of militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.	40	18	0
To Edmund Armstrong, Esq. to enable him to reimburse			

A. 1780.

D E B A T E S.

31

Dates, &c.

L. s. d.

do. of the Hertfordshire militia, the stoppages made for
do. from do. to do.

76 12 7

To Simon Halliday, Esq. to enable him to reimburse the non-
commissioned officers and private men of the Somersetshire
militia, the stoppages made for the surgeon and paymaster's
allowance, from Dec. 25, 1778, to June 24, 1779, and for
the allowance of bread money to do.

299 13 7

To Messrs T. and W. Maude, to enable them to reimburse
do. of the 1st. regiment of the West Riding of Yorkshire
militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

87 13 10

11. To Messrs. Bishopp and Co. to enable them to reim-
burse do. of the sundry regiments of militia, the stop-
pages made for do. from do. to do. and for the allowance of
bread money to the Northumberland militia

806 10 1

To Thomas Brooksbank, Esq. to enable him to reimburse
do. of the east regiment of Middlesex militia, the stop-
pages made for do. from do. to do.

80 17 4

17. To Messrs. Roberts, to enable them to reimburse do. of
sundry regiments of militia, the stoppages made for do.
from do. to do.

41 16 6

To Charles Bembridge, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do.
of the Staffordshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from
do. to do.

79 14 6

To John Radcliffe, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of
the south battalion of the Devonshire militia, the stoppages
made for do. from do. to do.

68 9 4

24. To Thomas Willis, to enable him to reimburse do. of the
east and west regiments of Suffolk militia, the stoppages
made for do. from 25 June to 24 Dec. 1778

131 0 0

Nov. 24. 1779. To Thomas Willis, Esq. to enable him to
reimburse the non-commissioned officers and private men of
the east and west regiments of Suffolk militia, the stoppages
made for the surgeon and paymaster's allowance, from 25
Dec. 1778, to 24 June, 1779

131 0 0

1780. Jan. 6. To Charles Bembridge, Esq. to enable him to
reimburse do. of the Staffordshire militia, the stoppages
made for do. from 25 June to 24 Dec. 1779

86 13 8

14. To Keene Stables, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of
the Northamptonshire militia, the stoppages made for do.
from do. to do.

91 14 4

To John Martin, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the
west battalion of the Kent militia, the stoppages made for
do. from do. to do.

84 0 6

To Messrs. Adair and Co. to enable them to reimburse do. of
sundry regiments of militia, the stoppages made for do.
from do. to do.

515 14 10

19. To Messrs. Fitter and Co. to enable them to reimburse
do. of the Surrey militia, the stoppages made for do. from
do. to do.

111 17 0
26. To

Dates, &c.

L. s. d.

26. To Messrs. Meyrick, to enable them to reimburse do. of the Leicestershire and Warwickshire militia, the stoppages made for do. from do. to do.

187 19 1

12,275 12 8

1779. Feb. 3. To sundry agents, to be by them over and applied to the use of the private men of the respective regiments, battalions, and corps of militia, as an equivalent to the poundage deducted from the pay of the effective private men of the regiments of foot guards and marching regiments of infantry on the British establishment, from 26 March, 1778, to 24 Dec. following.

12,584 1 6

July 15. To sundry agents for do. service, from 25 Dec.

1778, to 24 June, 1779

9,061 2 7

Jan. 1, 1779. For the marches, &c. of the west battalion of the Essex militia, from 26 March, to 24 June, 1778

152 8 2

For the do. of the east battalion of do. from do. to do.

84 0 7

25. For the do. of the Surrey do. from do. to do.

105 18 8

For the do. of the fourth battalion of the Hampshire do. from do. to do.

227 17 10

For the do. of the Derbyshire do. from do. to do.

146 6 10

29. For the do. of the fourth battalion of the Devonshire do. from do. to do.

64 12 0

For the do. of the Shropshire do. from do. to do.

168 11 2

Feb. 26. For the do. of the Lancashire do. from do. to do.

277 1 4

For the do. of the Huntingdonshire do. from do. to do.

75 1 3

Mar. 15. For the do. of the north battalion of the Hampshire do. from do. to do.

48 19 3

19. For the do. of the Somersetshire do. from do. to do.

203 13 6

29. For the do. of the Hertfordshire do. from do. to do.

225 1 8

For the do. of the north battalion of the Devonshire do. from do. to do.

140 13 11

Apr. 29. For the do. of the north battalion of the Gloucestershire do. from do. to do.

144 7 10

For the do. of the Leicestershire do. from do. to do.

201 2 4

For the do. of the eastern battalion of the Norfolk do. from do. to do.

93 18 5

For the do. of the Duke of Buccleugh's fencible men, from June 25, to Dec. 24, 1778

135 8 3

30. For the do. of the west battalion of the Kent militia, from Mar. 26, to June 24, 1778

127 11 6

For the do. of the Carnarvonshire do. from do. to do.

40 11 0

For the do. of the Flintshire do. from do. to do.

28 19 8

For do. do. of the Durham do. from do. to do.

41 15 9

For the do. of the Rutlandshire do. from do. to do.

40 7 4

May 20. For the do. of the Worcestershire do. from June 25, to Dec. 24, 1778

102 7 10

A. 1780.

D E B A T E S.

33

L. s. d.

For the do. of the 1st West Riding of Yorkshire do. from Mar. 26, to Dec. 24, 1778	332	1	0
For the do. of the west battalion of Norfolk do. from do. to do.	46	17	0
For the marches of the south battalion of the Gloucestershire militia, from June 25, to Dec. 24, 1778	210	18	6
8. For the South battalion of the Devonshire do. from do. to do.	123	6	0
For the do. of the north battalion of the Hampshire do. from do. to do.	349	18	2
For the do. of the Shropshire do. from do. to do.	168	10	10
For do. of the West Middlesex do. from do. to do.	208	13	0
June 9. For the do. of the Huntingdonshire do. from do. to do.	233	1	6
For the do. of the Dorsetshire do. from do. to do.	110	2	6
For the do. of the west battalion of the Kent do. from do. to do.	151	16	2
For the do. of the 2d West Riding of Yorkshire do. from Mar. 25, to June 24, 1778	331	9	10
For the do. of the Denbighshire do. from do. to do.	80	10	0
For the do. of the do. from June 25, to Dec. 24, 1778	62	11	11
For the do. of the north battalion of the Lincolnshire do. from Mar. 26, to June 24, 1778	146	12	7
For the do. of the south battalion of do. from do. to do.	147	5	2
For the do. of the Cambridgeshire do. from June 25, to Dec. 24, 1778	58	16	10
For the do. of the Warwickshire do. from do. to do.	361	8	2
11. For the do. of the eastern battalion of the Norfolk do. from do. to do.	114	18	3
12. For the do. of the Bedfordshire do. from do. to do.	316	10	9
July 1. For the do. of the Derbyshire do. from do. to do.	217	3	3
For the do. of the Surrey do. from do. to do.	167	6	0
For the do. of the Leicestershire do. from do. to do.	137	3	1
For the do. of the Cheshire do. from do. to do.	250	6	9
For the do. of the Buckinghamshire do. from do. to do.	147	19	8
For the do. of the Sussex do. from do. to do.	344	12	0
13. For the do. of the East Riding of Yorkshire do. from do. to do.	153	12	6
For the do. of the Northumberland do. from do. to do.	165	14	9
For the do. of the eastern battalion of the Essex do. from do. to do.	116	16	3
For the do. of the western battalion of do. from do. to do.	287	1	4
For the marches of Glamorganshire militia, from June 25, to Dec. 24, 1778	364	3	4
Aug. 13. For the do. of the Northamptonshire do. from do. to do.	251	13	4
For the do. of the north battalion of the Lincolnshire do. from do. to do.	125	7	8

L. XVII.

F

For

Dates, &c.

For the do. of the west battalion of the Suffolk do. from do. to do.	-
18. For the do. of the south battalion of the Lincolnshire do. from do. to do.	-
For the do. of the 2d. West Riding of Yorkshire do. from do. to do.	-
25. For the do. of the eastern battalion of the Kent do. from do. to do.	-
For the do. of the Carmarthenshire do. from Mar. 26, to Dec. 24, 1778	-
For the do. of the eastern battalion of Devonshire, from June 25, to Dec. 24, 1778	-
Sept. 8. For the do. of the Westminster militia, from Mar. 26, to Dec. 24, 1778	-
20. For the do. of the Wiltshire do. from Mar. 26, to June 24, 1778	-
For the do. of the do. from June 25, to Dec. 24, 1778	-
For the do. of the Lancashire do. from do. to do.	-
For the do. of the south battalion of the Hampshire do. from do. to do.	-
27. For the do. of the east regiment of Middlesex do. from do. to do.	-
For the do. of the north battalion of the Gloucestershire do. from do. to do.	-
For the do. of the Radnorshire do. from Mar. 26, to June 24, 1778	-
For the do. of the Rutlandshire do. from June 25, to Dec. 24, 1778	-
For the do. of the Monmouthshire do. from Mar. 26, to Dec. 2, 1778	-
30. For the do. of the Staffordshire do. from do. to do.	-
For the do. of the Flintshire do. from do. to do.	-
Oct. 6. For the do. of the Herefordshire do. from Mar. 26, to June 24, 1778	-
For the do. of the west regiment of fencible men, from Apr. 25, 1778, to Dec. 24, following	-
29. For the marches of the Montgomeryshire militia, from June 25, to Dec. 24, 1778	-
For the do. of the Herefordshire do. from do. to do.	-
For the do. of the Nottinghamshire do. from Mar. 26, to June 24, 1778	-
Nov. 11. For the do. of the Somersetshire do. from June 25, to Dec. 24, 1778	-
24. For the do. of the Radnorshire do. from do. to do.	-
29. For the do. of the Merionethshire do. from Mar. 26, to Dec. 24, 1778	-
For do. of the Pembrokehire do. from do. to do.	-

L. s.

155 1

179 4

312 15

91 18

101 11

138 1

215 18

60 1

246 1

295 16

204 5

200 16

200 8

76 5

35 6

211 17

397 15

87 4

104 6

303 2

155 6

166 12

137 10

108 1

27

78

88

July
pr

A. 1780

D E B A T E S.

35

	Dates, &c.	£.	s.	d.
178	Dec. 10. For the do. of the East Riding of Yorkshire do.			
	from Dec. 25, 1778, to June 24, 1779	172	1	0
1	For the do. of the Dorsetshire do. from do. to do.	478	17	1
4	For the do. of the Worcestershire do. from do. to do.	174	5	3
5	For the do. of the Carnarvonshire do. from do. to do.	126	7	0
18	For the do. of the Cheshire do. from do. to do.	208	5	3
	For the do. of the Derbyshire do. from do. to do.	201	1	6
	For the do. of the eastern battalion of the Kent do. from do.			
	to do.	94	13	2
	For the do. of the eastern battalion of the Essex do. from			
	do. to do.	315	18	9
	For the do. of the western battalion of do. from do. to do.	174	11	6
	15. For the do. of the Shropshire do. from do. to do.	221	15	6
	For the do. of the south battalion of the Gloucestershire			
	do. from do. to do.	183	12	3
	For the do. of the north battallion of the Devonshire do.			
	from do. to do.	242	12	6
	For the do. of the south battalion of the Lincolnshire do. from			
	do. to do.	141	3	0
	For the do. of the north battalion of do. from do. to do.	203	10	8
	23. For the do. of the western battalion of the Kent do.			
	from do. to do.	193	2	0
	For the marches, &c. of the Suffex militia, from Dec. 25,			
	1778, to June 24, 1779	521	6	8
	31. For the do. of the Bedfordshire do. from do. to do.	217	17	0
	For the do. of the western battalion of the Middlesex do.			
	from do. to do.	282	14	6
	For the do. of the Cumberland do. from do. to do.	196	15	2
	Jan. 1. 1780. For the do. of the Montgomeryshire do. from			
	do. to do.	209	7	0
	6. For the do. of the Monmouthshire do. from do. to do.	112	8	6
	14. For the do. of the Herefordshire do. from do. to do.	183	18	10
	For the do. of the Nottinghamshire do. from do. to do.	254	13	0
	19. For the do. of the Durham do. from June 25, 1778, to			
	Dec. 24, following	152	7	0
	For the do. of the Cornwall do. from March 26, to Dec.			
	24, 1778	269	16	2
	26. For the do. of the Sutherland regiment of fencible men,			
	from Feb. 8, 1779, to June 24, following	176	14	0
	For the do. of the southern regiment of do. from Dec. 25,			
	1778, to June 24, 1779	176	5	1
	For the do. of the Leicestershire militia, from do. to do.	181	16	6
		19,608	19	5
27	July 8, 1779. To Col. Lord Rivers, for camp necessaries			
78	provided for the Dorsetshire militia	166	0	0
88				

Dates, &c.

To Col. Blackwell, for do. provided for the north battalion of the Gloucestershire do.

£. s. d.

128 9 6

To Earl Powis, for do. provided for the East Riding of the Yorkshire do.

92 1 6

To Earl Cholmondeley, for do. provided for the Cheshire do.

141 14 6

15. To Col. Conway, for do. provided for the Warwickshire do.

174 17 6

29. To the Duke of Rutland, for do. provided for the Leicestershire militia

170 16 6

To Captain Herbert Jones, for do. provided for the Anglesey militia

29 16 9

To Col. Paul Orchard, for do. provided for the north battalion of the Devonshire do.

55 9 6

To Col. Henry Herbert, for do. provided for the Wiltshire ditto

206 17 0

Aug. 5. To Col. Maister, for do. provided for the East Riding of Yorkshire do.

101 19 0

To Lord Newborough, for do. provided for the Carmarthenshire do.

31 1 0

To Lord Clive, for do. provided for the Shropshire do.

159 19 0

To Major Owen, for do. provided for the Pembrokehire ditto

45 18 0

To the Duke of Dorset, for do. provided for the west battalion of the Kent militia

156 18 6

13. To Col. Vanfittart, for do. provided for the Berkshire do.

146 10 6

25. To the Earl of Plymouth, for do. provided for the Glamorganshire do.

109 16 6

To Col. John Cooke, for do. provided for the west regiment of Middlesex do.

149 2 6

To Col. Watson Ward, for do. provided for the Cambridgehire do.

150 11 6

To Col. Letchmore, for do. provided for the Worcestershire ditto

183 1 6

To Col. Gilbert Caldicot, for do. provided for the north battalion of the Lincolnshire militia

152 9 0

To the Earl of Winchelsea, for do. provided for the Rutlandshire do.

39 1 0

To the Duke of Richmond, for do. provided for the Sussex ditto

220 11 0

To Sir John Wodehouse, for do. provided for the eastern battalion of the Norfolk do.

140 4 0

Sept. 1. To Lord George Sutton, for do. provided for the Nottinghamshire militia

132 4 0

To the Duke of Beaufort, for do. provided for the Monmouthshire do.

65 7 6

To Col. Jeremiah Hodges, for do. provided for the Surrey ditto

210 11 9

780. A. 1780.

D E B A T E S.

37

d. Dates &c.		£.	s.	d.
6	To the Earl of Orford, for do. provided for the western battalion of the Norfolk militia	127	18	6
6	20. To Col. Christopher Neville, for do. provided for the south battalion of the Lincolnshire do.	152	9	0
6	27. To the Duke of Devonshire, for do. provided for the Derbyshire do.	153	12	6
6	To Col. Skottow, for do. provided for the Buckinghamshire ditto	201	11	0
6	30. To Sir Christopher Treise, for do. provided for the Cornwall do.	160	7	0
9	Oct. 6. To Lord Beauchamp, for do. provided for two volunteer companies of the Warwickshire do.	74	16	0
6	Nov. 11. To the Earl of Suffex, for do. provided for the Northamptonshire do.	160	2	0
0	To Sir Simeon Stuart, for do. provided for the south battalion of the Hampshire do.	136	2	0
0	17. To Major John Jones, for do. provided for the Radnorshire do.	40	4	6
		4,568 11 3		

Exceedings of the sum voted for the cloathing of the militia, for the year 1779.

6	Jan. 7. To Earl Berkley, for cloathing for the additional company to the south battalion of the Gloucestershire militia	174	9	7
6	25. To Sir James Lowther, for do. for the additional do. to the Westmoreland do.	176	11	3
6	May 21. To compleat a warrant of this date for 2,104l. 11s. 8d. for the cloathing of the North Riding of Yorkshire do.	1,170	4	6
6	To the Duke of Grafton, for cloathing the east battalion of the Suffolk militia	1,395	16	8
0	To Captain Worsley, for do. of the Isle of Wight company of militia	174	9	7
0	26. To Col. Chauvel, for do. for the additional company to the Westminster do. militia	182	0	10
0	To Lord Pager, for do. for the do. to the Staffordshire do.	224	17	11
4	To Col. Goate, for cloathing of the east battalion of the Suffolk do.	1,395	16	8
4	To the Duke of Chandos, for do. of the north battalion of the Hampshire do.	1,395	16	8
7	Aug. 18. To Col. James Lowther, for cloathing for the additional company of the Cumberland do.	182	0	10
1	To Lord Beauchamp for do. for the additional do. to the Warwickshire do.	179	10	5
		25. 10		

Dates, &c.

25. To Sir Simeon Stuart, for do. of the South battalion of the Hampshire do.	£. s. d.
To Col. Rebow, for do. for the do. to the east regiment of Essex, do.	174 9
To the Earl of Rochford, for do. for the do. to the west regiment of do.	174 9
To the Duke of Chandos, for do. for the additional company to the north battalion of the Hampshire	174 9
To the Duke of Beaufort, for do. for the do. to the Monmouthshire do.	174 9
To the Duke of Grafton, for do. for the do. to the west battalion of the Suffolk do.	224 17
Sept. 1. To Lord Algernon Percy, for do. for the do. to the Northumberland do.	179 10
8. To Col. Tuffnell, for do. for the do. to the east regiment of Middlesex do.	192 2
20. To Lord Beauchamp, for do. for the do. to the Warwickshire do.	179 10
Oct. 6. To the Earl of Orford, for do. for the do. to the west regiments of Norfolk militia	174 9
Nov. 11. To the Earl of Sussex, for do. for the do. to the Northamptonshire do.	184 11
To Col. Hodges, for do. for the do. to the Surrey do.	230 12
To the Earl of Upper Ossory, for do. for the do. to the Bedfordshire do.	182 0
To do. for do. for the do. to do.	189 12
To Col. George Cooke, for do. for the do. to the west regiment of Middlesex do.	189 12
To Lord Beauchamp, for do. for the do. to the Warwickshire do.	184 11
To Sir James Lowther, for do. for the do. to the Westmorland do.	182 0
To Col. Sawbridge, for do. for the do. to the east battalion of the Kent do.	197 3
Dec. 10. To the Earl of Sussex, for do. for the do. to the Northamptonshire do.	114 11
To Col. Maister, for do. for the do. to the East Riding of Yorkshire militia	174 9
To the Duke of Rutland, for do. for the do. to the Leicestershire do.	184 6
To Col. George Cooke, for do. for the do. to the west regiment of Middlesex do.	189 12
To Col. J. Middleton, for do. for the do. to the Denbighshire do.	70 5
Jan. 26, 1780. To the Earl of Rochford, for do. for the do. to the west battalion of the Essex do.	182 0

 10,970 3

1780.

D E B A T E S.

39

Dates, &c.

Jan. 21, 1779. To Col. Tuffnell, for the contingent disbursement of the east regiment of Middlesex militia, from Mar. 26, to June 24, 1778

£. s. d.

125 9 2

Mar. 15. To Messrs. Adair and Co. for do. for the Pembroke-shire do. from do. to do.

88 9 0

Aug. 5. To the Duke of Grafton, for do. for the west regiment of Suffolk militia, from do. to do.

58 0 8

Sept. 27. To Captain Herbert Jones, for do. of the Anglesey militia, from June 25, to Dec. 24, 1778

74 9 6

To Lord Newborough, for do. of the Carnarvonshire do. from do. to do.

66 7 0

To Col. Paul Orchard, for do. of the north battalion of the Devonshire militia, from do. to do.

173 14 9

Dec. 10. To the Earl of Derby, for do. of the Lancashire militia, from June 25, 1778, to June 24, 1779

219 0 7

To Lord Algernon Percy, for do. of the Northumberland do. from do. to do.

159 2 11

To Col. Skottow, for do. of the Buckinghamshire do. from do. to do.

188 1 0

Jan. 25, 1780. To Col. Chauvel, for do. of the Westminster do. from Dec. 25, 1778, to June 24, 1779

211 19 3

 1,364 13 10

Apr. 15, 1779. To General Burgoyne, to replace sundry accoutrements belonging to the 16th regiment of dragoons, delivered by order of the commander in chief to the quarter master general at New York

883 17 5¹/₂

July 29. To Major General Gray, to replace sundry do. belonging to the 28th regiment of foot, taken by the enemy in North America, in the campaign 1778

98 5 6

Aug. 5. To the Earl of Loudon, to replace sundry do. belonging to a detachment of the 3d regiment of foot guards, lost on service against the rebels during do. campaign

138 16 6

25. To Major General Vaughan, to replace sundry do. belonging to the 46th regiment of foot, taken by the enemy in North America

44 6 0

Sept. 20. To Lord John Murray, to replace sundry do. belonging to the 42d regiment of foot, lost on service against the rebels in North America in 1778

104 0 1

Oct. 14. To Earl Waldegrave, to replace sundry do. belonging to the Coldstream regiment of foot guards, lost on service against the rebels in North America in 1778

66 10 5

22. To General James Abercrombie, to replace sundry do. belonging to the 44th regiment of foot, lost on service against the rebels in North America in 1778

40 15 9

Nov. 11. To Major General Vaughan, to replace sundry

d.

- do. belonging to the 46th regiment of foot, burnt in a storehouse at New York, Aug. 3, 1778 -
- To Messrs. Cox and Mair, to replace fundry do. belonging to the 52d regiment of foot, lost on service against the rebels in North America in 1778 -
17. To Lieutenant General Sorell, to replace fundry do. belonging to three companies of the 48th regiment of foot, taken by the French at the capitulating of Dominica, Sept. 7, 1778 -
24. To Major General Faucit, to replace fundry accoutrements belonging to the 15th regiment of foot, taken by the enemy in North America, in 1778 -
- To Lieutenant General Maitland, to replace fundry do. belonging to the 49th regiment of foot, lost on service in North America, between Oct. 26, 1776, and Oct. 26, 1777. -
- To Lieutenant General Burgoyne, to replace fundry do. belonging to the 16th regiment of dragoons, which were delivered by the order of the commander in chief to the quarter master general at New York, for the use of the army there -
- Dec. 10. To Lieutenant General Preston, to replace forty-one horses, belonging to the officers of the 17th regiment of dragoons, lost or killed in America, from May 10, 1777, to Dec. 24, 1778 -
- To do. to replace 181 do. belonging to do. regiment, lost or killed in America, from the time of their embarkation to Dec. 24, 1778 -
23. To Major General Vaughan, to replace fundry accoutrements belonging to the 46th regiment of foot, lost on service in North America, in the year 1778 -
- May 31. To Sir Robert Pigot, in lieu of 49 days net off-reckonings of the additionals to the 38th regiment of foot
- To Major General Massey, in lieu of 45 do. do. of the additionals to the 27th do. -
- To Major General Grey, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the additionals to the 28th do. -
- To Lieutenant General Pomeroy, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the additionals to the 64th do. -
- To Lieutenant General Walth, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the additionals to 56th regiment of foot -
- To Lord Adam Gordon, in lieu of 110 do. do. of the additionals to the 26th do. -
- To Lieutenant General D. Jones, in lieu of 110 do. do. of the do. to the 2d. do. -
- To Lieutenant General Sorell, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 48th do. -

104 4

60 17

135 10

34 13

76 2 10

467 10

623 13

2,745 14

91 15

5,716 14

59 16 11

59 16 11

59 16 11

59 16 11

109 10 11

134 6 11

133 19 4

181 15 5

A. 1780.

D E B A T E S.

41

Dates, &c.

£. s. d.

To Earl Cornwallis, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 33d do.

59 16 11

To Major General Vaughan, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 46th do.

59 16 11

To Lieutenant General Trapaud, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 52d do.

59 16 11

To Sir Thomas Wilson, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 50th do.

59 13 6

To Major General Robertson, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 16th do.

59 16 11

To Lieutenant General Evelyn, in lieu of 110 do. do. of the do. to the 29th do.

134 6 11

To Lieutenant General Sherrard, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 69th do.

59 13 6

To Earl Percy, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 5th do.

59 16 11

To Lieutenant General Hodgson, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 4th do.

59 16 11

To Lord George Lennox, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 25th do.

59 13 6

To Sir James Adolphus Oughton, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 31st do.

59 16 11

To Lieutenant General Monckton, in lieu of 110 do. do. of the do. to the 17th do.

134 6 11

To Sir William Boothby, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 6th do.

59 16 11

To Lieutenant General Haviland, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 45th do.

59 16 11

To Sir William Howe, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 23d do.

59 16 11

To Lord Frederick Cavendish, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 34th do.

59 16 11

To Lieutenant General Cary, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 43d do.

59 16 11

To General Abercrombie, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 44th do.

59 16 11

To Major General Grant, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 55th do.

59 16 11

To Sir J. Irwin, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 57th ditto

59 16 11

To Lieutenant General Grant, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 63d do.

59 16 11

To Sir Henry Clinton, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 12th do.

109 10 11

To Lieutenant General Boyd, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 39th do.

109 10 11

To the Earl of Eglintoun, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 51st do.

109 10 11

VOL. XVII,

G

To

PARLIAMENTARY

A. 1780.

Dates, &c.

£. s. d.

To Major General Baugh, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 58th do.

109 10 11

To Major General Morris, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. of the 61st do.

109 10 11

To Major General Calcraft, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 65th do.

109 10 11

To Lieutenant General Sandford, in lieu of 110 do. do. of the do. to the 10th do.

134 6 11

To Sir John Sebright, in lieu of 100 do. do. of the do. to the 18th do.

133 19 4

To Lieutenant General Gage, in lieu of 110 do. do. of the do. to 22d do.

134 6 11

To Sir Robert Hamilton, in lieu of 110 do. do. of the do. to the 40th do.

134 6 11

To Lieutenant General Murray, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 13th do.

59 13 6

To Lieutenant General Campbell, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 35th do.

59 16 11

To Major General Faucitt, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 16th do.

59 16 11

To Lieutenant General Cunninghame, in lieu of 110 do. do. of the do. to the 14th do.

134 6 11

To Lord Amherst, in lieu of 243 do. do. of the do. to the 3d and 4th battalions of the 60th do.

1,086 11 0

To do. in lieu of 60 do. do. of the 1st and 2d battalion of do.

268 5 8

To Sir David Lindsay, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 50th regiment of foot

59 13 6

To Lieutenant General Frederick, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 54th do.

59 16 11

To Lieutenant General Maitland, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 49th do.

59 16 11

To Lieutenant General Elphinstone, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 53d do.

59 16 11

To the Duke of Argyll, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to 1st battalion of the 1st do.

59 13 6

To do. in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 2d battalion of do.

59 13 6

To Major General Prescott, in lieu of 110 do. do. of the do. of the 7th do.

134 6 11

To Major General Tryon, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. to the 20th do.

109 10 11

To Lieutenant General Armstrong, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the 8th do.

59 16 11

July 29. To Lord M^cLeod, in lieu of 49 do. do. of the do. of the 2d battalion of 73d do.

521 11 0

Oct. 1. To Colonel Wemyss, in lieu of 94 do. do. his regiment of fencible men

803 15 0

7,054 14 0

A. 1780.

D E B A T · E S.

Dates, &c.

£. s. d.

Jan. 29. To the Earl of Seaforth, for divers camp necessities provided for the 78th regiment of foot -

584 17

Feb. 22. To Earl Waldegrave, for do. provided for the 2d do. of foot guards -

364 5

To Major General Prescott, for do. provided for the 7th do. of foot -

118 16

To Lieutenant General Murray, for do. provided for the 13th do. -

238 8

To Lieutenant General Cunninghame, for do. provided for the 14th do. -

238 8

To Lieutenant General Burgoyne, for do. provided for the 16th do. of dragoons -

61 5

To Lieutenant General Campbell, for do. provided for the 35th do. of foot -

118 16

Mar. 4. To Lieutenant General Frederick, for do. provided for the 54th do. -

118 16

To Sir David Lindsay, for do. provided for the 59th do. -

238 8

To Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, for do. provided for the 74th do. -

309 7

To Lieutenant General Fraser, for do. provided for the 71st ditto -

401 13

To Colonel William Gordon, for do. provided for the 81st do. -

309 7

Apr. 15. To Lord Adam Gordon, for do. provided for the 26th do. -

251 8

To Earl Cornwallis, for do. provided for the 33d do. -

251 8

To Lieutenant General Pomeroy, for do. provided for the 64th do. -

251 8

May 28. To Sir Robert Pigott, for do. provided for the 38th do. -

259 12

To Lord John Murray, for do. provided for the 42d do. -

345 6

To Sir James Augustus Oughton, for do. provided for the 31st do. -

284 8

To John Trotter, Esq. for providing extra do. for the use of the forces in North America -

712 14

June 2. To Lieutenant General Gage, for divers do. provided for the 22d regiment of foot -

259 12

To Sir William Howe, for do. provided for the 23d do. -

259 12

To Lieutenant General Cary, for do. provided for the 43d do. -

259 12

To General Abercrombie, for do. provided for the 44th do. -

259 12

To Sir J. Irwin, for do. provided for the 57th do. -

259 12

To Colonel M'Lean, for do. provided for the 82d do. -

312 4

To the Duke of Argyll, for do. provided for the 1st battalion of the 1st do. -

234 13

To do. for do. provided for the 2d battalion of do. -

234 13

18. To Lieutenant General Fitzroy, for do. provided for the 3d regiment of dragoons -

543 15

To Lieutenant General Armstrong, for do. provided for the 8th do. of foot -

228 8

Dates, &c.

£. s. d.

24. To Lord Frederick Cavendish, for do. provided for the 34th do.

259 12 6

July 1. To Lieutenant General Maitland, for do. provided for the 49th do.

118 16 0

21. To Major General Manners, for do. provided for the 19th reg. dragoons

721 8 6

To Lieutenant General Evelyn, for do. provided for the 20th reg. foot

284 7 0

To Lieutenaut General Grant, for do. provided for the 63d do.

263 7 6

To Lieutenant General Jones, for do. provided for the 2d do.

198 13 0

To Major General Philipson, for do. provided for the 20th do. of dragoons

712 7 6

29. To the Duke of Gloucester, for do. provided for the 1st do. of foot guards

506 9 0

30. To Sir T. S. Wilson, for do. provided for the 50th do. of foot

145 11 0

Aug. 13. To Sir T. Sebright, for do. provided for the 18th do.

181 5 0

To Sir William Boothby, for do. provided for the 6th do.

181 5 0

To Major General Calcraft, for do. provided for the 65th do.

181 5 0

18. To the Duke of Gloucester, for do. provided for the detachment of the foot guards

304 9 9

25. To Lieutenant General Elliot, for the 15th regiment of dragoons

64 16 9

30. To Lieutenant General Sherrard, for do. provided for the 69th do. of foot

190 4 0

Sept. 20. To Lieutenant General Townshend, for do. provided for the 2d do. of dragoon guards

300 16 0

27. To the Earl of Pembroke, for do. provided for the 1st do. of dragoons

572 4 9

30. To Major General Douglass, for do. provided for the 21st do.

615 3 6

To Lord M'Leod, for do. provided for the 2d battalion of the 73d do. of foot

303 0 6

To Lord Robert Manners, for do. provided for the 3d regiment of dragoon guards

505 16 0

To Lieutent General Trapaud, for do. provided for the 52d regiment of foot

416 9 0

To Major General Tryon, for do. provided for the 70th do.

285 1 0

Nov. 29. To General Conway, for do. provided for the royal regiment of horse guards

579 18 6

To Sir George Howard, for do. provided for the 1st regiment of dragoon guards.

438 8 6

To Lieutenant General Johnston, for do. provided for the 11th do. of dragoons

486 17 3

Dec. 1. To Lieutenant General Monckton, for do. provided for the 17th do. of foot

210 3 0

To

D E B A T E S.		45
A. 1780.		
Dates, &c.		£. s. d.
To Lieutenant General Haviland, for do. provided for the		
45th regiment	416	9 0
1780.		
Jan. 6. To Lieutenant Colonel Commandant L. F. Cary,		
for divers camp necessaries provided for the 89th regiment		
of foot	376	5 0
	18,130	17 11
1779.		
Jan. 25. To Sir Simeon Stuart, for one bas horse for an ad-		
ditional company to the south battalion of the Hampshire		
militia, ordered to take the field	10	0 0
Feb. 1. To Lord Viscount Mountstuart, for one do. of an		
additional company to the Glamorganshire do. ordered to		
take the field	10	0 0
June 9. To Colonel the Earl of Panmure, James Johnston,		
Russel Manners, Richard Burton Philipson, and John		
Douglass, for bas horses for their regiments, ordered to		
encamp	350	0 0
July 29. To the colonels of sundry regiments of militia, for		
do. for their respective regiments, ordered to take the field	1,040	0 0
Aug. 13. To Lord M'Leod, for do. for the 2d battalion of		
the 73d regiment of foot, ordered to take the field	110	0 0
Sept. 8. To colonels of sundry regiments of militia, for bas		
horses for their respective regiments, ordered to take the		
field	810	0 0
To the colonels of the 45th and 52d regiments, for bas and		
blanket horses for their regiments, ordered to take the field	420	0 0
Nov. 26. To the colonels of the 2d and 15th regiments of		
dragoons, for additional bas horses for their regiments, or-		
dered to take the field	120	0 0
Dec. 10. To Lieutenant Col. Commandant Cary, for bas		
horses for the 89th regiment of foot, ordered to serve in the		
West Indies	110	0 0
To Colonel T. Keating, for do. for the 88th regiment of		
foot, ordered to serve in Jamaica	110	0 0
To the colonels of sundry regiments of militia, for do. for		
their respective regiments, ordered to take the field	140	0 0
1780.		
Jan. 14. To the colonels of the 86th, 87th, 90th, and 91st		
regiments of foot, for do. for their respective regiments,		
ordered to serve abroad	440	0 0
To Lord M'Leod, for do. for the 2d battalion of the		
73d regiment of foot, ordered to serve abroad	110	0 0
	3,780	0 0
		179.

Dates, &c.

- Jan. 25. To Sir Simeon Stuart, for baggage horses for an additional company to the south battalion of the Hampshire militia, ordered to take the field -
- Feb. 1. To Lord Mountstuart, for do. for an additional company to the Glamorganshire do. ordered to take the field -
- June 9. To the Earl of Panmure, James Johnston, Russell Manners, Richard Burton Philipson, and John Douglass, for baggage horses for their regiments, ordered to encamp -
- July 29. To the Colonels of sundry regiments of militia, for do. for their respective regiments, ordered to take the field -
- Aug. 13. To Lord M'Leod, for do. for the 2d battalion of the 73d regiment of foot, ordered to take the field -
- Sep. 8. To the Colonels of the 45th and 52d regiments of foot, for do. for their regiments, ordered to take the field -
- Dec. 10. To Lieutenant Colonel Commandant Cary, for do. for the 89th do. do. ordered to serve in the West Indies -
- To Colonel T. Keating, for do. for the 88th do. do. ordered to serve in Jamaica -
- To the Colonels of sundry regiments of militia, for do. for the additional companies to their respective regiments, ordered to take the field -
- Jan. 14, 1780. To the Colonels of the 86th, 87th, 90th, and 91st regiments of foot, for do. for their respective regiments ordered to serve abroad -
26. To Lord M'Leod, for do. for for the 2d battalion of the 73d regiment of foot, ordered to serve abroad -
- Jan. 25, 1779. To Sir Simeon Stuart, for 100 do. forage for an additional company to the south battalion of the Hampshire militia, ordered to take the field -
- Feb. 1. To Lord Viscount Mountstuart, for 100 do. do. for the do. to the Glamorganshire do. ordered to take the field -
17. To the general and staff officers, for 169 days forage, from May 28, to Nov. 12, 1778 -
- May 5. To Lieutenant General Sir Guy Carleton, in lieu of forage, from 1st October 1774, to 12th September 1778 -
- June 30. To the Colonels of nine regiments of militia, for 100 days do. for their respective regiments, ordered to take the field -
- To the Colonels of eighteen regiments of do. for 100 days, for their respective regiments, ordered to take the field -
- June 30. To the colonels of 10 regiments of militia, for 100 days forage for their respective regiments, ordered to take the field -
- July 8. To the colonels of 7 regiments of do. for 100 do. do. for their respective regiments, ordered to take the field -

A.	L.	s.
	15	0
	15	0
	300	0
	1,608	15
	260	0
	357	10
	177	10
	178	15
	210	0
	713	15
	260	0
	4,096	5
	17	10
	17	10
	1161	17
	2908	0
	1,887	10
	3,025	0
	1,630	0
	1,357	10

1780.

D E B A T E S.

47

		£.	s.	d.
es, &c.				
To the colonels of 10 regiments of foot, for 100 do. for their respective regiments, ordered to take the field		2,405	0	0
200 do. forage to the general and staff officers, and officers of the hospitals in Great Britain		4,800	0	0
g. 13. To Lord Mac Leod, for 100 do. do. for the 2d battalion of the 72d regiment of foot, ordered to take the field		250	0	0
To the colonels of the three regiments of foot guards, for forage to their regiments, ordered to be in readiness to take the field		4,945	18	0
the colonels of 8 regiments of militia, for 100 do. do. for their respective regiments, ordered to take the field		1,590	0	0
the colonels of the 25th and 79th regiments of foot, for 100 days forage for their regiments ordered to be in readiness to take the field		467	10	0
pt. 8. To the colonels of the 44th and 52d regiments of foot, for 100 do. do. for their regiments, ordered to take the field		440	0	0
ov. 17. For 200 do. forage to Sir Wm. Draper and Maj. Gen. Wm. Style		330	0	0
To the colonels of the 2d and 15th regiments of dragoons, for 100 do. do. for their regiments ordered to take the field		1,090	0	0
ec. 10. To Lieut. Col. commandant Cary, for 100 do. do. for the 89th regiment of foot, ordered to serve in the West Indies		220	0	0
to the colonels of the west battalion of the Suffolk and Warwickshire militia, for 100 do. do. for their additional companies ordered to take the field		52	10	0
ec. 10. To Col. T. Keating, for 100 days forage for the 88th regiment of foot, ordered to serve in Jamaica		220	0	0
80. Jan. 14. To the colonels of the 86th, 87th, 90th, and 91st regiments of foot, for 100 do. do. for their respective regiments ordered to serve abroad		880	0	0
To Lord Mac Leod, for 100 do. do. of the 2d battalion of the 73d regiment of foot, ordered to serve abroad		250	0	0
		29,945	15	6
Oct. 29, 1779. To Lord George Murray, for the contingent disbursements of the 13th regiment of foot, from Dec. 25, 1773. to Dec. 24, 1774		40	13	0
To do. for do. of do. regiment, from 25 Dec. 1774 to 24 Dec. 1775		60	14	0
To the Duke of Argyll, for do. of the 1st battalion of the 1st regiment of foot, from 25 June to 24 Dec. 1776		108	4	0
To Messrs. Gray and Ogilvie, for the contingencies of the Royal Highland Emigrants, previous to their establishment, from 13 June, 1775, to 24 Dec. 1778		346	15	0
80. Jan. 6. To Messrs. Ross and Gray, for the contingent disbursements				

Dares, &c.

disbursements of the 3d regiment of foot, from 25 Dec. 1744 to 7 May, 1775

14. To Lieut. Gen. Taylor, for do. of the 24th regiment of foot, from 8 April, 1776, to 24 Dec. following

£. s. d.

50 16 6

144 13 6

751 16 0

Sept. 20, 1770. For the marches, &c. of the 65th do. do. from Dec. 25, 1775, to Dec. 24, 1776

479 18 12

Oct. 22. For the do. of the 13th do. do. from do. to do

294 9 3

29. For the do. of do. do. from Dec. 25, 1776, to Dec. 24, 1777

178 11 0

Jan. 1. For the do. of the 19th do. do. from June 25, 1773 to December following

86 16 0

For the do. of do. do. from Dec. 25, 1773, to Dec. 24, 1774

196 4 7

For the do. of the 19th do. do. from Dec. 25, 1774, to Apr. 7, 1775

80 15 8

6. For the do. of the 3d do. do. from June 25, 1773, to Dec. 24, following.

99 0 4

For do. of do. do. from Dec. 25, 1773, to Dec. 24, 1774

181 10 6

1,597 6 7

July 15, 1779. To Robert Adair, Esq. to enable him to pay the monthly hospital allowance to the forces encamped

1,200 0 0

Nov. 24. To do. to enable him to satisfy such bills as are or may be drawn upon him for the pay of extra surgeons and surgeons mates in the Ceded Islands, &c.

1,500 0 0

Jan. 26, 1780. To do. to enable him to satisfy such bills as are or may be drawn upon him for the pay of do. in do.

2,000 0 0

4,700 0 0

Aug. 13, 1779. To Colonel Samuel Townshend, on account, to enable him to pay such bills as are or may be drawn upon him for the payment of sundry officers employed on the recruiting service

2,000 0 0

Jan 25, To Major General Morrison, for his contingent expences as Quarter Master General, from June 25, to Dec. 24, 1778

275 10 0

29. To Andrew Clinton, Esq. for providing and repairing utensils at Plymouth dock, and for his salary, from Dec. 25, 1777, to Dec. 24, 1778

318 15 9

To E. B. De la Fontain, Esq. for providing divers utensils for the use of the infirmary and barracks in the Savoy, during the year 1778

126 14 2

Feb. 4. To Lieutenant General Pierfon, to reimburse him the contingent expences of the army encamped at Warley Common under his command, from June 15, to Nov. 10, 1778

101 15 1

12. T

A. 1780.

D E B A T E S.

49

Dates, &c.

£. s. d.

Feb. 12. To Colonel Samuel Townshend, for his contingent expences as superintendant of the recruiting service, from June 25, to Dec. 24, 1778 -

398 8 6

To do. to reimburse the expence of freight, demurrage, &c. for transporting 500 men of the additional companies of sundry regiments of foot from Corke to Bristol -

1,127 4 0

Feb. 12. To Major General Morrison, for his contingent expences of the assistant to the Quarter Master General in marking out grounds, &c. for encampments, and an extra assistant, from June 1, to Dec. 24, 1778 -

200 19 1

To do. for the hire of ground for the encampment of the forces, in the year 1778 -

302 3 10½

Mar. 4. To the Duke of Manchester, for the pay of additional volunteers to the Huntingdonshire militia, between Mar. 26, 1778, and June 24, following -

136 12 0

To Lieutenant General Murray, for his contingent expences in the government of Minorca, between June 24, 1777, and June 25, 1778 -

527 18 9

5. To Thomas Harley, Esq. for the blankets, watch coats, &c. provided by him for the use of the forces at home -

1,548 3 6

26. To Edward Morse, Esq. for the rent of a house, as Chief Justice of Senegambia, for one year, to Feb. 7, 1779 -

60 0 0

19. To Leonard Morse, Esq. for contingencies as secretary to Lord Amherst, from Mar. 19, 1778, to Dec. 25, following -

395 0 0

Apr. 12. To Messrs. Eyre and Strahan, for printing, paper, folding and covering acts of parliament, rules, orders, &c. for the use of the army, in the year 1779 -

1,293 1 11

15. To Robert Adair, Esq. for his contingent expences as inspector general of regiment infirmaries, from Dec. 25, 1777, to Dec. 24, 1778 -

2,499 9 0

30. To John Gore, Esq. for divers necessaries furnished by him for the use of the foot guards in the Tower of London, for 6 months, from Michaelmas 1778, to Lady Day 1779 -

616 13 2

To the Colonels of four regiments of light dragoons, for levy money -

1,686 0 0

To the Colonels of four regiments of light dragoons, for horse furniture and accoutrements for their respective regiments -

350 5 0

May 12. To Captain Peer Williams, for the passage of Major General Gray, and his suite, from North America to Great Britain -

150 0 0

20. To William Rice, Esq. surveyor of the horse guards, to be by him paid over to several artificers, for work done in repairing the foot guard rooms, orderly rooms, &c. &c. to Dec. 25, 1776 -

5,042 1 8

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H

28. To

28. To John Trotter, Esq. for providing hospital bedding for the use of the sick in the infirmary at Chelsea, and of the prisoners in the Savoy barracks -	171	18	3
To William Best, Esq. for the contingent disbursements of three battalions of Hanoverians at Gibraltar, from Dec. 25, 1777, to Dec. 24. 1778, and of two do. at Minorca, from do. to do. -	762	4	2
June 3. To George Garnier, Esq. apothecary general, for medicines furnished for the forces in the West Indies, Africa, and North America, in the year 1778 -	9,321	4	10
11. To Thomas Harley, Esq. for the blankets provided for the service of the forces in England -	1,695	7	11
23. To Francis Macnamara, Esq. in reimbursement of money advanced by him for the pay of the crew of the Lord Dartmouth armed ship, in Senegambia -	221	13	0½
30. To Col. William Roy, for his contingent disbursements as deputy quarter master general and commissary general, from Dec. 25, 1777, to June 24, 1778 -	235	15	9
To Captain Archibald Dickson, for the passage of Earl Cornwallis and his suite from Great Britain to North America, and for do. of Major General Massey and his suite from North America to Great Britain -	300	0	0
To Major General Morrison, for postage of letters, travelling charges, stationary ware, and other contingencies, as quarter master general, to June 25, 1779 -	229	9	0
July 1. To Henry Penton, Esq. for hire of ground for encampments, and damage done to the hedges, &c. near Winchester -	493	17	8
To Major general Morrison, to be by him paid over to several persons, for damage done to sundry grounds hired for encampments last year -	111	6	0
To John Newton, Esq. for Damage done to his ground, corn, &c. by the encampments near Winchester, in the year 1778 -	123	7	3
30. To Lieutenant General Monckton, to be by him paid over to several persons, for damage done by the encampments at Portsmouth in 1778 -	122	0	0
Aug. 5. To William Bishopp, Esq. for the value of a long boat and two slaves lost on the bar of Senegal -	80	0	0
18. To the Colonels of eleven regiments of militia, for knapsacks and haversacks for their respective regiments -	1,165	2	10
To Lieutenant General Monckton, to be by him paid over to several persons, for damage done by the encampments at Portsmouth -	74	9	0
25. To Margaret Henrietta Fraser, being his Majesty's bounty, in consideration of the loss of her husband -	310	5	0
To Lieutenant General James Murray, to make good deficiencies in the contingencies of the government of Minorca, between June 24, 1778, and June 25, 1779 -	538	15	8½

Sept.

A. 1780.

D E B A T E S.

51

Sept. 8. To Col. Samuel Townsend, for his contingent expences in superintending the recruiting service, from Dec. 25, 1777, to June 24, 1778	408	19	6
14. To Thomas Farrer, Esq. for a cargo of flour sent to Minorca, for the use of the garrison there	2,028	17	0
To Daniel M'Phall, for the pay of the crew of the Brigantine Botetout, impressed to bring dispatches from the West Indies	335	4	4
To Major General Gabbet, the difference between British and Irish pay of the 66th regiment of foot, from Aug. 4, 1775, to Sept. 15, following	88	4	7
27. To Messrs. Cox and Mair, for the losses sustained by the officers of ten regiments of foot, by the Symetry brig being taken by the rebels in Dec. 1777	466	14	9
Oct. 6. To John Trotter, Esq. for hospital bedding for the forces encamped in Great Britain, in the year 1779	214	15	0
To John Gore, Esq. for necessaries furnished for the foot guards, in the Tower, for one year, from Michaelmas 1778, to Michaelmas 1779	81	18	0
To do. for do. furnished for 6 months, from Lady Day 1779, to Michaelmas following	335	5	10½
14. To Earl Waldegrave, for cloathing the drummers and hautbois of the Coldstream regiment of foot guards, from Mar. 25, 1779, to Mar. 25, 1780	344	9	0
To the Earl of Loudoun, for do. for the drummers and hautbois of the 3d regiment of foot guards, from do. to do.	344	9	0
22. To the Duke of Gloucester, for do. for the drummers and hautbois of the 1st regiment of foot guards, from do. to do.	344	9	0
To Vincent Mathias, Esq. for disbursements on account of 20 invalids sent from the Brunswick troops	88	8	5
23. To Lieutenant Thomas Browne, for the expence attending the cure of the wounds he received in the action on Long Island, Aug. 27, 1776	33	1	0
29. To the Duke of Gloucester, for providing sloop cloathing for the 1st regiment of foot guards, for the year 1778	567	14	0
Nov. 8. To Thomas Farrer, Esq. for a cargo of Wheat sent to Minorca, for the service of the garrison there	3,087	18	6
11. To John Trotter, Esq. for providing hospital bidding for the forces encamped at Coxheath and Portsmouth, for the year 1779	406	8	6
To the Earl of Loudoun, for providing sloop cloathing for the augmentation of the 3d regiment of foot guards, for the year 1778	360	11	8
17. To Ann Reynell, being his Majesty's bounty for herself and four children, in consideration of the loss of her husband	198	14	6
To Lord M'Leod, for levy money for four additional companies of the 73d regiment of foot	1,296	0	0
H 2	24.	To	

24. To Alice Lucas, being his Majesty's bounty, in consideration of the loss of her husband	85	3	4
26. To Major Thomas Lister, for horse furniture and accoutrements for his corps of light dragoons	1,103	5	9
Dec. 10. To John Trotter, Esq. for providing hospital bedding for the use of the forces encamped, in the year 1779	138	7	10
15. To Lieutenant General Preston, to make good the deficiency of pay to the serjeants, corporals, trumpeters, and private men, of the dismounted dragoons of the 17th regiment, from Dec. 25, 1775, to Dec. 24, 1777	1,183	11	11
To Captain William Dixon, for expences that may be incurred on account of the passage of Major General Vaughan from Great Britain to the Leeward Islands	150	0	0
18. To Thomas Harley, Esq. for blankets supplied for the use of the troops in camp	977	19	6
23. To Mure, Son, and Atkinson, for vinegar sent to St. Lucie, for the service of the forces there	960	10	6
Jan. 6, 1780. To E. B. De la Fontaine, Esq. for providing divers utensils for the use of the infirmary and barracks of the Savoy, for the year 1779	119	18	10
To Major General George Morrison, for his contingent expences as quarter master general, from June 25, 1779, to Dec. 24, following	255	10	9
19. To Leonard Morse, Esq. for his contingent disbursements, as secretary to Lord Amherst, from Christmas 1778, to Christmas 1779	527	6	4
To Major General George Morrison, for the hire of ground for the encampments, and for damage done thereon, in the year 1779	271	10	6
25. To Daniel M'Phall, for wages due to himself and the crew of the brigantine Rotteoute, for one quarter of a year, ended 1st of November 1779	335	4	4
26. To Andrew Clinton, Esq. for his expences in providing and repairing utensils, for the use of the barracks at Plymouth Dock, from Dec. 25, 1778, to Dec. 24, 1779	406	17	3
Total	£.2,418,805	18	11½

War Office, Feb. 29, 1780.

C. JENKINSON,

An Account of the Distribution of the Sum of 1,000,000*l.* granted to his Majesty to defray any extraordinary Expences incurred, or to be incurred, on account of military Services for the Year 1779.

Dates of Warrants.

£. s. d.

Aug. 3. To Henry Theophilus Clements, Esq. deputy vice treasurer of Ireland, to be by him from time to time applied for defraying the charges and expences of encampments, and other military services in Ireland	50,000	0	0
Feb. 3. To Thomas Harley and Henry Drummond, Esqrs. to be by them applied and invested in the purchasing Spanish and Portugal coins, for the use and service of His Majesty's forces in North America	74,834	4	4
To ditto for ditto service	11,977	15	7
Mar. 12. To ditto for ditto service	49,050	9	2
2. To ditto for ditto service	200,000	0	0
Apr. 9. To ditto for ditto service	30,000	0	0
To ditto for ditto service	20,000	0	0
8. To ditto for ditto service	31,489	7	3
To ditto for ditto service	62,778	19	8
To ditto for ditto service	4,200	0	0
June 17. To ditto for ditto service	82,115	16	11
3. To ditto for ditto service	27,264	15	3
July 8. To ditto for ditto service	43,383	9	3
5. To ditto for ditto service	76,002	12	6
8. To ditto for ditto service	20,000	0	0
Aug. 4. To ditto for ditto service	93,550	2	11
10. To ditto for ditto service	43,483	18	3
5. To ditto for ditto service	35,748	13	10
Oct. 15. To do, for do. service, in part of 352,705 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> 7 <i>d.</i>	44,119	15	0
	1,000,000	0	0

War-Office, Feb, 29, 1779.

C. JENKINSON,

January 24, 1780.

Level Stanhope, Esq. said, the House had, previous to the Mr. Stanhope's holidays, been moved on the subject of a contempt incurred by his Grace the Duke of Chandos, who had been complained of as having interfered in the election for member for Hampshire, by sending a letter in his own hand-writing, and signed with his name, attempting to influence the vote of an elector. The interference of Peers of Parliament in elections was, he observed, a matter highly censurable, and directly in violation of the rights and privileges of the Commons.

mons of England, he was sorry therefore to say, that upon enquiry he had found that the Duke of Chandos was not the only Peer of Parliament against whom there was ground of suspicion of having interfered in the election for Hampshire; he had in his hand many letters written by different Peers; for the present, however, he would produce but one of them, and that he should move might be referred to the Committee of Privileges. If his motion was acceded to, which he presumed it would be, as it was exactly similar in its foundation to that which had been agreed to relative to the Duke of Chandos, he meant to follow it with another motion, that it be an instruction to the Committee to report upon this letter at the same time that they reported on the letter of the Duke of Chandos. Mr. Stanhope then took out of a bundle of manuscripts a letter from his Grace the Duke of Bolton to an elector of Hampshire, and read the contents, the sum of which was an earnest request made by his Grace, that the person addressed would not only vote himself for Mr. Jervoise, but use his interest to procure him as many votes as possible.

The motion was put and carried *nem. con.*

Mr. Stanhope then proposed his other motion, upon which Mr. Wilkes. Mr. Wilkes said, he was far from being sensible that the motion then before the House was proper to be put at all, much less did it strike him that it ought to be agreed to. The complaint of a breach of privilege against the Duke of Chandos was not, as the honourable gentleman had stated, a matter similar in its foundation to the present complaint; it was exceedingly distinct and different; he had moved against the Duke of Chandos, for having interfered in the election for Hampshire, not merely as a Peer of Parliament, but as a Peer of Parliament and as Lord Lieutenant of the county; for having used the influence and powers of the Crown, in violation of the freedom of election, and in breach of the privileges of the Commons of England; a matter infinitely more offensive and alarming than the interference of a private Peer of Parliament. His complaint had been referred to the Committee of Privileges some time since, and he saw no reason why another cause of complaint, relative to the same election, lately discovered, should stop the progress of the deliberations of the Committee, or delay their report upon what was already before them. The two complaints were perfectly clear of each other, and, as far as his experience in parliamentary business enabled him to judge, he conceived

conceived it to be the regular method of procedure to decide upon one matter before another was taken into consideration; indeed if that rule did not hold in the present case, it was impossible to say when the Committee might be expected to make their report on the complaint which he had moved against the Duke of Chandos, because a variety of other complaints might be made from time to time, as the causes of them should be discovered, and by that means the report would be delayed most unreasonably.

Mr. Stanhope declared he was not in the least inclined to alter his opinion, in consequence of what the honourable gentleman had said, but that he would still stand by his motion. That in answer to the argument of the delay, which agreeing to his motion would occasion, in regard to the time of the Committee's making their report, he did assure the House it was altogether ill-founded; the whole trouble of establishing the necessary proof relative to the complaint which the House had just referred to the Committee of Privileges, laid solely in producing evidence of the letter which he had read, being the hand-writing of the Duke of Bolton; a matter which he was prepared for, and which would not cost the Committee two minutes time. He therefore hoped, the complaint he had made, and the complaint made by the honourable gentleman some time since, had reference to the same election, that the House would agree to give instructions to the Committee, that they make their report on both at the same time.

Mr. Dunning said, that from what the honourable gentleman who made the motion had urged then, and from what he had urged before, he could not collect any thing amounting to a plausible reason even, why the Committee should delay their report upon the complaint already before them, all they had investigated that which had been now referred to them. The two complaints were certainly distinct, and had no connection with each other. The honourable gentleman had said, that all the proof necessary he could produce in two minutes. Possibly all the proof that appeared necessary to the honourable gentleman at present might be produced in two minutes, but how could the honourable gentleman foresee what might or might not appear to the Committee to be proper evidence to be laid before them? The circumstances that resulted from the enquiry would be the direction to them what was necessary, and not any opinion previously formed by the honourable gentleman; he hoped therefore

therefore that a motion objected to upon such strong grounds as had been stated, and which was in itself so contrary to parliamentary form, would be withdrawn.

Mr. Stan-
hope.

Mr. Stanhope still expressing an unwillingness to withdraw his motion,

Sir George
Young.

Sir George Young rose, and said he was astonished to see the honourable gentleman persist in a matter so clearly irregular and improper. He contended, that if the present motion was carried, it would amount to a prohibition on the Committee respecting the complaint, which had been formerly made against the Duke of Chandos, for that in fact it would be telling the Committee that they must not proceed to report on that complaint, though it was before them first, till they had investigated another complaint newly referred to them.

Mr. Wilkes.

Mr. Wilkes added fresh arguments against the motion, and declared he would oppose it, and vote against it. Several other gentlemen avowing the same intention, Mr. Stanhope at length gave up the point.

Lord North.

Lord North, according to order of the committee of the whole House, brought up "a bill to allow the trade between Ireland and the British Colonies and plantations in America and the West Indies, and the British settlements on the coast of Africa, to be carried on in like manner as it now is carried on between Great Britain and the said Colonies and Settlements." His Lordship moved that this bill be read a first time.

Lord George
Gordon.

Lord George Gordon, insisted on the noble Lord's first giving the House a clear account of the reception of the propositions, which his Lordship had made respecting Ireland, and of the two acts already passed in favour of that country, by the parliament and people of Ireland, declaring that it was now time for the House to act like men, and to give a decisive opinion respecting Ireland, a matter in which they must necessarily be directed by a just report of the feelings of the Irish upon what had already been for them by the British legislature, and upon the proposition, as a fulfilment of which, the present bill was brought in. The noble Lord, he said, owed this information to the House as a matter of duty, and he ought to give it them before any further step relative to Ireland was taken.

The Speaker

The Speaker told Lord George, that the motion before the House, was, "That the bill (then in his hand) be now read a first time." That therefore all his Lordship had said, was irregular, and had no reference to the motion. If the noble

ord meant to oppose the first reading, that was the time to
make his objections; but the questions he had asked, did not
to that point.

Lord *George Gordon* in reply said; he wished to save time, Lord *George Gordon*.
and therefore he insisted upon hearing from the noble Lord
the blue ribbon; in what manner his propositions and his
as had been received in Ireland; that if the noble Lord
refused to state to the House the real truth relative to their
reception, he was in possession of the whole matter, and he
would lay it before them, and then he should expect ministers
to reply; if they could say any thing in reply; which he
knew they could not, as he had the best information, and
would, in a good argument of an hour's length, every part
of which would be found to be unanswerable, prove, that
Ireland was not contented; that notwithstanding what Lord
Thames, whom he then saw, or Lord Bellamont had said
to the House of Peers in Dublin, and notwithstanding the
decision of both Houses of the Irish Parliament, the armed
associations would have more, and that they did not expect
as a matter of favour, but demanded it as a matter of
right.

Lord *Beauchamp* said, if the noble Lord seriously wished Lord *Beauchamp*.
to know the sentiments of Ireland respecting the Bills already
passed, the best way would be for the noble Lord to move
for the addresses of both Houses of the Irish Parliament to
be brought in.

The *Speaker* begged his Lordship to confine himself to the The *Speaker*.
question, and having observed, that the proper time for ge-
neral argument on the Bill would be at the second reading,
beginning to read the motion, when

Mr. *James Luttrell* rose, and said he did not mean to Mr. *James Luttrell*.
oppose the Bill, much less did he mean to check the liberality
of the Parliament towards Ireland; but before he gave his con-
sent to the first reading of the Bill, he insisted upon know-
ing on what day the noble Lord meant to move that it
should be read a second time. The subject was certainly
very important, and the Bill ought to pass its several stages
separately and in a full House. If the noble Lord meant
to precipitate the Bill, he should consider it as a piece of
craft, a mere juggle, and a deception. If he really
intended to give Ireland an essential favour, it certainly
should come with a better grace, as the act of a full House,
as a matter duly considered; it would also be much
more decent to England, if the favour was liable to the
scrutiny of the House.

construction of giving to Ireland what would affect the commercial interests of this kingdom. He hoped therefore that the House might not be taken by surprize, but that the noble Lord would name a day for the second reading, when it was likely that the House would be full.

Lord North. Lord North said, he did not conceive that it was at parliamentary for gentlemen to call upon him to know, what day he meant to move for the second reading of a Bill which had not been read a first time; and to declare, that they would oppose the first reading, unless he first answered that question. Every gentleman would have it in his power to object to the day moved for the second reading, when the motion should be made; he was not however, under the least difficulty, with regard to answering the honourable gentleman's question, though he could not altogether approve the mode in which it had been put. The present Bill certainly was not so circumstanced, in point of necessity, or dispatch, as the two bills had been which had passed before the holidays; he hoped nevertheless that it would not be unnecessarily delayed, and therefore if the present motion was carried, his intention was, to move that it be read a second time on Thursday. The honourable gentleman who spoke last had talked of state-craft, there could be neither state-craft, nor any juggle in the present business. The Bill had been brought in, in conformity to a resolution of a Committee of the whole House, the House therefore were perfectly aware of the principle of the Bill, and its nature in every respect. Some gentlemen, his Lordship observed, had wished to know in what manner the two former Bills, and the three propositions had been received by Parliament and people of Ireland, he was not prepared to give the House any official information on that head, but the world knew that the propositions and the bills had been received by the Irish Parliament with satisfaction and with gratitude; that the language of both Lords and Commons had been the language of friendship and of affection to this country, and of respect and esteem for the British Parliament. It was every reason to hope, therefore, that the connection between the two kingdoms would be more intimate and than ever, and that both would reap the benefit of it.

Sir Thomas Egerton. Sir Thomas Egerton said, it might be remembered, from former sessions, when questions of commerce respecting Ireland had been in agitation, the several manufactures of this kingdom had applied to Parliament, and

ir situation, as an objection to the matters then under discussion, pleading that in reliance on the good faith of Parliament they had put themselves into that situation, and therefore it would be unjust to grant to Ireland what must materially affect their interest. The case now, he observed, was much altered; it was no longer a question of commerce, but a question of great national importance; for which reason several places in the kingdom likely to be affected by what already been done, and by what more remained to be done for Ireland, had thought it more decent and dutiful to remain silent, and to trust altogether to the wisdom and justice of Parliament. He hoped therefore that a bad use would not be made of their forbearance, and that all consideration of their interest would not be abandoned, but that the present Bill would be deliberately discussed, and that there might be no cause of complaint from any party hereafter.

Lord George Gordon replied to what Sir Thomas had said, Lord George Gordon. having taken down part of his words. He also read a resolution of the Newry Association, respecting the conduct of the British Parliament, by which it appeared that they were yet fully satisfied. In the course of his speech, which was extremely long and very diffuse, his Lordship talked of a rebellion in Ireland, and repeatedly called on Lord Irnham to speak to what had passed in the House of Peers in Dub-

Lord Irnham rose in consequence, and said, that after he had been so pointedly called upon, he could not refrain from saying a word or two in reply; but that those who knew him would hardly think he was so little acquainted with parliamentary business as to go into the matter at large, as the Lord who did him the honour so repeatedly to mention his conduct in Ireland (where he had been to do his duty as Governor of that kingdom) had done. When the propositions were received in Ireland, he said that they gave, both to the Government and the people, very great satisfaction; that they were perfectly pleased with the two acts already passed, as they went, and that the Parliament, for he had been in the House of Commons as well as the House of Peers, breathed a spirit of loyalty to the King, of gratitude to the Government, and of esteem for the British legislature. He depended upon his honour that they were unanimous in expressing both the one and the other, and that what the noble Lord had said relative to a rebellion in Ireland, had surprised and exceeded, because when he was there, and he had

not long left that kingdom, there was not the smallest appearance of discontent; on the contrary, all was cordiality and friendship towards England.

At length the question was put and carried, and the Bill was read a first time.

Lord North. *Lord North* then moved that it be read a second time on the 27th (Thursday.)

Mr. Luttrell. *Mr. Luttrell* objected, and particularly rested on the necessity of the noble Lord's ascertaining the condition of the trade he meant to give to Ireland; observing, that it was highly necessary to be defined, because the noble Lord had laboured a great deal in the course of his speech, in opening the propositions to the Committee, previous to the recess, to prove, that though he meant to give Ireland a right to import sugars, that they could not possibly derive any benefit from that right of importation; but would get them cheaper by taking them from England, than immediately from the West-Indies. *Mr. Luttrell* professed himself zealous for giving Ireland what she desired—a free trade; and declared, that if this country ordered the imposition of taxes upon the ports of Ireland, Ireland was not free. He said the question respecting Ireland was become as the honourable gentleman had stated it, principally a question of state; it was necessary however to define what part of it was commercial and political; he wished therefore for more time, or that the noble Lord in the blue ribbon would then describe in its extent the condition on which the favour was to be granted, remarking that the two acts already passed had not stood in need of the same sort of previous explanation, because they were clearly unconditional in every respect.

Lord North. *Lord North* said, that it was true the former Acts had no condition annexed to them, because from their tendency any condition was necessary; with regard to the present Bill, the condition of it grew out of its principle; it had been brought into the House in consequence of a resolution of the Committee, stating, that it be expedient to grant Ireland a right to import from America and the West-Indies upon condition of carrying on that trade on the same terms as those upon which England enjoyed it. The gentleman employed to draw up the Bill, had doubtless complied with this resolution, which in course became the principle of the Bill. With regard to what the honourable gentleman had said of his having declared, that although the Bill gave Ireland a right to import from the West-Indies, that

could not profit by that trade, he had neither made such a declaration, nor meant to convey any such idea. He had said that in one article of importation from the West-Indies, viz. in the article of sugars, Ireland might probably still chuse to take them circuitously through England, at the low duties, in preference to directly importing them at the high duties; but nevertheless, the right of importing them was certainly a very beneficial right, and surely Ireland could not expect to have it granted her on better terms than the terms on which England enjoyed it; if the present Bill had given them better terms, those who drew it would not have done their duty and complied with the resolution of the Committee.

Sir George Yonge said, he perfectly agreed with Mr. Luttrell that a longer time ought to be given, and begged the noble Lord to change the day till Tuesday, declaring, that when the other bills were in agitation, he was obliged to be out of town on business, and that the case would be the same on Thursday.

Sir George
Yonge.

Lord George Gordon answered Sir George, and repeated his language on the day that the propositions were opened to the Committee, observing that he had nevertheless been absent when the acts were really in agitation.

Lord George
Gordon.

Lord Nugent begged that the House would suffer the Bill to be read a second time on Thursday, observing that there would be ample opportunity for considering, altering and amending it in other stages. His Lordship confirmed all that had been said about the happy temper of Ireland, and the welcome manner in which they had received the propositions, asserting, that although there might be some few people in that country as mad as some that were in this, every rational, sensible man approved of what had been done.

Lord Nu-
gent.

Sir George Yonge declared, the noble Lord was mistaken in his position, for that the second reading was the only fit time for debating the principle of any Bill; that in the Committee the wording of the clauses and subordinate matters might be altered and amended, but not the principle.

Sir George
Yonge.

Mr. J. Luttrell, after fresh arguments, moved as an amendment of the motion, that the words 'on Wednesday se'nnight,' be inserted in the room of the words 'on Thursday next.'

Mr. J.
Luttrell.

Mr. Turner said he was sorry to hear the smallest objection made to the progress of a Bill, which it so well became the English

Mr. Tur-

English

English Parliament to countenance, and declared he would on no occasion vote with Opposition when he thought them wrong. That he watched them more narrowly than he watched his enemies, because the latter could not hurt, but his friends might do him an essential injury. When he used this language, he meant not to be understood as speaking personally, he meant the friends and enemies of the public.

Mr. T.

Townshend.

Mr. *T. Townshend* wished there might be no dispute about so trivial a matter as whether the Bill was to be read a second time next Thursday, or any day next week. When the propositions were first mentioned, he had urged the noble Lord to consider maturely what he proposed, because the same ground as he first took must be maintained, and the mischief would be infinite if he afterwards pared away the propositions. If he gave Ireland less than he had originally told the House he intended, and than Ireland was given to expect, it would have been abundantly better not to have promised so much. He earnestly therefore recommended accommodation and unanimity.

The Speaker

Lord George Gordon.

The Speaker was reading the motion, when *Lord George Gordon* rose again, and said he meant to shew, that if the Bill was a good bill, it ought to be read a second time the very next day, for not a moment was to be lost, and if it was not a good bill, it ought never to be read a second time.

The Speaker.

Lord George Gordon.

The Speaker told his Lordship, he was out of order, and that he could only speak to the motion then before the House. *Lord George* replied, that he meant to speak to that motion, and to object both to the amendment and to the original motion. He then produced a pamphlet entitled 'a Letter to Lord North, by Francis Dobbs, Counsellor at Law in Dublin,' and began to read it, much to the dislike of the House, which, from near 200 members, soon thinned to less than fifty.

After he had proceeded about half way, a member rose, and asked the Speaker, if any gentleman had a right to introduce a pamphlet, and read the whole as a part of his speech, whether the House liked it or not? Because if he had, he said, there would be an end to business, as another member might take up a folio volume and insist on reading it through.

The Speaker.

The Speaker said it lay altogether with the House, who were masters of their own orders, and could either give permission or not in the present case, or any other.

Lord George Gordon insisted on doing his duty, and proceeded to read on, declaring it was an excellent pamphlet. Lord George Gordon.

Lord North, Sir George Yonge, Mr. Wombwell, Lord Beauchamp, and several others, in vain expressed their displeasure at his Lordship's proceeding, and the Speaker more than once gave it as his opinion that the pamphlet had no analogy or reference whatever to the motion then before the House. Lord North, Sir George Yonge, Mr. Wombwell, Lord Beauchamp.

Lord George, however, in a manner altogether unexampled in Parliament, contrived to begin again and again, and at length so tired the House, which was by this time reduced to a bare forty members, that they e'en consented to let him finish it, finding him deaf to all attempts to prevent it, whether founded on order or not. His Lordship at length got to the end, but he so larded the pamphlet with comments and observations on almost every paragraph of it, that it was impossible for the hearer to make his own reflections, or to discover whether the pamphlet merited his Lordship's eulogiums or not.

When he had done reading, he added a few general assertions, that Ireland was not contented, declaring, that every assertion that she was, was a mere hum, and gave notice that he would the next day, move a repeal of the Declaratory Act of George the First, binding Ireland in all cases whatsoever.

The question was put, and Lord George Gordon divided the House upon it, when the numbers were,

For the motion, ——— 1

Against it, ——— 39

The main question was then put and agreed to.

January 25.

Lord North moved "That the Rev. Dr. Horne, Pre-Lord North.
sident of Magdalen College, Oxford, do preach before this House on Friday, the 4th day of February next, being the day appointed for a General Fast."

Lord George Gordon said, that whoever had of late years Lord George Gordon.
advised his Majesty to order a fast to be observed generally throughout the kingdom, had done much serious mischief: that the fast ought to be confined to England, and not extend to Scotland, for whenever a fast had been ordered in that kingdom, the popular preachers there made a practice of interweaving politics in their discourses, and had preached up Jchu, Rehoboam, and the wicked Ahab; men whom they held out as having departed from the principles of their forefathers, and deducing from their conduct remarks highly prejudicial

prejudicial to the interests of the state, and peculiarly dangerous in these *popish* times, especially among those who were inclined to deem the King a tyrant, and to use language equally indecent and unwarrantable.

The motion was agreed to.

Lord George Gordon.

After which Lord George Gordon asked for the order of the day. The Speaker told him there was none; his Lordship seemed surprised, and said that he had given notice that he intended to move a repeal of the Declaratory Act of the 6th of George the First. No notice having been formally given, none appeared on the books, his Lordship therefore proceeded to open his motion. The first step he took for that purpose, was to read an account of two debates in the House of Lords of Ireland, from a newspaper, and containing first the speech of Lord Bellamont, whom his Lordship styled the mouth-piece of the Irish Parliament, and afterwards those of the Lord Chancellor and another Peer. His Lordship, accompanied his recital with several comments, some serious, but most of them ludicrous: he had not proceeded far before

Lord North.

Lord North rose, and said, though he should be exceedingly sorry to press the point of order on the noble Lord, he could not refrain from submitting it to his candour, how extremely irregular it was for a member of that House to read a speech from a newspaper, purporting to be the speech of a noble person in a respectable assembly in another kingdom, to use the name of that person with the utmost freedom, and to comment upon the speech without reserve, when the speech was not before the House, and was by no means authenticated, but the mere out-door report of a matter which might or might not have been delivered in the respectable place in which it was stated to have been spoken.

Mr. J. Luttrell.

Mr. J. Luttrell commended the noble Lord's delicacy, and said that certainly it was not regular to comment upon the speech of a member of another assembly, mentioning that member by name, unless the matter commented upon was fully authenticated. But that if such conduct was defensible respecting any person, it was respecting the noble Earl in question, who had himself set the example, and commented on the conduct of several members of that assembly, in a most illiberal and unjust manner, abusing them by name, and making no scruple to say every thing that wantonness could suggest, to the prejudice of some of the most worthy and respectable characters in the whole empire.

Lord

Lord North in reply observed, that he could only say the matter was wrong in itself, let it begin where it would, and at certainly he who first set the example, if the case were the honourable gentleman had represented it, was much blame; but admitting that the Parliament of Ireland had been betrayed into an irregularity, it was no reason they should follow the same error.

Lord George Gordon promised to be more guarded in the remainder of what he had to read, and not to mention any names whatever. He declared that all he meant to offer to the consideration of the House, both by reading and speech, would not take up more than one hour; that it was exceedingly important, because it would prove incontestably that the noble Lord in the blue ribbon was deceived, if he imagined all Ireland was contented with what had been done, because the Parliament of that country had expressed their dissatisfaction on hearing the news of the two acts having passed the British legislature, and of the third proposition made to the committee by the noble lord. He begged therefore that the House would pay him due attention, declaring that it would be for their interest and ease, because he was determined to do his duty; and if they prevented him one day, he would resume the subject the next, by which means the matter might be postponed till a busy day, and then so much would be before the House, that they would find themselves agreeably situated.

His Lordship then proceeded to read the remainder of Lord Malmont's speech, &c. terming it "the speech of a noble lord in a certain assembly," and observing, that he read it merely as a newspaper account, and if any part of it was wrongly stated, a noble Lord sat near him [Lord Irnham] who had been present at the debate, and who would set him right by contradicting those parts of the account which the noble Lord should know to be erroneous. After going through the account, his Lordship read, one after another, Lord Hillsborough's letter to the lord mayor of Dublin (dated St. James's, Dec. 23, and stating, that his Majesty had just returned from the House of Peers, whither he had been to give royal assent to an act respecting the trade of Ireland, a printed copy of which he enclosed); the letter of Lord Hillsborough's secretary to the seneschal of Newry, on the same subject; various extracts from the Irish papers, containing accounts of the illuminations in Dublin, on the receipt of the news; accounts of the feelings of the people of Armagh on the occasion, and of the people of different places; a letter from Edward Newenham on the subject of what he termed

the commercial emancipation of Ireland; the resolutions of the Newry association of armed volunteers, and other papers upon each of which he was profuse in remarks, in order to draw an argument from the whole, that though the Parliament of Ireland was satisfied, the people at large were not, and particularly the armed associations. At length he took up a pamphlet, which he said was Mr. Dobbs's letter, and which he declared he should read for the instruction of the House.

Lord North. A general murmur took place on this, and Lord North rose to object, observing that the noble Lord had read the pamphlet before, and that he did not doubt but it had been read or heard by every member present. His Lordship added, that if any one gentleman would rise, and say he had not read or heard it, or that he wished to have it read by the noble Lord, he would sit down and patiently abide the recital.

Ld. George Gordon. Lord George said, he by no means wished to press an unpleasant matter on the House; but the pamphlet was really so excellent that it ought to be read every day in the week; however, as the House wished not to hear it, he would proceed in the shortest manner to his motion. He then desired that the declaratory act might be read, which being done by the clerk at the table, he begged to read it again himself; and he said, that it had not been read very correctly by the clerk, who, he was aware, was one of the best readers in existence, but merely to give the marking passages a due emphasis and energy. Having gone through the act, his Lordship produced his motion, which was, in form, a bill: he was therefore told by the Speaker and Lord North, that he must move for leave to bring in a bill, and that he could proceed in no other way. He accordingly moved, when unluckily no member rose to second the motion. He called on Lord Irnham, claiming a performance of his promise of the preceding day.

Ld. Irnham. Lord Irnham owned he had hastily given such a promise, but having had an opportunity to weigh the matter more maturely, he begged leave to wave it, and hoped the noble Lord would excuse his seconding a motion which, upon reflection, did not appear to him to be proper or expedient.

Mr. J. Luttrell. Mr. J. Luttrell said, much that had fallen from the noble Lord in opening his motion, claimed the attention of the House, but that he could not consent to second the motion for the reasons which he would explain. Mr. Luttrell then observed that the noble Lord had not proved the grounds of his motion in a parliamentary way; that it was usual to support a motion for leave to bring in a bill for repealing of an act then in force, either by a petition from the parties on whom the act bore hard, or by evidence delivered at the bar of the House.

that the existence of the act was a grievance to them, and that its principle was unjust; neither of which forms had been complied with in the present case, but on the contrary, the noble Lord had rested entirely on extracts from newspapers, and an unauthenticated pamphlet, said to be written by a Mr. Dobbs, and read by the noble Lord as a part of his speech. With regard to many of the facts stated by the noble Lord, he made no scruple to say he verily believed, they were exactly as they had been represented to the House. He could not, he declared, refrain from expressing his astonishment that Ireland should avow herself satisfied with what had been done by the English Parliament since the noble Lord brought in his propositions. When the two acts already passed were in agitation, he, and many other gentlemen, had remained silent, because as those acts were perfectly unconditional they afforded no ground for discussion. That which remained to be agitated was of a very different kind, and therefore he took that opportunity of saying, that although he by no means designed to oppose the giving Ireland a farther extension of trade, yet he was far from thinking it just to annex a condition to the intended bill, whereby the Irish would be prevented from purchasing a commodity (which he could not consider as a luxury, but in a great degree as a necessary of life) from on board a ship in one of their own ports, as cheap as they could purchase it, if they sent to England for it. He said, he alluded to the article of sugars; and repeated, that to oblige Ireland to impose a high duty on the direct importation of them from the West Indies, militated against the idea of a free trade, and went in direct violation of those principles of free constitution, which he wished Ireland to enjoy, and which the noble Lord had in his last conciliatory propositions offered to America.

Mr. Luttrell enlarged a good deal on this point; but acknowledged that if Ireland was satisfied, certainly it was not necessary or proper for us to cry out, that enough was not done. He hoped, however, as the Irish were either so generous or so humble as to rely implicitly on the wisdom and justice of Parliament, that Parliament would shew itself worthy of the confidence placed in it by Ireland, and in granting that kind of favour (which he was ready to say depended entirely on the will and liberality of the English Parliament) would take care not to confer a nominal benefit, but to give a real, substantial, uncircumscribed, and effectual benefit.

Lord George Gordon rose to explain and answer, but no Lord George Gordon.
 Motion being before the House, a member moved the question
 adjournment, which the Speaker was proceeding to put in
 the

the usual form, when Lord George rose again and began speaking; being called to order, he said he meant to speak to the question of adjournment, but going into his former story, the members left their seats, and he thereupon sat down, giving the Speaker an opportunity of dismissing the House in form, which was done.

January 26.

This was a vacant day, as no order stood for it on the books. And as there was no motion of a public nature made, the House adjourned, after having received some petitions.

January 27.

Lord North. Lord North moved the second reading of the bill for giving an equal trade to Ireland.

Lord George Gordon.

Lord George Gordon made a few objections, and called upon the noble Lord in the blue ribbon to acquaint the House whether he was fully informed that the people of Ireland would be satisfied with the present bill? If any doubt remained about it, he wished that the right honourable H. Flood, a member of the Irish Parliament, one of the privy council of Ireland, and now in England, might be examined at the bar. He allowed it would not be decent, nor might it be proper, to compel him to give the information desired, whether the people of Ireland were content with the favours, rights, or concessions of the British Parliament; but still he believed it would not be out of order to request that Mr. Flood would inform the House what he knew of the matter.

The motion was agreed to.

January 28.

The House in committee on the matter relative to prize-tobacco, came to the following resolution:

"That it is the opinion of this Committee that all tobacco of the growth, product, and manufacture of any foreign part, that hath, or shall be taken and condemned as prize, be subject to the same duties as tobacco of the growth, product or manufacture of any of the British colonies or plantations in America, is, or may be liable to by law."

House resumed.

Mr. Burke.

Mr. Burke said, as he wished not to take any gentleman, or any place, by surprize, he thought it necessary to give notice that he meant to move "his propositions for public economy, for lessening and checking the influence of the crown, for restoring the freedom of Parliament, and for strengthening the hands of government," on the 11th of February. Mr. Burke said, he had maturely considered and digested the matter, and was now ready to state it; not that he meant to say

the form he should give the business was quite perfect, because he was far from pretending to be that Jupiter who could produce a Pallas from his brain, armed completely at all points; he merely designed to inform the House that he was ready, and he trusted that he should present the plan in such a shape and fashion, as would enable them to make something of it, when it was before them.

Mr. *Turner* said a few words relative to the great want of Mr. *Turner's* attendance. He did not mean to blame one side of the House more than the other: the fact was evident, the application of force should be therefore general. He was as free to censure those with whom he occasionally acted, as those to whom he had hitherto proved a steady adversary. He was remarked on it in the county he resided in; but he cared not; truth and his own sentiments should ever with him take the way of all party connexions or distinctions. It was shameful to the last degree, he said, to behold St. Stephen's walls deserted in such manner. It was a farce to talk of the representatives of the people in that House; they were not to be found there, though they were marching in troops about the town: he met them at the corner of almost every street. In short, he believed in his conscience, the consequence would be, that the constituent body of the people, finding themselves without representatives but in name, or any one to conduct their public or private interests and concerns, would, instead of sending representatives there or elsewhere, at length wisely determine to conduct their own affairs.

Adjourned to the 31st.

January 31.

Decollation of Charles I. observed this day, yesterday being Monday.

February 1.

[See last volume, page 225.]

February 2.

Mr. *A. Bacon* presented the report of the committee of Mr. *A.* on the privileges on the complaint made against the Duke of Chancery, for interfering in the late election for the county of Wiltshire.

The report contained several strong facts, and clear proofs of the interference of his Grace in that election. His handwriting was proved clearly by several persons, and six letters produced. The person who wrote the letters acknowledged that between three and four hundred such letters had been written by him, by the noble Duke's direction; and one of the clerks of the post-office proved his Grace's hand. Several other

other particulars were stated, of less consequence, and two or three resolutions agreed to in the committee; and, at length that concerning the fact of interference, which was,

“Resolved, That James Bridges, Duke of Chandos, peer of Parliament, and lord lieutenant of the county of Southampton, has concerned himself in the late election for said county.”

Lord Nugent. As soon as the resolution was read, Lord Nugent rose, and observed, that although he did not rise to defend the conduct of the noble Duke, or controvert the facts stated in the report, he thought it was totally unnecessary to proceed further in this business. He endeavoured to divert the attention of the House by a story, in order to shew that custom had in some measure sanctioned such a conduct. He said, that in the year 1746, when Mr. Pitt was appointed paymaster of the forces, in the room of Mr. Winnington.—Mr. Pitt, on his vacating his seat, was re-elected for a Suffex borough, through the interest of the late Duke of Newcastle.—What was the consequence? A complaint was preferred to that House by the unsuccessful member against the noble Duke, as a peer of Parliament, and lord lieutenant, and against the great Lord Chatham, as being returned by an undue influence; one of them the best, the other the greatest man that ever lived: for he believed “God never made a better man than the late Duke of Newcastle; nor an abler statesman and sounder patriot than Mr. Pitt.” But the complaint was dismissed by a majority of full three to one. The noble Duke was naturally hospitable and generous, and he might have possibly given a few dinners on the occasion; nor would it be easy at any time, he believed, to prevent noble peers from concerning themselves in elections, either in a more direct or covert way. The matter was then very properly let to sleep, and he hoped the example would be followed on the present occasion, and this would likewise be let to sleep. That being his wish, he would move, that said report be taken into consideration on that day four months.

Mr. Wilkes. Mr. Wilkes made a short reply, in which, among some other strong expressions, he observed, that the offence charged in the report was of a most atrocious nature, and was infinitely criminal in its nature and purport, by the aggravating circumstances which accompanied it. He repeated some of those, and dwelt some time with great energy upon them. He said, the cases compared by the noble Lord were widely different; that the conduct of the deceased Duke and the noble Earl, was not a justification of the Duke of Chandos; neither was the in-

ference at all similar. One was influencing a borough election, of which no proof, further than giving a few dinners to the electors, was stated by the noble Lord who made the motion; and, however great or able Lord Chatham might be, he was far from thinking him infallible. After a few words more, to the same purpose, the question was called for, and the gallery cleared; but the debate continued, in the course of which a motion was made for reading the journals of the year 1703, containing a complaint against Lloyd, Bishop of Worcester, for interfering in the election of that county.

The proceedings being read, it appeared that Sir John Mordaunt, one of the candidates, had proved the interference of the right reverend prelate; in consequence of which, the House of Commons addressed her Majesty Queen Anne to remove him, for his corrupt practices, from the place he held near her Majesty, that of Almoner, which request the Queen complied with.

The question was put, and the House divided. Ayes for Lord Nugent's motion, 87. Noes, 30.

Lord North then moved, the order of the day for the House's going into a committee on the Irish papers, which being done, his Lordship moved the three following propositions:

1st. "That it is the opinion of this committee that it is expedient to repeal so much of the act of the 10th of King Henry VII. or any other Acts, which prohibit the exporting, carrying, or conveying coin out of this realm, to Ireland."

2d. "That it is the opinion of this committee to repeal such acts which prohibit the importation of foreign hops into Ireland, and which take off the drawback upon hops exported from Great Britain to Ireland."

3d. "That it is expedient to extend to his Majesty's subjects in Ireland, the privilege of being admitted into the Turkey Company, and to enable them to import into, and export from Ireland, in British or Irish ships, such goods as may be imported into, and exported from Great Britain, in British ships, by the merchants of England trading to the adjacent seas."

The said resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

February 3. Private business. Adjourned to the 7th.

February

February 7.

No debate.

February 8.

This day Sir George Savile presented the following petition:
*To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament
 assembled:*

The Petition of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders
 of the County of York,

Sheweth,

THAT this nation hath been engaged for several years in a most expensive and unfortunate war; that many of our valuable colonies, having actually declared themselves independent, have formed a strict confederacy with France and Spain, the dangerous and inveterate enemies of Great Britain; that the consequence of those combined misfortunes hath been, a large addition to the national debt, a heavy accumulation of taxes, a rapid decline of the trade, manufactures, and land-rents of the kingdom.

Alarmed at the diminished resources and growing burthens of this country, and convinced that rigid frugality is now indispensibly necessary in every department of the state, your petitioners observe with grief, that notwithstanding the calamitous and impoverished condition of the nation, much public money has been improvidently squandered, and that many individuals enjoy sinecure places, efficient places with exorbitant emoluments, and pensions unmerited by public service, to a large and still encreasing amount; whence the crown has acquired a great and unconstitutional influence, which if not checked, may soon prove fatal to the liberties of this country.

Your petitioners conceiving that the true end of every legitimate government is not the emolument of any individual, but the welfare of the community; and considering that by the constitution of this realm, the national purse is intrusted in a peculiar manner to the custody of this honourable House; beg leave further to represent, that until effectual measures be taken to redress the oppressive grievances herein stated, the grant of any additional sum of public money, beyond the produce of the present taxes, will be injurious to the rights and property of the people, and derogatory from the honour and dignity of Parliament.

Your petitioners therefore appealing to the justice of this honourable House, do most earnestly request that before any

new burthens are laid upon this country, effectual measures may be taken by this House to enquire into and correct the gross abuses in the expenditure of public money; to reduce all exorbitant emoluments; to rescind and abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions; and to appropriate the produce to the necessities of the state in such manner as to the wisdom of parliament shall seem meet.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

Sir *George Savile* apologized for speaking in a low tone of voice: he had got a cold: there was a soreness in his throat, which he was afraid might prevent him from speaking in so audible a manner as to be heard by this great assembly. The House was remarkably still and attentive. The character of the speaker, the importance of the subject, the novelty of the occasion, fully counterbalanced the distemper that would have proved fatal to the eloquence of a member less popular speaking on a lighter subject: such was the deep silence that prevailed on both sides of the House, that the venerable patriot was heard without much difficulty. He had the honour to represent a very extensive, a very populous, a very mercantile, manufacturing, and rich county. In such a county, it must naturally be imagined, that many private interests might be made objects of parliamentary bounty, if either the represented or representatives, like some others, were more attentive to inclosure bills, to road bills, and others of the same stamp, than to the great concerns of the nation. This is now the last day of receiving private petitions. I have waited until I think they are all given in. I have no private petition to present, though in such a county as Yorkshire, new bridges, roads, and havens, would not be unworthy the consideration of the legislature. I have here a petition which has swallowed up the consideration of all private objects, and superseded all private petitions. A petition subscribed by eight thousand freeholders and upwards. The people have heard that a regard to private interest, in this House, is a great enemy to the discharge of our public duty. They feel severely the pressure of heavy taxes, yet, they are told, the money which they can so ill spare, is wasted profusely, without producing any good, nay, and to the production of many bad effects. They beg that enquiry may be made into the expenditure of that money, that if there are any exorbitant salaries, they may be reduced: that if there are any useless places or unmerited pensions, they may be abolished. These things

things are represented calmly and with moderation. Nothing is said of the conduct of ministers, it may have been good or bad, for ought that appears in the petition. Never surely were petitioners to Parliament more cool and dispassionate. They confine themselves to one object, the expenditure of the public money. They make no strictures on the past management of ministry; though candour obliges me to acknowledge, that it is pretty plainly hinted or implied in the petition, that they who have hitherto managed our public affairs, shall manage them no more. I hope no objection will be made to the receiving of this petition. Indeed that is not what I fear. Ministry dare not refuse to give the petition a hearing. But it is an easy matter to hear a petition, and to put it off without complying with the prayer of it. The noble Lord, if he had a mind (looking towards Lord North) could by one nod induce a majority of this House to grant the prayer of this petition; or if he pleases, he can put it off with abundance of ingenuity and address. He will probably have no objection to hear the petition read; he may profess great regard to the petitioners, an anxious concern for their interest; he may even go so far as to consent to enquire into the alledged grievances, and fix a time and a committee for that purpose. Yet still it may be his secret purpose to defeat the end of the petition. I therefore now call upon the noble Lord, said Sir George, to speak out like a man, and to declare whether he means to countenance and support the petition or not. Such an open and manly declaration of his intentions, will save us much time and trouble, and will better become a man of his quality and consequence, than any arts of ministerial craft and juggling. I hope he will seriously consider this petition, what is the importance of it, who were the instigators of it, by whom, as well as by how many it is subscribed. I make no threats; this petition is not presented by men with swords and muskets. It is a legal, a constitutional petition. It is the right of the British subjects to petition. But petitions of the kind that have often been presented here and elsewhere, and as often disregarded, I own, were nugatory, and must be ineffective. The request of the petitioners is here so reasonable, that they cannot but expect that it will be granted; but should it be refused, here I leave a blank, that blank let the consciences, let the feelings, let the reason of ministers supply. Nor will palliations, excuses, partial expedients, be sufficient. Mock enquiries will not answer our purpose. If the Parliament mock the people,

the people will learn not to respect the Parliament. In order to detract from the weight of petitions, it is not uncommonly insinuated, that they are procured by underhand arts, or by publicly canvassing for them; or it is alledged, that the petitioners are of no great importance, their petition may be rejected with impunity; neither of these insinuations would be just in the present case. Such a petition as this could not be instigated by a few incendiaries operating on simple and credulous people in hedge ale-houses; it is the result of the common feelings of a numerous people; the cause is as general as the effect; it is the same voice that sounds in Yorkshire, which will soon be heard in other parts of the country. I was not a little surprized to find, that my honourable friend near me [Mr. Burke] had drawn up a plan to be proposed to this House within two days, founded on ideas so similar to those that dictated this petition. There was no communication that I know of between that gentleman and the petitioners of Yorkshire. The universality of the sentiments on this subject, is no contemptible proof of their justness. I wish that this House may consider, I repeat it, from whom this petition comes. It was first moved in a meeting of six hundred gentlemen and upwards; in the hall where this petition was conceived, there was more property than within the walls of this House. [Here Sir George threw down upon the table, with a good deal of vehemence, a list of the gentlemen's names.] But, he continued, they are not to abandon the petition, whatever may be its fate in this House; there is a committee appointed to correspond on the subject of the petition with the committees of other counties. [Here he in like manner threw down on the table a list of the names of the committee.] The subscribers are between eight and nine thousand, as appears from the petition itself.

A motion being made for leave that the petition might be read, it was read accordingly.

Sir George Savile rose again to explain, inculcate, and enforce the prayer of the petition: The petitioners had not presumed to dictate any particular mode of enquiry or redress of the grievances complained of; how far Parliament were to go, or what particular steps they ought to take, would be pointed out by a disposition to comply with the petition, if that disposition should exist. The following observation, however, fell from Sir George, that something more was expected than what he had seen in the propositions to be made to the House by his honourable friend, Mr. Burke.

Lord North. Lord North said, that the honourable gentleman needed not have taken so much pains to convince the House that the petition ought to be received; nor to have expatiated on so obvious a truth, as that it was not to be dreaded that any man, or set of men, would dare to reject it. No man in his senses, who sat in this House, was ignorant that the right of petitioning belonged to all British subjects. He had been called upon to declare whether he would oppose or forward the object of the petition. The petition was now before the House; it had been read, and it should have his consent to lie on the table for some time, as is usual in such cases, for the perusal of the members. That the House, he doubted not, would take it into their serious consideration; and after enquiring into the facts alledged, after examining the merits of the cause, freely and impartially decide, according to the best of their judgment, in such a manner, as to consult the good of the petitioners, without losing sight of that of the country in general. A petition properly introduced, would always, he hoped, in this House, meet with a fair and candid attention. With respect to the threats that had been broadly hinted by the honourable gentleman, he hoped they would have no effect on the minds of the judges one way or the other. He had been threatened with unknown but severe consequences, if he should so much as delay granting the requested redress, until an enquiry should be made into the existence, nature, and extent of the alledged grievances. Truly, I must say, said his Lordship, that the petition suffers not a little by a prohibition from all enquiry into the facts on which it is founded. [Here Sir George Savile rose to explain what he had said. He was not against an enquiry, but against the semblance of an enquiry, a mock enquiry. He had taken the liberty to ask the noble Lord, whether he would make an enquiry, *bona fide*, for the purpose of answering or frustrating the end of the petition.] To my ear, continued Lord North, what fell from the honourable gentleman had the appearance of a caveat against any kind of inquiry. He insinuates that the enquiry will be undertaken with sinister and partial views. How far this is fair and candid, nay how far such suppositions, in a case of this kind, are parliamentary, I submit to the judgment of the House. The honourable gentleman has said, that the ideas and sentiments that gave birth to the petition, are very universal; as a proof of this he observes, and he is surprized to observe, so wonderful a similitude between the ideas of gentlemen in Yorkshire

shire on the subject of the petition, and those of an honourable gentleman, who is soon to make a motion on that subject in this House. With regard to that matter, he would say, that what seemed so surprising to the honourable gentleman, did not surprise him in the least. He concluded telling the House, that they must not consider his proceeding in raising the necessary supplies as any disrespect to the petition. The petition was neither formally nor virtually negatived, although the consideration of it was not preceded to all other business. The supplies had been voted, and it would be necessary, without much longer delay, to proceed on the subject of ways and means.

Hon. C. J. Fox said, that he did not intend to speak at this time on the subject of the petition before the House; but he could not refrain from making some observations on the propositions that had now been made by the noble Lord. The consideration of the petition, says he, may very fitly be postponed to that of ways and means for raising the supplies. Compare this language with the generous and magnanimous admiration of ministry, when they applauded and rewarded the conduct of the associations in Ireland, who refused to grant supplies for more than one half year, before their grievances should be redressed, before the prayer of their petition for a free trade should be granted. Is there any law for the associations in Ireland, and another for those in England? No. The noble Lord is a man of accuracy and consistency. He must therefore mean, whatever he may have said in the heat and hurry of debate, that the associations in England, in imitation of those in Ireland, ought to grant no supplies, to pay no taxes, until their petition be met with a proper respect; until its prayer be fully granted. It is a loss to conjecture the threats that the noble Lord says have been hinted by the honourable gentleman, meaning thereby to fix a stigma on this and other petitions. The people are not in arms, they do not menace civil war. They are in their power legal, constitutional, peaceable means of enforcing their petition. It is to these means the honourable gentleman alludes, when the noble Lord supposes that he has cut threats of another kind. No, Sir, let not the loud but firm voice of liberty be mistaken for the dismal and portentous accents of blood and slaughter. The evil the honourable gentleman presages, if this or other petitions be spurned with contempt and insolence, is of another, though not of a less formidable nature. The people will lose

Hon. C. J.
Fox.

lose all confidence in their representatives, all reverence to Parliament. The consequences of such a situation, I do not point out: let not the contemplation of necessary effects be considered as a denunciation of vengeance. I wish with much anxiety that gentlemen would consider what they do when they sit in this House. Insignificant of themselves, they derive their importance from the appointment of their constituents. It is the duty of members of Parliament to conform to the sentiments, and in some degree, even to the prejudice of the people. In their legislative capacity, the wishes and wants of the people, ought in this land of liberty to be their grand rule of conduct. I say in their legislative capacity; for I make a distinction between that and the judicial capacity; in which last they must give judgment according to the letter of the law, and in this too they must consult the interests of liberty. Suppose the people should be of opinion that there is no longer any need of a very expensive Board of Trade and Plantations, when that trade and those plantations, for the sake of which the Board was established, no longer exist, would it not become the noble Lord's duty, to sacrifice his particular opinion to theirs, and to act agreeable to their notions and instructions? The noble Lord has been very severe upon the honourable gentleman, upon the supposition that he had entered his caveat against taking time to enquire into the allegations contained in the petition. The honourable gentleman has himself sufficiently repelled the attacks of his noble opponent, by reminding him that what he apprehended was not a real but a mock enquiry. But one thing, said Mr. Fox, I cannot but remark. The ideas of an enquiry, and an intention to defeat its object, seem so intimately connected in the noble Lord's mind, that it is not in his power to disjoin them; so closely associated, that he cannot think on the one, without confounding it with the other. I cannot imagine, continued this ingenious and animated speaker, that any objection can possibly be made to the petition. But some may say, "Are we finer than all that went before us? like those on whom the tower of Siloam fell? Are we more corrupt than other Parliaments who were never pestered with petitions of this kind? No, I don't suppose you are; but though former Parliaments were as bad as you, and you know the severity of that comparison yet the people did not know it. Now they do not perhaps see it, but they feel it; they feel the pressure of taxes; they beg you would not lay your hand so heavily on them, but

economical as possible on the expenditure of the public money. We on this side of the House recommend and encourage their applications. Let ministry hearken to the petitions of the people, even though they are recommended to us with favourable regard by members in opposition. Let them grant their requests, and the whole glory of so popular a compliance will be theirs. Their praises were founded in loud acclamations for granting to the people of Ireland, what that people made good for themselves by their own muskets. I will not enter the controversy between the ministry and gentlemen on this side of the House, on the same issue on which the wisest of men, Solomon, rested the determination of the dispute between the two women, each of whom claimed the living child, and disavowed the dead one. We say to ministry, you misapply the public money; nay, you do worse, you apply it to bad purposes: ministry say to us, You want our money; and thus the charge of corruption is given and received. Come now, let us see whose child Corruption is; whose children ministry are willing, are desirous, that it should be sacrificed; whose children ministry have often made similar professions; the time is now come to prove the sincerity of both; see who will now acknowledge; see who will father this dear but denied child, Corruption! On the whole, oeconomy will strengthen the authority of government, relieve the people from hardships, be the source of fame and triumph to ministry over their adversaries; for who will dare to say, or who will not be abhorred for saying any thing to the prejudice of so honest and upright administration, as those men who shall redress in so satisfactory a manner the grievances of an oppressed people? The people of England only pray to be on a footing with the subjects of France, whose government voluntarily relinquished and rescinded unnecessary places, thus opening a new source of strength in a tender and in a wise plan of oeconomy.

Lord G. Gordon said, that he would agree to the prayer of the petition, and would go somewhat farther. Reformation of Religion was his object. The word Reformation, which hitherto been appropriated to religious, was now produced by being applied to civil matters. Minority had made the cat's paw by ministry, in the bill for granting relief to Papists, &c. &c. Lord George Gordon.

Mr. Turner told the House, that he held in his hand a petition from the city of York, signed by nine hundred and fifty burghesses, almost the whole of his constituents, of a similar Mr. Turner.

similar nature to that which had been just now presented his honourable friend, in the name of the county. The importance of the petition had already been explained by the gentleman; and the necessity of complying with the prayer very ably inculcated; he would only assure the House, that the petition originated with the people themselves; no office or influence had been used, on his part, to instigate him to consider it as the duty of members of Parliament, to lead, but to follow the sentiments of their constituents. Several of the gentlemen who had opposed the petition, Mr. Drummond, son of the late Archbishop of York, for whose memory he expressed the highest regard, Mr. Cholmondeley &c. were his most dear and intimate friends; they knew he never solicited their voices in behalf of the petition; neither would dictate to his voters in any public measure, to submit to the meanness of asking them to chuse him merely to represent them in Parliament. Rather than stoop to such a conduct, he would be content to go about the city carrying stones on his back. Thus much, however, he told all his voters, that if they wished to support the present ministry, not to elect him their representative in the House of Commons. The petition, he declared on his honour, had never been promoted by him; It is the genuine voice of my constituents, said he; their numbers, their property, their unanimity, I hope, will give it some weight. Let it be remembered, that the petitions now presented to Parliament, are not ordinary petitions; for you may hear of them again, if you should not think proper to forward their object.

Lord George
Gordon

Lord George Gordon begged to remind the House, that a reformation should begin with religion. Associations, his Lordship observed, were forming against the toleration of Papists in every part of the British empire; Ireland, Scotland, and England, were alike averse to the measure; the most dreadful consequences were to be apprehended, if the ministry obstinately persisted in it. His Lordship reminded the House that the most bigotted tyrants had sunk beneath the weight of a protestant army. He paid the highest compliments to his worthy friends (Sir George Savile and Mr. Burke); said he was convinced that they had supported the bill from the most just motives; and his Lordship expressed his sincere conviction, that that policy, in any one instance, should render the most limited toleration dangerous to a free state; but where the happiness of the people was concerned, the interest of individuals should always give way.

The question was put, whether the petition from the city of York should lie on the table? and it was carried *nem. con.*

Mr. *Burke* complained of an insinuation of a noble Lord, *Mr. Burke* that he was privy to the petitions of the county associations. He had declared that I was not; yet the Temple of Truth, *Mens conscia recti*, has been violated, her dictates have been openly blasphemed. I declare, upon my honour, that I neither interfered directly nor indirectly in the county association of York, nor in any other county association; and in this declaration I assure the House I do *not deceive* them. Here I must take notice of some things respecting myself that have fallen from my noble friend near me [Lord G. Gordon] though I confess they have little connection with the business before us. He pays me many compliments on my talents or deceit, if I chose to exercise them; but I have myself so poor an opinion of my talents of this kind, that they will be my very last resource; nor shall any emergency ever drive me to exert them. He supposes that I have been made a cat's-paw, in the instance alluded to, by ministry. [Here Mr. *Burke* laughed very much.] I suppose, said he, that before people take a cat by the paw, they must have a good opinion of the gentle and tractable nature of the particular animal; for there are cats so fierce, indocile, and intractable, that it would not be safe to meddle with their paws. Now I do not know that ministry have ever found me of a very pliant nature; neither have they ever adventured to seize my paws. The noble Lord thinks that my conduct with regard to the disciples of the church of Rome did not proceed from any religious considerations; and in this he imagines he pays me a compliment: but the noble Lord is mistaken. I was influenced by religion. The only religion I profess, is that of universal humanity and benevolence. But this digression, Mr. Speaker, is foreign to the purpose for which I now requested the attention of the House. I have received a letter from my constituents of Bristol, accompanying a petition from that great city; the object of which, like that of others, is public œconomy. The letter contains praises which I do not deserve. It shall not therefore be read before this House. Let a regard to truth prevail over the love of fame. The trade of Bristol has suffered greatly in all its branches: in some it is wholly extinguished. The evil that has overtaken that city, has not come on by slow and gradual approaches, but suddenly and violently; it has suffered diminution and decay, but received *blows*; the evils

evils they complain of have been long felt. Many of the principal merchants have talked with me of petitioning Parliament. What I said to them was this: You know the common fate of petitions; if you do mean to present a petition, do not forsake it, like an ostrich's egg, to be fostered by the accidental rays of the sun in barren sands; but follow it up at least with as great care as you would shew about an inclosure or road bill. More than this, I knew not of the petition, until I received the orders of my constituents to present it to this House.

Sir William Howe.

This petition was also read, and ordered to lie on the table. *Sir William Howe* presented a petition from the town of Nottingham. Of this petition, said *Sir William*, I think it unnecessary to say any thing more, than that it is of a similar nature to those which have just now been read in this House.

Sir George Yonge.

The order of the day being called, Lord Drogheda brought up the report of the committee on the Irish trade bill.

Sir George Yonge said, that, in the present awful moment it was difficult to deface the impression that had been made on his mind, by what he had now seen and heard, or to bring his mind to attend to any other object, than that which had just now been before them. The distractions of England rendered it difficult for him to bend his attention to the grievances of Ireland. I do not mean, says he, to oppose the redress that is claimed, that is demanded by that country. But local, partial, and particular indulgences, are not sufficient for the settlement of this empire. Not only a commercial, but a political revolution has taken place in the British dominions, for such is the taking off the restrictions on the trade of Ireland. Let the same indulgence be extended to the West Indies, to the colonies yet in our possession, to all parts of the British dominions. What is just with respect to Ireland is just with respect to them. Do not plead that Ireland is stronger than our other dependencies, and that therefore concessions ought to be made to her, that ought not to be made to Jamaica, or any other of our plantations; that would be an unjust and an unwise argument. Let not the people be taught, that the only mode of obtaining justice is resistance. Formerly we imposed no taxes on our dependencies, but were contented with advantageous restrictions on their trade. If such restrictions are taken off, as they should be (at least in all places equally) there will arise a necessity of establishing some laws, by which all parts of the empire may contribute proportionally.

proportionably to their ability to the public safety and internal police and government, whether by compact, or taxes, or otherwise. In the new arrangements that are beginning to take place, we ought to comprehend the most distant as well as the nearest, the weakest as well as the strongest parts of the British empire.

February 9. Private business.

February 10.

A representation and petition of the planters, merchants, and other persons, interested in the island of Jamaica, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, That your petitioners, in all duty and humility, beg leave to lay before this honourable House several circumstances which they presume it is important for the House to know, and which they are certain it is of the utmost importance to them that a due attention should be paid; your petitioners represent to this honourable House, that the island of Jamaica has not been protected; they represent, that the temporary safety which it has enjoyed has been owing to the neglect of the enemy's force towards other objects, and not to any intrinsic means of defence provided for that island by Majesty's ministers; they conceive, that the safety of a possession as Jamaica ought not to have been left to chance; they represent, that the island of Jamaica is inferior in value to none of the dependencies of Great Britain; that that part even of what appears to be the interior wealth of Great Britain itself is, in reality, the wealth of Jamaica, which is so intimately interwoven with the internal interest of this kingdom, that it is not easy to distinguish them; that a great part of the trade and navigation, a large proportion of the revenue, and very much of the mercantile and the national credit, and the value of the landed interest, depend immediately on its preservation; that its defence is therefore an object as important to Great Britain as any part of Great Britain itself, and that it is an object to be provided for with greater care and foresight, because its natural means of defence are infinitely less considerable; they solemnly declare, that, conscious of their invariable loyalty to the Crown of Great Britain, their unbounded attachment to the prosperity of the whole empire, they are not able to conjecture for what offence, real or pretended, they have so long been put under this proscription; if your petitioners had been active by factious clamours, or delusive representations, in concealing true or suggesting false information, in betray-

ing their Sovereign and their country into war, they might have the less reason to complain of the neglect by which they have suffered so many distresses, and have been exposed to so many dangers; it is in the recollection of this honourable House, that, at an early period of the present unhappy troubles, the body of the West India planters and merchants did humbly state their apprehensions to Parliament, and deprecated the unhappy measures which were then taken; it is the misfortune of the public, as well as theirs, that no attention was paid to their humble prayers, and that their most dutiful and faithful representations were totally neglected; they are firm, that they have not deserved to be thus abandoned, from a want of having purchased for a valuable consideration the protection of the state; the planters have seen, not only with acquiescence but pleasure, their trade almost wholly confined to the mother country, the place of residence of the greater part, and the object of the tenderest affection to all of them; but the planters and merchants have had the produce of their estates as largely taxed in Great Britain, to the common support, as any others; the assembly of the island of Jamaica has, beyond any former example of liberality, and far beyond their abilities, laid destructive impositions on their estates and properties within the island; vast personal services, burthened in the extreme, and nearly ruinous to the present value of all they possess, have been cheerfully given, they have borne patiently the heavy losses and burthens, the fatal, though not unforeseen consequences of their separation from North America. After all these impositions and taxes in England, these taxes and personal services in Jamaica, and after sufferings of every kind in this war, on suggestions from friends of government, they have had resort in their individual characters to their almost exhausted purses, and made a large private subscription for their own defence; they represent that they have been credibly informed, that at the time when administration declined to provide the necessary forces, either by sea or land, for their defence, that his Majesty's secretaries at war publicly declared, that his Majesty did then command more numerous forces, by sea and land, than the most formidable monarch of the world had under his orders, when his power alarmed all Europe; and they are informed, that large additions to his Majesty's forces were made some time after; they now also feel, that they are amongst those who are taxed for the maintenance of an army of upwards of twenty thousand men employed in North America; and they

pres

sume, that the suppression of no rebellion whatever can be more near and urgent concern of any government than the protection of its loyal and useful subjects; they represent, that they have not been wanting to themselves, by every representation in their power, and every solicitation, to call on his Majesty's ministers for the necessary protection; for ought, from the duty of their station, and their high trust, his Majesty's ministers ought to have shewn an anxious and provident care of all his Majesty's dominions, even if individuals, through ignorance, or want of foresight, had neglected their own private interest in them; yet they humbly inform the House, that many strong remonstrances were made on this subject to his Majesty's ministers by your petitioners, beginning so early as 1773, and continued to the 8th of December, 1779; and that addresses on the same were made to his Majesty by the assembly of Jamaica, as also a representation of the want of men, ships, stores, arms, ammunition, and every other means for their defence; yet they never did, at any time, receive from the said ministers any answers, other than excuses, on account of the number of ships employed on the American and home service, and certain loose general assurances, from which they received little comfort, and have reaped no advantage; and that even the positive assurances of the governor to the assembly of the island, of his Majesty's gracious intention that the squadron on that station should be considerably reinforced, have not been fulfilled; your petitioners most humbly request the attention of this House to their past and present situation, pledging themselves to prove, beyond a doubt, the truth of their allegations: in the mean time, your petitioners acquaint this honourable House, that, unless a strong regular force be permanently established in Jamaica during the war, and a considerable fleet stationed there, they cannot think that island in a state of security; this they conceive themselves as Englishmen bound to lay before the representatives of the people of Great Britain, humbly claiming protection as their undoubted right; and looking back with horror at the dangers from which (by the sole disposition of the Divine Providence) they have escaped, whilst sundry of their fellow subjects are now obliged to prostrate themselves at the foot of the throne of the French King, to implore the mercy of that Monarch, instead of the protection of their natural sovereign.

This

This petition was signed by the following persons :

Christopher Archdeckne,	Geo. Wh. Lawrance
Chairman	Haughton James
Beefton Long	Charles Long
Henry Dawkins	James Trecothick
Richard Pennant	John Lawrance
Edward Morant	Beefton Long, jun.
Jacob Wilkinson	Ebenezer Maitland
William Gale	Joseph Ryal
Peek Fuller	Thomas Hunt
Charles Fuller	Richard Chapman
Thomas Storer	John Kircher
Samuel Vaughan	James Sharp
Hugh K. Hall	George Apthorp
Richard James Lawrance	March Tubb
Richard Vassall	Thomas Rawson
Hugh Boyd	Joseph Hiscor
Samuel Long	William Whiteley
John Jackson	John Finch
John Kanyon	Benjamin Vaughan
William Bond	Thomas Wagstaffe
William Vaughan	George Braithwaite
John Palmer, jun.	Robert Maitland
Peter Clark	Christopher Chambers
John Dawes	William Burford
John Peatt	Rice James
Henry Jackson	James Exeter
Rose Beckford	James Williams
John Collins	Richard Staveley
John Parker	Sericold and Jackson
William Ewbank	John Hughes
John Bourke	Beach and Plummer
Richard Beckford	Samuel Moody for Frederick
George Drake	Bull and self
William Briscoe	Richard Whiteshead
William Tatnal, jun.	William Needham
William Cropton	Temple Luttrell
Thomas Pool	Robert Morris
Edmund Green	Charles Lincoln.
Arthur Peatt	

Mr. Pennant.

Mr. Pennant presented the above petition, and moved that it should lie on the table. He prefaced his motion with a representation of the defenceless state that island had been in for

some time, and the many applications which had, time after time, been in vain made to the several members of administration. Promises, indeed, had been given, and nothing more. Hence, when Admiral Rowley sailed, part of his squadron was to have gone to Jamaica, but none of it ever went there. The same report was circulated when Sir Edward Hughes left England, though not a ship he commanded was destined to Jamaica. Nay, so neglectful were ministry of an island so valuable as that was well known to be to this country, that the representations from the governor and council of it, so far from obtaining any relief from hence, were hardly favoured with a perusal by the men in office of whose province it was to look at them, and whose duty it was to have made a proper use of the information contained in them. The noble Lord in the blue ribbon [Lord North] cared so little for them, that he openly confessed in the House that he had never read them; a declaration for which the noble Lord deserved to be impeached. [The honourable gentleman was here interrupted by his Lordship, who said, "Impeach me—impeach me now."] Mr. Pennant said, he was very sure there was good ground for it; but he would refer himself to another noble Lord [Lord George Germain] who had owned the reading of the papers, and to him the honourable gentleman appealed, whether the island of Jamaica had or had not been left, for a long time past, in a state that could have made but little resistance, in case of an attack, which was daily expected to have been made, by the King's naval and military force, collected at Hispaniola for that purpose. He also called upon his Lordship, to know if the island, at this very instant, was not very deficient in its military force, and with scarce any naval protection? By such inattention of government, both the island and the trade which had in that part of the world were exposed to the most imminent danger. It was this that had given him occasion to trouble the House, and to beg their leave to present a petition from the Jamaica planters, praying that they might receive, from the wisdom and goodness of Parliament, that aid and protection which ministry had refused, or declined, to give them. The question for presenting the Petition was then put, and agreed to, and the honourable gentleman presented it accordingly.

The Petition was then read, setting forth the importance of the island of Jamaica, its great consequence to this country, and praying the House to take such measures as might appear necessary

necessary for its defence, the ministry having been in vain applied to for that purpose.

Lord George Germain.

Lord George Germain said, he was quite unapprized of the presentation of the petition, and therefore hoped he should be excused giving it so full an answer as he otherwise should have done; though he could take upon him to say, that the island had not been left undefended, nor that it was at the time neglected. Since the present war there had been a greater naval force for its protection, than at any time during the late Spanish war; and for the truth of it, he had an honourable commander in his eye [*Admiral Keppel*]. Not to prove that the island had not been wholly neglected, a considerable force had been sent out, upon a requisition received for it from the governor and council. But waving all requisition on this subject, he did not know that the petition presented was to be called the petition of the planters of Jamaica, for the meeting at which it had been resolved upon had never been advertised; nor did, he was given to understand, a majority of persons interested in the island agree to the petition.

His Lordship said, if he was a planter of Jamaica, a strong force on the island would be the last thing he should wish for, as it would only tend to encourage the enemy to attack, and would look as if we had placed all the strength we could there, and his Lordship reprobated the idea of exhausting all our power by stationing such a part of it on one island, and sending a part of it on another, and leaving us nothing at home to send out on an emergency. Upon the whole, his Lordship was confident every thing had been done for Jamaica that could have been done, consistent with the duty ministry owe to other parts of the empire.

Mr. Pennant.

Mr. Pennant maintained his former assertion of the defenceless state of the island, and answered the noble Lord in every particular, as to the credibility of the petition, and the numbers that had signed it. That the meeting had been advertised, he could aver, for he had the advertisements in his pocket, and he was very sure, that *Mr. Atkinson* was the only one present, who had any objection at all, and his objection went only to the title of the petition.

Admiral Keppel.

Admiral Keppel apprehending he was alluded to by the noble Lord [*Lord George Germain*] said, there was occasion now for a much greater military force on the island, than during the late war, when we were masters of the sea, when we had now the sovereignty only by accident; but for

y to be weak, both in military and naval defence, it
ely betrayed a neglect that called for the severest cen-
e, and the Admiral affirmed to the House, that Jamaica
ft have been taken some few months ago, by a force that
uld have been sent out from Hispaniola, but for the epide-
cal sickness that happened amongst the soldiers and seamen.

Mr. *Thomas Townshend* spoke merely to the manner in *Mr. T.*
ich the petition had been treated, and asked, if it was *Townshend.*
al, and parliamentary, to consider, as a noble Lord had
ne, when a petition was presented, whether the meeting
was agreed upon at, had been called by advertisement, or had
en sanctioned by a majority of the company present. The
nourable gentleman was truly sarcastic upon the planters
o had written to the chairman of the meeting, containing
ir disapprobation of the committee, such as Mr. Duncan
mpbell, Mr. Atkinson, and others. As to Mr. Atkinson,
had never seen him, but he had always heard him spoken
as a person the most concerned, and the most connected
th government he ever knew; he was in every contract, he
s at the treasury, at the admiralty, at the navy-board, at
e victualing-office, and every other place, where any thing
s to be got by a contract.

Mr. *Fuller* (the new member for Southampton) said he had *Mr. Fuller.*
ned the letter complaining of the petition, and he was an
ependent man; but the reason he had to object to it was,
at application had been made to ministry for a force to be
t to Jamaica, and he thought it right to see whether they
uld regard it or not, before any other steps were adopted.

Lord *North* vindicated Lord George Germain, and said, *Lord North.*
ough a petition signed by three persons, was sufficient to
thorise any member to introduce it to the House, yet
was very fair to state an objection to it, if it should appear
at a much greater number of persons in the same interest
d shewn an aversion to it. As to the island, it was very
tain that the ministry had not totally neglected it, for the
ble Lord had mentioned a time when a considerable force
d been sent there on a requisition for that purpose.

The noble Lord begged pardon of the House, if he had
en guilty of any impropriety in calling upon an honou-
le member to impeach him; but he submitted it to their
adour that he had been provoked to it. He reminded the
ouse, that when he had informed them, on a former occa-
n, that he had not read the Jamaica papers, he had at the
me time explained himself, by saying that he had not read

them collectively, so as to enable him to speak of them upon the matter then before the House: and after this explanation for the honourable gentleman [Mr. Pennant] to threaten to impeach him, for not having read those papers, he appealed to the feelings of every one, if it was not enough to occasion him to explain, impeach me! impeach me now! knowing, as he did, that it could not afford a subject of impeachment; and he had the more confidently called out for the House to impeach him, being sensible that no man of sense would think of doing it.

The House, which was extremely crowded, became very clamorous for the question, while Mr. Burke stood upon his legs to speak, who seeing the House inclined for the question, presently sat down, upon which Mr. Temple Luttrell accused the House of partiality, having heard only one side, and calling aloud for the question in the middle of the debate.

Col. Barré. Colonel *Barré* brought the House to order, by reminding them, that the petition was to be considered on a future day; but all was in confusion again, by Lord George Gordon's rising to speak; and General Conway, with a view of enabling the House to get rid of the business, applied to the Speaker to know if the question had not been put; the Speaker said it had been put, but not resolved. The General averred, it had been agreed on, and the Speaker as fully denied it; upon which the honourable gentleman desired the clerks of the House might be appealed to, but the Speaker begged him to wave that, notwithstanding the great respect he bore the clerks. The clerks were then asked, if the motion was down in the book, and answering in the negative, the Speaker said he was very glad the clerks and he were found both in a story, as they in general were, and the question for the petition to lie on the table was at length agreed to.

February 11.

Mr. Plumer. Mr. *Plumer* presented a Petition from the county of Hertford, similar to that of the county of York.*

* Similar Petitions were presented to the House from the counties of Middlesex, Chester, Hertford, Sussex, Surrey, Huntingdon, Bedford, Essex, Somerset, Wilts, Gloucester, Dorset, Cumberland, Norfolk, Devon, Berks, Bucks, Kent, Nottingham, Cambridge, Hereford, Northumberland, Hants, Suffolk, Derby, and some of the Welsh counties; and from London, Westminster, York, Newcastle, Bristol, Bridgewater, Reading, Nottingham, &c. &c.

Lord *Cranborne* informed the House that this Petition did ^{Lord Cran-} declare the sense of the county at large, as a very great ^{burns.} respectable number of noblemen, gentlemen, clergy, and holders had signed a protest against it.

Mr. *Byng* very much wished, he said, that that protest ^{Mr. Byng.} should be converted, by any mode, into a Petition, or the one of one, that it might come before Parliament. He desired the House to know the names of the persons who had signed that protest, and the means that had been used to obtain the signatures. There were indeed several noblemen who had signed that protest, who were eminent indeed in the county at large, but who were hardly known as men of property in that county. It was signed by a great many who had been deluded so to do, under the idea of its being a petition, and not the protest; men who declared that they would rather have lost their right hands, than have signed a protest to a petition recommending œconomy. This protest was declared that it was unconstitutional for the people to petition Parliament; and yet the noble Lord who had spoken on the subject, and who had appeared at the meeting, had not on that occasion made one objection to the petition itself, or to the tendency of it. He had said that he had not declared the sense of the county; and yet, at the meeting, though there were upwards of four hundred gentlemen present, that noble Lord had not had more than two hands on any division that had taken place.

Lord *Nugent* said, that if the protest declared that the people of England had not a right to petition, it said very wrong. ^{Lord Nugent.} They certainly had a right to petition, and upon the present state of the petitions of the counties would have become popular, more generally agreed to, if some points had been suppressed. He, for his own part, warmly approved of the object of the petitions; he wished to see a general system of œconomy introduced, but he had not appeared at any of the meetings, because he did not approve of some other of the petitions.

Mr. *T. Townshend* rejoiced in hearing the noble Lord so ^{Mr. T. Townshend.} warmly, so zealously support the wishes of the people in the petition, though he deviated from them in lesser points. But it would have been much more noble, much more patriotic in the noble Lord to have appeared at the meetings, in the places where he had property, and avowed his opinion, where they were right, and where they were wrong; to have corrected their blunders,

ders, if they had any, and assisted them by his countenance and interest, where they were proper and right.

The honourable gentleman made some free observations on the conduct of the protestors, as well as on the libels of the people, among whom he introduced the Earl of Hillsborough, who, by assertions as defamatory as they were dangerous, had attributed motives and intentions to the people which they had never conceived; and, he said, if any thing could stir on an oppressed people to passion and violence, was such assertions coming from the mouth of a Secretary of State.

Mr. Charles Turner. Mr. Charles Turner spoke to the same effect.

Lord Onghley. Lord Onghley explained his reasons for objecting to the Hertfordshire petition.

Mr. Baker. Mr. Baker said, that as a proof that the Hertfordshire petition was a county measure, the county meeting had been called by the same gentleman whom the noble Lord had requested last summer to call a meeting for the purpose of raising a subscription to government. It was more numerous than that meeting of his Lordship's, which, by dividing, had agreed to consider as declaratory of the sense of the county, and in which also he had acquiesced.

Lord North. Lord North said that the petition now brought up was certainly improper, in so far as it declared itself to be "The petition of the noblemen, gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Hertford." It was not the petition of the county at large:—no county meeting could express the sense of the absent freeholders; no majority of such a meeting could involve the sense of the minority. A protest had been entered into against it. The petition should therefore have been entitled, "The petition of the noblemen, gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Hertford, whose names are hereunto subscribed."

Mr. Byng. Mr. Byng answered him, and the petition was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. Burke. Mr. Burke presented the Bill of which he had given notice on the 15th of December last [see page 188 of last volume]. He introduced the Bill with a very able and much-admired speech, which having been printed, and in every body's hands, it would be improper to reprint here. The following is an authentic copy of the Bill.

An Authentic Copy of the Bill

for the better Regulation of His Majesty's Civil Establishments, and of certain Public Offices; for the Limitation of Pensions, and the Suppression of sundry useless, expensive, and inconvenient Places; and for applying the Monies saved thereby to the Public Service.

WHEREAS the large aids which have been given and granted to his Majesty in support of the present war, have caused a very considerable increase of the public debt, and have subjected the good people of this realm to many burthens and inconveniences:

And whereas further grants of his Majesty's faithful commons, and further burthens on the subject, may be still necessary, and it is the bounden duty of the representatives of the Commons of this land, as well as most agreeable to his Majesty's fatherly love to his people, who have loyally and dutifully borne several new impositions in support of the honour of his crown, that all due care shall be taken, by a reduction of unnecessary charges, by introducing a better order into the management of the expences of his Majesty's civil establishments, by rendering the public accounts more easy, by a further security for the independence of parliament, and by applying monies which are not now profitably husbanded to the public service, to afford all possible relief and comfort to the said deserving people, adding thereby strength to his Majesty's government, and giving the greater effect to his exertions against the ancient enemies and rivals of his crown and kingdoms: in order, therefore, to make some provision towards the said good purposes, Be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the first day of the office commonly called or known by the name of third secretary of state, or secretary of state for the colonies (the same not being necessary) together with the offices of the under secretary, or under secretary of state, for the said department, and the places of all clerks or others employed in or under the said office or offices, shall be, and the same is hereby taken away and abolished.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the first day of the office commonly known by the

name and description of the Board of Trade and Plantations, the commissioners whereof receive salaries for their attendance in the execution of the said commission, together with the office or offices of the secretary or secretaries, and all other offices belonging, or reputed to belong, to the said Board of Trade and Plantations, shall be, and the same is hereby taken away and abolished.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the duty now done by the third secretary of state, or secretary of state for the colonies, shall be done and performed by one or both of the other secretaries of state, according to his Majesty, in his wisdom, shall from time to time direct and appoint.

And be it also enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the duty or business done, or which ought legally to be done, by the commissioners, commonly called the Board of Trade and Plantations, shall be performed in the manner in which the same was done or performed by his Majesty's Privy Council, or any committee or committees thereof, before the particular institution of the said board, or in any other manner which his Majesty shall hereafter in the said council direct and appoint to be by the said council, or any committee thereof, done and exercised.

And be it hereby enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all authorities, powers, and duties, which by any act or acts of parliament are directed to be exercised and performed by the said commissioners of trade and plantations, shall be transferred to the said Privy Council, or any committee of the same, in the like manner, and with the same directions, powers, and trusts, as by the said acts of parliament, or any of them, is or are vested in the commissioners of trade aforesaid.

And whereas the constitution of certain offices of the court, and of his Majesty's household, hath been framed, in many particulars, upon usages and customs which are long since discontinued, and the keeping up the same is inconvenient, and hath a tendency to create expence, and to prevent the superintendence necessary for establishing good order, and the frugal administration of his Majesty's Civil List Revenues, and the proportioning the several parts thereof to the necessary charges of his Majesty's government; be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the

the offices of the treasurer of the chamber, the treasurer of the household, the cofferer of the household, the comptroller of the household, the offices commonly called the master of the household, and clerks of the green cloth, and the

deputies, clerks, and assistants of any of them, and all other offices appertaining to the said above-named offices, reputed or taken to belong to the said offices, or reputed offices, or any of them, be abolished and taken away, together with all the offices, or reputed offices, belonging to or depending on the same.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to take away or in any respect derogate from the jurisdiction which now may be lawfully exercised by the court commonly called the Green Cloth; but that the same may be held and exercised, and it is hereby enacted that the same shall be held and exercised, with all the accustomed lawful jurisdiction, powers, and privileges, belonging to the same, by the chamberlain of the household, the steward of the household, the vice chamberlain of the household, the groom of the stole, the master of the horse (without any treasurer or clerks of the Green Cloth) any thing in the present act, or any other act, law, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding.

And whereas his Majesty's loyal subjects are interested that his Majesty's household should be kept up and maintained with due dignity, and at the same time that his Majesty's expences should not be encumbered with debt; and inasmuch as the reducing all standing expences to certainty, contributes much to good order and magnificence, as well as the prevention of all delays of payment, dishonourable to the crown, and burthensome in the event to the public; be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the lord steward of his Majesty's household may and shall take an account of all persons who now are maintained, or whom his Majesty's household is ordered to be maintained, at board, during his Majesty's reign, in his Majesty's household, and may and shall distribute the same into a certain number of tables, for a certain number of persons, according to the quality and condition of the persons who shall be so tabled; and shall contract for the keeping up the same, and all things to the same appertaining, at a fixed sum by the head; which contract or contracts shall be previously examined by the board of treasury, and shall, upon the examination, and calling before them persons expected in such matters, be approved or disapproved by the board in the whole or any part thereof; and the sum which upon such examination shall have been agreed to be paid to the contractors, shall be paid and discharged at the exchequer, or elsewhere, by order from the lord high treasurer, or the lords commissioners of the treasury, for the time being;

being; which order shall not be given until a certificate shall be produced from the lord steward of the household, that the said contract hath been faithfully performed, according to the true intent, meaning, and full effect thereof: provided, that nothing in this act shall extend, or be construed to extend, to restrain his Majesty from adding to, or diminishing the number and quality of the tables of his household, at his pleasure, provided that such new, as well as the old establishments, shall be kept by contract, with the regulations and conditions herein before enacted.

And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said contractors shall be, for all matters relating to the execution of the aforesaid contracts, under the constant and immediate direction and inspection of the said lord steward of the household.

Provided also, that every person who shall make or execute such contracts with the lord steward of the household shall really and *bona fide* be such as is at the time of making such contracts or has been within years before the time of contracting, engaged in the trade and occupation which he makes the said contract, and no other; and that no person shall have or enjoy the profit of the said contracts, any share or part of the benefit thereof, except the immediate person or persons who shall have contracted for fulfilling and executing the same, under the penalty of for every offence contrary to the true intent and meaning of this provision, to be recovered by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, in any of his Majesty's courts of record at Westminster, in which no essoign, protection, privilege, wager of law, or more than one imparlance, shall be allowed; nor shall any person having a contract be, during the term of his holding thereof, capable of being elected, or of sitting and voting as a member of Parliament.

And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that the office of the great wardrobe, the office of the remount wardrobe, the office of master of the robes, the office of the jewel office, and all the places and charges, whether persons presiding in or dependent on them, or any of them of what nature soever, except those of one housekeeper, one wardrobekeeper (the said places to be united after the possession of the present occupiers) in each of his Majesty's palaces and houses, shall be, and the same are hereby abolished.

And it is hereby enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the the office commonly called the

works, shall be abolished, together with all the offices thereof and thereon dependent.

And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all the King's buildings shall be under the direction of some one person who shall be constituted and appointed by his Majesty, during his royal pleasure, surveyor or comptroller of his Majesty's works; and all the royal gardens shall be under a person who shall also be appointed by his Majesty, during his Majesty's pleasure, surveyor or comptroller of the King's gardens, at such salaries as his Majesty shall please to appoint; the said surveyor, or comptroller of such works, being *bona fide* by profession an architect or builder; and the said surveyor of gardens, in like manner, a gardener, or improver of grounds; and the said persons, during the holding of the said offices, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be incapable of being elected into, or of sitting and voting in Parliament.

And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any building, or any repair, shall be thought fit to be erected, made, or done, about any public building, or if any public work or works for his Majesty's service shall be undertaken, any sum or sums of money shall be directed to be laid out for the said purposes, or any of them, above the sum of £1000 to be incurred within the surveyor or comptroller of his Majesty's works shall present a plan (if a plan should be necessary or usual in such works) and an estimate of the same to the lord chamberlain, who shall certify the same to the commissioners of his Majesty's treasury, which they may authorize the said surveyor, architect, or builder, to execute the same; and if the costs and expences of the said work shall be likely to exceed the sum of £1000 in the whole, they shall and may direct the said surveyor to contract for the execution of the said work; who may and shall rely upon, and controul the execution thereof, in all its parts, and at all times, during the progress thereof.

Provided always, that it shall not be lawful for the said surveyor, architect, or builder, to make any contract as aforesaid conclusively, until the same is approved by the commissioners of the treasury, or to make any addition in expence exceeding £1000 above the plan or estimate, unless the same shall be approved by the said commissioners of the treasury; nor shall the said commissioners be authorized to make any payment, or part of payment, by virtue of the said contracts, which in the whole shall exceed the sum of

until the same shall be surveyed by a builder of credit, not concerned in any of the public works; who shall be called in, and allowed *per day* for his trouble, and shall certify to the said commissioners of the treasury, upon oath (which oath the said commissioners of the treasury are hereby authorized and required to administer) that the work hath been executed, as far as the same hath proceeded, in a workmanlike and durable manner, and with the best materials: provided that the same builder shall not be twice successively employed in the said survey.

And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no works in his Majesty's parks or gardens, the expence of which may exceed in the whole the sum of *above* the ordinary charge (an estimate of which ordinary charge is hereby directed to be laid quarterly before the commissioners of the treasury) shall be undertaken or performed without an estimate, which shall be approved and ordered to be executed by the said commissioners of the treasury; who shall issue or cause to be issued, the money for the execution of the same, as well as for the said ordinary charge, which is hereby directed to be paid monthly to the surveyor of his Majesty's gardens.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the several duties performed in certain departments and offices, but this act suppressed, shall be hereafter performed by certain persons and in the manner following; (that is to say) the payment of all salaries, and other charges whatsoever which were heretofore paid or payable by the treasurer of the household, treasurer of the chamber, or cofferer of the household, shall be hereafter paid at the exchequer, upon the certificate of the lord chamberlain, vice chamberlain, or clerk of the household, within their respective departments, and the commissioners of his Majesty's treasury, that the same are due.

And it is hereby enacted, that the furniture, pictures, jewels, plate, and all other moveables whatsoever, formerly under the care and management of the office of great wardrobe, or other wardrobe, or jewel office, or any of the same, shall be hereafter committed to the care and management of the lord chamberlain or vice chamberlain; and it is hereby provided, that all furniture, and other moveables, to be purchased for the use of his Majesty's household, exceeding the value the sum of *above* shall be contracted for by the lord chamberlain, in the manner, and with the like limitations

with which contracts are by this act directed to be made, with regard to the maintenance of his Majesty's household, and the public works.

And it is hereby enacted, that the office of master of the stables, and all things thereto belonging, shall be executed and done by the groom of the stole.

And, for the better regulation of the department of the master of the horse, it is hereby provided and enacted, that the expences attendant on the royal stables (except the buying of horses) be performed by contract, in the manner and with the provisions and limitations herein before expressed, with regard to other contracts; and that the several offices of master of the buck hounds, fox hounds, and harriers, be abolished and taken away; and that whatever relates to the expences of such last-mentioned offices, shall be provided for, in as much as may be, by contract, by the senior equerry or gentleman of the horse; and the payments for the same, on their accounts being allowed by the master of the horse, are to be made at the exchequer, along with the other charges of his Majesty's stables, by an order from the commissioners of the treasury.

And it is hereby enacted, that every office to the said stables belonging, which, by the making of the contracts aforesaid, shall be rendered useless, shall be and is hereby abolished.

And, for the better regulation of certain places about the court, and the making the same of more advantage, and more suitable to the purposes of their institution, it is hereby enacted and declared, that the places of lieutenant and ensign, and all other inferior offices of or belonging to the body of the yeomen of the guard, after the determination of the offices respectively in the present possessors thereof, and also that all commission and other offices belonging to the band of gentlemen pensioners, under the captain of the band, as also the vacancies in the band of gentlemen pensioners, shall not be sold, but shall be filled only by officers of the army or navy upon half pay, of fifteen years service from the date of their first commission.

And it is enacted, that the holding the said offices, or any of them, shall not disable the said officers from holding and receiving also their half pay.

And, as the pension lists are excessive, and not properly regulated; be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the the office of paymaster of the pensions

shall be, and the same is hereby abolished; and that no pension whatsoever on the civil establishment shall hereafter be paid but at the exchequer, and along with those pensions which are now paid and entered in the exchequer under the head, title, or description of pensions; and that those which are transferred thither by this act, shall be subject only to their present fees and taxes.

And it is hereby further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no pensions shall be granted on the said establishment, except on the address of either House of Parliament, until the whole of the said list, made according to the directions of this act, shall be reduced to yearly; which sum it shall not be lawful by any grants, except as above excepted, to exceed; and that no pension hereafter to be granted to any one person, except as before excepted, shall amount to more than the sum of yearly.

And whereas a custom hath prevailed of granting pensions on a private list during his Majesty's pleasure, under colour, that in some cases it may not be expedient for the public good to divulge the names of the persons on the said list, or that it may be disagreeable to the persons receiving such payments to have it known that their distresses are so relieved, or under a pretence of saving the expence of fees and taxes on small pensions; by means of which said usage, much secret and dangerous corruption may hereafter be practised, and the before enacted wholesome provision be in some manner evaded: and whereas it hath pleased Almighty God, in his providence, frequently to visit with distresses all orders and conditions of men, and that persons of the greatest worth are oftentimes meanly provided with the goods of fortune, and that it is no disparagement for any person to be relieved by the royal bounty in their distress, or for their desert, but, on the contrary, most honourable to be thought worthy to be so favoured, as appeareth by many of highest place and desert, who have been and now are frequently put upon a public list, greatly to their own contentment, and to the furtherance of their estimation: be it therefore enacted, that all persons (except as hereinafter excepted) who now are entitled, during his Majesty's pleasure, to any pension, on any private or secret pension list or lists kept by the first commissioner of the treasury or chancellor of the exchequer, or one or both of the secretaries of the treasury, or private secretary to the chancellor of the exchequer or first commissioner of the treasury, or some clerk of the treasury, or any of them, or any other person

persons, shall be no longer paid privately; but that the names and pensions of the said pensioners, and every of them, they shall be *bona fide* certified, upon oath of the keepers or paymasters of the said lists, to have stood entitled on the said lists, on the day of be carried to the private list in the exchequer, and be there paid, without any deduction, or tax whatsoever, for and during the time of continuance of the said pension at his Majesty's pleasure, the present grantees thereof.

Provided that nothing herein contained shall restrain, or be construed to restrain, the first commissioner of the treasury, without his Majesty's consent, from taking away, or causing to be taken away, from the private list or lists of such pensions, before the same are entered in the exchequer, according to the provisions of this act, the names and pensions of any person or persons which at present are entered on the said private list or lists, or any of them.

Provided also, that it shall and may be lawful for the first commissioner of the treasury to return into the exchequer any pension or annuity, without the name of the person to whom the same is to be paid, on taking an oath before the barons of the exchequer, or one baron of the exchequer, or before the lord or baron, in the form following; *videlicet*,

"I *A. B.* do swear, that, according to the best of my knowledge, belief, and information, the pension or pensions, or annuity or annuities, returned without a name by me into the exchequer, hath or have been given for the service of the state in its foreign affairs, and in my judgment the divulging thereof may be of detriment to the state in its foreign transactions; and I swear that the same is or are not, to my knowledge or belief, directly or indirectly, for the benefit, use, or behoof of any member of either House of Parliament, or applicable, directly or indirectly, for the purpose of supporting or procuring an interest in any place returning members to Parliament.

"So help me GOD."

That on taking the said oath, the pension or pensions, or annuities aforesaid, shall be paid at the exchequer, in the order of the first commissioner of the treasury, and receipt shall be taken for an acquittance of the same.

Provided

Provided further, that if the said pension should continue on the said list for more than years, the first commissioner of the treasury, or one of the secretaries, or one of the chief clerks of the treasury, shall make oath, before such pension shall be paid at the exchequer, that they do believe that the person for whose use the said pension or annuity has been granted is living.

And for preventing, as much as may be, all abuses in the disposal of monies issued under the head of secret service money, or money for special service; be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that it shall not be lawful to issue or impress from the exchequer, or order to be paid by a treasury warrant, or under sign manual, or otherwise, to any secretary or secretaries of the treasury, or to any other person or persons whatsoever, for the purpose of secret service within this kingdom, any sum or sums of money which in the whole shall exceed the sum of in any one year.

And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that when it shall be deemed expedient by the commissioners of his Majesty's treasury to issue, or in any manner to direct the payment of any sum or sums of money for foreign secret service, the same shall be issued and paid to one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, or to the first commissioner of the admiralty, who shall sign a receipt for the same, upon parchment or vellum, and which said receipt shall, within days, be filed at the exchequer; and the said secretary or secretaries of state, or first commissioner of the admiralty, shall, for his discharge at the exchequer, within years from the date of his said receipt, produce the receipt of his Majesty's minister, commissioner, or consul in foreign parts, of any commander in chief, or other commander of his Majesty's navy or land forces, to whom the said money has been sent or given, that the same hath been received and applied for the purpose for which the same has been issued; which said receipt shall and is hereby directed to be filed at the exchequer, in order to charge the said minister, commissioner, consul, or commander of his Majesty's land or sea forces, with the same; and the said receipt, on production of the handwriting by legal evidence, or by comparison of hands, shall be sufficient to acquit and discharge the said secretary or secretaries, or first commissioner of the admiralty in their said account at the exchequer.

And be it enacted, that any foreign minister, commissioner, or commander of his Majesty's land or sea forces, who

and charged at the exchequer for or by reason of any secret service money by him received, shall stand discharged and acquitted thereof, if, within after his arrival in Great Britain, he shall make oath before the barons of the exchequer, or one of them, in the form following :

“ I *A. B.* do swear, that I have disposed of the money
 “ entrusted to me for foreign secret service faithfully,
 “ according to the intent and purpose for which it was
 “ given, according to my best judgment, for his Majesty’s service.
 “ So help me GOD.”

Provided always, that whenever it shall be necessary for the principal secretary or secretaries to make payment of the said money, so issued for foreign secret service, in any place within this kingdom, then it shall be sufficient, to acquit and discharge the said secretary or secretaries, or first commissioner of the admiralty, for such secretary or secretaries, or the under secretary of state in the office to which such secret service money hath been paid, or for the first commissioner of the admiralty, or the secretary of the admiralty, to make oath before the barons of the exchequer, or one of them, or before the curfitor baron, in the form following :

“ I *A. B.* do swear, that the money paid to me for
 “ foreign secret service, has been applied to the said
 “ purpose of foreign secret service, and no other ;
 “ and that it hath not appeared to me convenient to
 “ the state that the same should be paid abroad.
 “ So help me GOD.”

And be it enacted, that whenever any sum or sums of money shall be issued for the purpose of special service, or shall be given of his Majesty’s royal bounty, to any secretary or secretaries of the treasury, or others, the said sum or sums of money, together with the special service or services, or as royal bounty, to which the same is or are applied, as also the name of the person or persons to whom the said money is paid, shall be entered in a book to be kept for that purpose in the treasury, and a faithful transcript thereof shall, on or before the day of in every year, be deposited in the exchequer.

And whereas the establishment of an invariable order in the payment of salaries, and other charges on the civil list, will enable those who have the charge thereof, the better to provide

provide for the several services to which the said civil money ought to be applied, and will be the means to prevent the incurring of debt; be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the day of the commission of the treasury shall and are hereby required to observe the following order in their payments, for which warrants are to be sent by them to the exchequer; namely, that they shall, in the first place, direct the payment of the salaries of the lord high chancellor of Great Britain, or keeper of the great seal, the speaker of the House of Commons, and judges of the courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, and barons of the Exchequer; secondly, of the foreign ministers; thirdly, of those who by contract supply the King's household, or his master of the robes, or by contract execute any public work, and of the bills and demands of tradesmen and artificers who are employed in the same, either of them, though without contract; fourthly, of menial servants in his Majesty's household, and persons in an office, whose salary doth not exceed *per annum*; fifthly, the pensions and allowances of the royal family, and his Majesty's privy purse, at the present establishment thereof, unless his Majesty shall order the same to be reduced; sixthly, of all persons serving in public offices of business, about *per annum*; seventhly, the pension list; eighthly, the officers of the court; ninthly and lastly, the salaries and pensions of the lords commissioners of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer.

And it is hereby enacted, that it shall not be lawful for the lords commissioners of the treasury to direct the payment of any salary or pension whatsoever, to be made under any manual or otherwise, until the salaries and pensions of those who are entitled, according to the foregoing order, are first discharged, or cash set apart in the exchequer sufficient to answer the whole demand in the preceding classes; and that for every offence contrary to the true intent and meaning hereof, the first commissioner of the treasury shall forfeit, on conviction, the sum of *to be recovered by action* debt, bill, plaint, or information, in any of his Majesty's courts of record at Westminster, in which no essoin, protection, privilege, or wager of law, or more than one continuance, shall be allowed, half to the informer, and half to Saint George's hospital, in the county of Middlesex, and shall be rendered incapable of holding any office under the crown for the space of

And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any arrear of salary, fee, or pension, or any part thereof, shall remain in arrear at the usual time of payment at the end of the year, in want of cash belonging to the civil list revenue to pay and discharge the same, the said arrear of salary, fee, or pension, shall not be carried as a debt to the account of the year following, but shall be wholly lapsed and extinguished, as if the same had not been payable.

And be it enacted, that the commissioners of the treasury shall cause a regular book or books to be kept for the charges of each of the classes and articles aforesaid, distinctly and separately; and it is hereby directed, that the result of payments made in the said several books contained, shall, in an orderly manner, and according to the usual method in which fair accounts are kept, be entered in a separate book at the end of each year, and the whole being opposed to the receipt of the civil list cash, a balance shall be struck upon the whole; a duplicate of which book and books is hereby directed to be deposited in the exchequer.

And be it enacted, that if any balance of cash of the said civil list revenue shall remain, after making all payments as aforesaid, the said balance shall be laid up in the exchequer; and shall, at the discretion of the commissioners of the treasury, by his Majesty's order under his sign manual, be placed to the use of one of the public funds, in the name of the first commissioner of the treasury, in trust, that the interest of the said sum or sums of money so laid out to interest, shall be paid into the exchequer, until the said principal money and interest, or either of them, shall, by an order from his Majesty, under his royal sign manual, and warrant of the lords commissioners of the treasury, be appointed and laid out for the use of the establishment, or other provision, for any of his Majesty's royal family, in such times, and such manner and proportion, as to his royal wisdom and pleasure shall seem meet. And whereas there have been hitherto great delays in passing the accounts of the paymaster general and treasurer of the navy, and other accomptants, to the detriment of the service, and frequently to the vexation and disturbance of the said accountable officers and their families; be it hereby enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the first day of January next, it shall not be lawful to impress or issue to the paymaster general of his Majesty's land forces, or treasurer of the navy, any sum or sums of money, for or on account of the payment of his Majesty's sea or land forces, or any other service, without the order of the said commissioners of the treasury.

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payment usually made, or hereafter to be made, by the or any of them, except a sum of annually to the cashier of each office, in order to discharge small demands; which sum the cashier or cashiers aforesaid shall stand charged at the exchequer, and shall make up an account of the same every year, and shall either repay the balance (if any) which shall appear to remain, or shall have a sum equal to the balance deducted from the imprest of the year following.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the sums of money which, according to former usage, have been imprested or issued to the said paymaster general and treasurer of the navy, shall be in future imprested or issued in the like manner to the directors and company of the bank of England; and that the said paymaster general and treasurer of the navy may and shall draw upon the said bank for such sums of money as shall be necessary, according to the usage of the said office, to pay over to deputy paymasters, or other agents of regiments, or for such other purposes as money was formerly payable for at the said offices, and at the time and manner in which such advances or issues were formerly made, and not otherwise; and the directors and company of the bank of England are by this act authorized and required to pay to the amount of the cash in their hands for the purposes aforesaid; in which drafts, the paymaster or his deputy shall express the service for which the said draft was made.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the directors of the bank of England shall every year, or is, on the day of make up an account with the exchequer, stating in such account the sums of money imprested to them, and the payments made in consequence of drafts from the said pay offices, together with the balance (if any) in their hands; and it shall not be lawful for the treasurer, chancellor, or barons of the exchequer, so long as the said account shall be clearly and satisfactorily made up as aforesaid, to order any issues, or other exchequer process against the governor and company of the said bank, but the surplus money (if any) shall remain in the said bank, and shall be considered as money in the exchequer disposable by Parliament.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said paymaster general, and the treasurer of the bank shall severally make up a yearly account of all the money made by them on the bank, setting forth to whom, and what

for what purpose, the same were made, and what pay-
masters and agents have made up their accounts, and how far,
and what balance remains unaccounted for by each.

And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that it shall
be lawful, and it is hereby directed, that the auditor
and auditors of the exchequer, to whom such audits do belong,
shall account with any paymaster, or treasurer of the navy,
such sum or sums of money as have been imprested to
him, or any of them, from the exchequer, to the present
time, in which accounts credit shall be given to them for
such sums of money which they shall prove, *bona fide*, to have
been and paid to the deputy paymasters and others.

And it is hereby further enacted by the authority aforesaid,
that the said paymaster, and treasurer of the navy, shall de-
liver in an account of such payments, and shall also make a
state of what remains unaccounted for by the said deputy pay-
masters, agents, and others, as also of all demands outstanding
upon them; and that when they have received credit for the
same, they shall then be charged with such sum or sums of
money only as remain unaccounted for after the credit given
aforesaid; and shall stand discharged and acquitted of all
other demands whatsoever, for or on account of the said im-
prests.

And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the au-
ditor or auditors of the exchequer shall not stay the settle-
ment of the said accounts, or any of them, because account-
ants prior in time have not settled with the exchequer, or
with any other accountants, who have begun their accounts,
or have not concluded the same; any law, statute, or usage, to
the contrary notwithstanding.

And be it hereby enacted by the authority aforesaid, that
no auditor of the exchequer, or any other officer of the ex-
chequer, before whom accountants ought to account, shall stay
the account of any person or persons, or the process against,
or the acquittance of them or any of them, for or on account
of defect of vouchers, if on reference to his Majesty's attor-
ney and solicitor general, and one master in chancery (which
reference they are hereby authorized to make according to
the case) it shall appear to be their joint opinion, that the ar-
ticle in the account objected to for want of sufficient voucher,
is vouched and attested in such a manner as would be allowed
in accounts ordered by the court of chancery, or in civil cases,
between party and party, at common law; any usage in the
said office, or court of exchequer, to the contrary notwith-
standing.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that an acquittance from the exchequer, in such form as shall then settled, shall be given to all accountants, for what they have accounted for or paid, although the whole account not concluded; and that all issues *nomine penæ*, levied and brought in the exchequer, shall be repaid to all and every accountant and accountants, when their said accounts shall be concluded, or credit given for the amount of the same in the account.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that in future, and after the accounts shall be so stated and settled as aforesaid, the said paymaster general, and paymaster of the navy, shall not be considered as debtors in the exchequer, but shall be solely responsible, for fraud, malversation, irregularity, or neglect in their said offices, as other men in office are by law responsible for personal delinquency, and not otherwise, it not being reasonable that those should be charged in money account who have never had the charge or custody of money committed to them: provided, that nothing in this act contained shall be construed to exempt the cashier, deputy paymasters, army agents, or others, who shall have been after money actually paid to them by the bank as aforesaid, or any former accountants, from such process as the treasurer and barons of the exchequer shall direct, for compelling an account of such balances as the paymaster or treasurer of the navy shall report to be due, and unaccounted for, in their hands; for which balances the said barons are directed to issue speedy process, except as is herein excepted, and in such cases where the commissioners of the treasury, on examination of the circumstances, shall direct a stay of the said process.

And, in order that no reformation by this act intended to be made should operate as a retrospective penalty for any failures arising from the former insufficiency or ill order in the law, or in office; and whereas it is good and expedient for the commonwealth, that there should be some end of suits, as well between the public and private persons, as between private persons among one another; therefore, for the final settlement of all such claims as may be vexatious, and sometimes ruinous, to the subject, without any adequate benefit to the state, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that a commission be forthwith issued by his Majesty, authorizing the commissioners of the treasury, the chief baron of the exchequer, together with _____ to have power, in a summary manner, to call before them the several accountants against whom balances are returned, or may be returned (excepting always those

those who are accountable by reason of any contract for the supply of stores, provisions, ships, or goods of any kind, for his Majesty's service, since the year inclusive) fully to examine and audit their accounts severally; and they, or any

of them, shall have power and authority, on examination of the case, to order payment of the balances which shall appear due, in such order or manner, and at such periods, and in such proportions, as to them shall seem reasonable and expedient; and the said commissioners, or any

of them, are hereby authorized and required to return the said balances, and the said time of payment, into the exchequer; the proper officers of which are hereby directed to order process against the said accountants, according to the order of the said commissioners, and the times of payment appointed; which process it shall not be lawful for the barons of the exchequer, by themselves, or by order of the commissioners of the treasury, to respite.

And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said commissioners shall have, and are hereby declared to have, power and authority, on mature examination of the case, and the circumstances of all parties accountants (except as herein before excepted) according to the principles of equity, conscience, and sound discretion, to compound, or totally to discharge and acquit the said debtors and accountants, or any of them; which said composition or acquittance, being certified into the exchequer, shall admit the party or parties accountant there to stand charged with the said sum so commanded, or to be acquitted in the said exchequer on the said acquittance.

And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said commissioners, and every of them, before they enter on their commission as aforesaid, shall take an oath in the words following, in the presence of the barons of the exchequer, or one of them; *videlicet*:

I A. B. do swear, that I will act in the execution of
 " the commission appointed by his Majesty for regulating the payments and times of payments, the compositions and acquittances of public accountants, according to an act, intituled

" to the utmost of my skill and discretion, and according to equity and good conscience, between the public
 " and such accountants as shall be brought before me;
 " and that I will examine with diligence and faithfulness,
 " nefs,

“ nefs, and determine without favour, malice, or
 “ judice, according to the true intent and meaning
 “ the faid act, as far as in me lies,

“ So help me GOD.”

And whereas feveral of the chief offices in the exchequer are, by law and ufage, granted to be held during term of life, and have been reputed, in truth and fact, as pensions for life, and have been given as fuch, for the more honourable and independent provision of the perfons or families of thofe who have ferved the ftate in great and laborious employments; and whereas it is for the honour as well as the advantage of the commonwealth, that whatever reward the faid perfons have acquired by their own merits, or thofe of their ancestors, and which the law of the land hath enfured to them, fhould not be taken away: and whereas it is equally expedient, that the crown fhould not in future be debarred from the means of making honourable and independent provision, according to reafon, and the circumftances of the public, for thofe who fhall ferve the ftate: be it enacted by the authority aforefaid, that from and after the determination of the interest of the prefent poffeffors, and of the prefent grants in reverfion, the auditor of the receipt of the exchequer fhall have, in lieu of all falary, fees, and dues, to the faid offices belonging, a falary or pension, clear of all deductions, of *per annum*, and no more; and that the perfons hereafter appointed to the offices of the two auditors of the impreft, chamberlain, clerk of the pells, and clerk of the pipe, and tellers of the exchequer, fhall have and receive, after the death of the prefent poffeffors and grantees in reverfion, to each of them a falary of *per annum*, clear, and no more, in lieu of falaries, fees, and perquifites whatfoever, now claimed or enjoyed by the perfons holding the faid offices.

And whereas the constitution of the mint is of a more expenfive nature than is neceffary, and the coinage ought to be of none, or little expence to the nation; be it hereby enacted by the authority aforefaid, that the office commonly called the mint, with all places, falaries, and fees annexed to, or in any wife appertaining to the fame, fhall, from and after the day of *1780* be abolifhed.

Provided alfo, and it is hereby enacted by the authority aforefaid, that in compensation for the value of all or any of the offices in the mint which by this act are fuppreffed, which by law are held for term of life (if any fuch there be) there fhall be paid out of the aggregate fund an annuity

the salary and known legal fees and perquisites of the said office, as the same shall be proved before the commissioners of the treasury to have been received by the persons now holding the said offices, and to have been the annual value of the said offices on an average of years last past; and the same shall be certified by the commissioners of the treasury to the exchequer, and shall be paid half yearly to the person or persons so deprived, for and during the term of his or their natural lives.

And be it hereby enacted, that the commissioners of the treasury may and shall contract with the directors and company of the bank of England for the coinage, for any term not exceeding years, under such directions and limitations as they shall judge most expedient for performing the same in the best, safest, cheapest, and most beneficial manner.

Provided always, that the said coinage be executed by the company aforesaid, in the tower of London, and no where else.

Provided also, that if the said corporation of the bank shall refuse to enter into such contract, or demand exorbitant terms, the commissioners of the treasury may, and are by this act authorized to contract with any other body corporate, or private person or persons, for the execution of the same, the said bodies corporate, or private persons, giving full security for the faithful performance of the said contract, under the restrictions by this act provided, in case of a contract with the bank of England.

And forasmuch as the bank of England will derive a benefit from the sums of money which are by this act directed to be paid into the cash of the said bank, it is reasonable that they should, in some proportion, contribute to the public service; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the directors of the said bank shall take upon them the remittance of all such sums of money as shall be remitted for the use of his Majesty's forces by sea and land, serving in foreign parts, without any allowance or reward for the same; and that they shall conform to the directions which they shall receive from the paymaster general, and treasurer of the navy, severally, for the sum or sums of money which shall be remitted and sent for the use of the forces serving abroad.

And whereas much of the emolument accruing to the several pay offices, agencies in the army and navy, are derived

fived from the pay of officers serving in the army and navy; for the better encouragement of the said services be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that upon any future appointment of any person to the office of a deputy paymaster, or army agent, no person, but such as have served his Majesty, in his army or navy for years shall be capable of being appointed to or holding the said offices, or any of them; and the appointment of any other person to the said office or offices shall be void, and the said person so appointed shall forfeit the sum of to be recovered by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information in any of his Majesty's courts of record at Westminster in which no essoin, protection, privilege, or wager of law or more than one impleurance, shall be allowed.

And whereas the command and direction of the ordnance is properly a military concern, and the establishment of the present board of ordnance is attended with great expence to the public; be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the day of the civil branch, or what is commonly reputed and taken for the said civil branch of the said ordnance (that is to say) the master general, lieutenant general, surveyor general, clerk of the ordnance, clerk of the deliveries, treasurer, paymaster, secretary, architect, council, and all other officers on the same dependent, except the necessary inferior storekeepers, and clerks of the cheque, in the land ordnance service, shall be, and are hereby suppressed.

And it is hereby enacted by the authority aforesaid, that for all purposes of the land service, the principal engineer (which said principal engineer shall hereafter be a general officer in his Majesty's service) shall be and is by this act authorized to exercise all the duty or duties which the said civil branch, or any part thereof, ought to execute; and to enable the said principal engineer the better to perform the said duty, his Majesty is hereby authorized to appoint one assistant engineer, with a salary of and no more, provided that the said assistant be an officer of years service in the artillery, and no other shall be capable of holding the said office.

And it is hereby enacted, that the said assistant engineer nor any other engineer, nor any other person or persons above the present establishment of officers of the artillery shall be capable of being elected, or sitting and voting in Parliament.

And it is hereby further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the ordnance for the navy shall be, from and after the day of under the care and direction of the commissioners of the navy, who, for the better administration of the same, shall have one commissioner, and no more, added to the number, with a salary not exceeding the salary of the other commissioners, and with the like powers; which said commissioner shall be a person skilful in the business of an artillery officer and engineer, and, where a person so qualified may be had, preference shall be given to officers who have served years in his Majesty's navy.

And in order to prevent the unnecessary multiplication of offices, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the office of keeper of the naval ordnance stores, be united and consolidated with the office of keeper of naval stores, at each of his Majesty's dock-yards respectively; and shall be exercised by one and the same person.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that in case of a vacancy of any storekeeper or clerk of the checque, in any of his Majesty's yards, no person shall be capable of being appointed thereto, who has not served his Majesty in the navy, as a lieutenant or master, for years; and any other than a person or persons qualified as aforesaid shall be appointed to the said offices, or any of them, he shall forfeit his said employment, and the sum of to be recovered by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, in any of his Majesty's courts of record at Westminster, in which no essoin, protection, privilege, or wager of law, more than one imparlance, shall be allowed.

And it is hereby enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said chief engineer, and his assistant, as well as the said commissioners of the navy, may and shall contract, wherever the same is practicable from the nature of the service, for the execution of all works, buildings, and stores to the use of the navy belonging; and that all contractors with the said officers shall be under the constant inspection and controul of the said chief engineer, or the said commissioners of the navy, as the case shall be, for and in the execution of their contracts, and every part thereof: provided that no contract, exceeding in value, be made without the previous approbation of the commander in chief of his Majesty's forces, or other general officer appointed by his Majesty, and the commissioners of the treasury, if the same be for the use of the service; and the commissioners of the navy, and lords

of the admiralty, and the said commissioners of the treasury, if the same be for the sea service.

And it is hereby enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the money payable on account of the said contracts shall be paid at the Exchequer; and that all other payments to the said ordnance belonging, be made at the pay-office, or the navy-office, as the service shall be military or naval, according to the course and manner that shall be hereafter used by virtue of this act in the said offices.

And it is hereby enacted, that the estimate and accounts of the ordnance, be annually laid before Parliament, as hitherto accustomed, except that the ordnance and stores for land and sea service be distinguished.

Provided, that nothing in this act contained shall be construed to exempt the chief engineer from the orders of the commander in chief or secretary at war, for the time being, or the navy-board, from the orders of the admiralty, in matters which regard ordnance stores, or any kind of military stores; but they shall be in all things bound to obey and conform to the orders and directions which they shall from time to time receive from the said superior officers.

And be it hereby enacted, in order to the more perfect regulation of the said ordnance, that in days after the passing of this act, a commission be appointed by His Majesty, which shall consist of the first commissioner of the treasury, the first commissioner of the admiralty, one commissioner of the navy, the secretary at war, the pay-master of his Majesty's forces, the treasurer of the navy, the commander in chief of his Majesty's forces, the chief engineer, and the following general officers and admirals; *videlicet*:

Which said commissioners, or any of them, may and are hereby directed to regulate all things relative to the said ordnance, so as to bring the same to a more perfect conformity and accommodation to military purposes; and as may be, in all branches thereof, to employ military persons; and to reduce the expences of the same, by uniting of duties, where the same may be united, and separating the same, where the same may and ought to be separated, and reducing the number of unnecessary offices, clerks, and other persons, according to their discretion, and the true intent and meaning of this act.

And it is hereby enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all the salaries, lawful fees, perquisites, and profits whatso-

belonging to all and every the offices by this act suppressed, shall cease and determine with the determination of the said offices severally, and be no longer paid; that the commissioners of the treasury shall, within make, or cause to be made up, an account of the salaries and fees now payable for or on account of the said offices severally, as also an account of all the charges whatever, ordinary or extraordinary, incurred for or by reason of the said offices, during years last past; and shall cause a sum, to the amount of a medium of the said salaries, fees, and charges, to be annually set apart, and a separate account to be kept of the same, and to carry the said sum or sums of money, together with the amount of and every pension as it shall fall or determine, until the said pension list be reduced to (except as in this act is otherwise provided) to the sinking fund, there to remain for the disposition of Parliament.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that it shall not be lawful to create any office, in the nature or for the purpose of those which are by this act abolished, or to divide any office into several parts, to be held by divers persons, other than such as have been usually held in common, or to create any new office whatever, or any additional commissioner, with a salary exceeding pounds per annum.

And, in order to prevent the reformation by this act proposed from affecting private persons, whose whole livelihood, or the greater part thereof, consists in the profits of places by this act suppressed; be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that it shall be lawful for the following persons; or any or more of them, to be commissioners for receiving and hearing the representations of persons affected by this act in the manner above mentioned; and on what shall appear to them sufficient proof of said person or persons having no other livelihood, or no other employment of profit, or pension, or upon proof of circumstances of compassion, they shall have power to allow, according to equity and the reason of the case, and allow half pay, or more, at their discretion, to such person or persons, until the officer by this act displaced shall otherwise provided for in his Majesty's service; and a certificate, signed by not less than of the said commissioners, shall be, and is hereby declared of sufficient authority for the commissioners of the treasury to make the said

said allowances for such persons; provided, that the said allowance do in no case exceed *per annum*; and that no peer, or member of parliament, shall be entitled to the said relief.

And it is hereby enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all the clerks in office, by this act displaced, and who shall be duly qualified to be employed as clerks in other public offices or as officers in the customs, shall be entitled to the succession of any vacant clerkship in other offices, or to offices in the customs, not exceeding *per annum* in value (where any rule or practice of succession within the said offices does not interfere) upon application made by memorial to the said offices, the allowance aforesaid being to cease on such appointment.

And it is hereby enacted by the authority aforesaid, that in case, after *months* time given for due enquiry, and proof of their qualifications, the memorialist or memorialists aforesaid are not put into possession of the said vacant offices, the person to whom it belongs to fill the said vacancy shall forfeit the sum of *for each such offence*, to be recovered by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, in any of his Majesty's courts of record at Westminster, which no essoign, protection, privilege, or wager of law, or more than one impleurance, shall be allowed.

Lord North. When Mr. Burke sat down, Lord North rose and spoke in the warmest terms of approbation of Mr. Burke's paper, and added, that as so many subjects were treated of in it, he wished that a future day might be appointed for the full consideration of them, and as some of them respected the King's patrimony or income he thought that leave of the crown should first be had before leave was given to bring in the bill.

Lord George Gordon. Lord George Gordon spoke against the bill, and divided the House against bringing it in; but was alone in the division against it. Adjourned to Feb. 14.

February 14.

Lord Newhaven. Lord Newhaven complained that proper attention had not been paid to an order of the House, calling for the production of the sums received in payment of the land-tax for the year 1779.—Agreeable to the productions on the table, it did not appear that the sum received amounted to much more than 300,000*l.* This he could not understand, and he must insist that proper explanations of the mystery be made. He would, he said, thoroughly investigate the nature of this failure.

receipt; and he thought it an object worthy the most serious consideration of the House.

Sir Grey Cooper excused the treasury from any share of the ^{Sir Grey Cooper.} me that might be laid at their door, as they had used every means in their power to bring in the deficiencies. He was assured that the receivers would explain the reasons to the satisfaction of the House, as they had done to the satisfaction of the treasury last year.

Lord Newhaven moved, that accounts of the sums yet ^{Lord Newhaven.} remaining due of the land-tax for the year 1779, with the respective places in which it lay, be laid before the House. His motion passed.

Sir George Savile informed the House, that in consequence ^{Sir George Savile.} what he had said, when he presented the petition from the county of York, that he would call for such papers as would throw light on the subjects complained of in the petition, he would take an opportunity to-morrow of moving for a correct list of the pensions, and of such places as were generally described by the appellation of sinecures. He did so, although his honourable friend in the plan which he had submitted to the House, had with that liberality for which he is celebrated, foregone an inquiry into subjects of this nature. He only wished to see what might be made of

To-morrow he would make a motion for that purpose.

Colonel Barré now called the attention of the House to ^{Colonel Barré} some propositions, in addition to those of his honourable friend, Mr. Burke. The plan which he had submitted to the consideration of the House, with so much ability on his part, and which had been received with so much grateful attention on theirs, comprehended a great deal, and promised advantages to this country of the most flattering nature. He had done a great deal, and having taken upon himself the labour and fatigue of conducting so great a part of the reform, it called not only for the gratitude, the assistance, and combination of that side of the House, but of the other also. The abilities of every man, and the assiduity of every man, were called upon in the present instance.

His friend did not, he was well assured, claim any exclusive privilege of forming propositions for a thorough reform. The country had taken the alarm; their meetings were sober, and their petitions were decent. The one was as sober and the other as decent as their resolutions were wise, and their temper determined. They expected redress, and it became that House, in the present hour of difficulty and suspicion, to

to act as became the representatives of the people. For his own part, he was not reformation-mad; but there were some objects which he ardently wished to introduce to the consideration of the House, and which would be properly connected with those of his honourable friend.

In his plan he had proposed that the high offices in the exchequer, the emoluments of which are exorbitant, should be permitted to continue as they are during the lives of the present possessors. He confessed, for his own part, he thought that something more should be done. He did not think it right that persons who are in general possessed of large private fortunes, should be permitted, during the wars and calamities of their country, to reap advantages which they do not do in times of peace and prosperity; and he would on this ground introduce a proposition, that the perquisites and profits of these places should be put on a footing equal to the peace establishment. This he thought fair, just, and reasonable.

Another subject of the highest importance, and which, in his opinion, called most loudly for reformation, was the mode of voting the public money without estimate. It appeared that no less than six millions of the public money are in the hands of two ministers, for which there had not been, to this moment, the smallest account. What could the people of this country think of such proceeding? He could with assurance inform the House, that the greatest part of this large sum might have been reduced to estimate.

In the year 1775, the extraordinaries had amounted to more than 400,000*l*. Surprized at the enormity of this sum, he called for vouchers, that he might enquire, if possible, how it had been expended. The accounts came, but he found that instead of throwing any light on the matter, they stated no more than the dates of the warrants from the commander in chief, on which the money had been paid. As he proceeded in this, he waded deeper into obscurity, and there was no more light thrown on the matter by the accounts than there had been by the gross vote of the House. He was convinced that nothing but a commission of accounts, consisting of a small number of men, could correct this evil, and bring it within proper bounds and controul. He knew that the ministers would have the naming of that committee; but notwithstanding this, he foresaw much good from it. A small committee would not dare, in the face of their country, to make a mockery of what was intended as a national good. On this he rested his hopes, and he would on a future day introduce propositions to this effect.

Lord

Lord North said, that he wished to hear the propositions of Lord North. gentlemen from every side of the House; and he could assure them that no man in it would be more ready to adopt any than that appeared calculated for the promotion of œconomy, and for reducing the public expence to order and limit. When the honourable gentleman had proposed his plan the other day, with so much perspicuity of reasoning and elegance of manner, he asked if there were any more propositions still left; he did this, surprised that he should have neglected the point which he confessed, for his own part, he thought the most essential of all. That the expenditure of the public money should be brought as much as possible under cheque and controul, he was well convinced; and no member, he believed, would venture to deny the propositions. And it was very certain that the present course of Exchequer was inimical to speedy and effectual controul.

The system was unequal to the extent of the business; and created delays and inconveniencies exceedingly disagreeable, and which tended to obstruct, instead of expediting, as they ought, the national service. The people, he said, ought to be satisfied with respect to the expenditure; it was their right; they expected it; and he, for his own part, wished that the most clearness and precision should be found in the public accounts. He was convinced that all the expence could not be reduced to estimate. The nature of war was such, that no probable estimate could be found capable of providing against contingencies: there must therefore be exceedings; and ever since the land and sea service of this country had advanced to bulk and magnitude, exceedings were found to be absolutely necessary.

When an officer made a demand, it was not possible to withhold it. The service in the hour of danger and action must not be abandoned; and though the sums so advanced might be even extravagant, yet at a distance from the scene of action, and unacquainted with the necessities of the occasion, government could not refuse the request. The officer however was answerable to his country for the sums that he received, and it was on this responsibility that the advancements had been originally made and admitted. He was free to confess that he thought a *commission of accounts* the most likely way of checking the public expence; and for his own part he thought so salutary, and indeed so necessary a measure, that he wished to see it adopted. The honourable gentleman had said that the only objection was that the Ministry would have the naming

naming of it. He knew that the majority of the House would have the naming of it; but why the decision of the majority of the House of Commons should throw an obloquy on the persons they named, he was yet to learn. Committees of accounts had frequently been appointed, and they had sometimes failed of producing any good. When formed on principles of faction, they were actuated by intrigue, not zeal, and politics had mixed themselves with every decision. And when they had been appointed of a temporary nature, and gentlemen had both attended them and their duty in the House, little good had been derived, for their time had been too short for the objects of their concern. But a committee of a small number of gentlemen rendered permanent, and sitting through the year, would be capable of rendering solid advantage to the country.

As to the honourable gentleman's other proposition, respecting the emoluments and salaries of offices during war, he could only say, that no exorbitant fees, no extravagant profits arose in the offices. If the emoluments were large and uncommon, in the present state of things, it was because a larger receipt and expenditure now occurred than during peace establishment. A certain profit was annexed to the amount of the receipt and payment, and that consequently arose in proportion to the advancement of the national expence.

Col. Barré. Colonel *Barré* observed that the noble Lord had spoken plainly, and like a man. He had declared that there was occasion for a reform; and he considered the noble Lord as pledged to the measure of a committee of accounts. He thanked the noble Lord for speaking out, and he formed the most favourable presage of success from the noble Lord's declarations.

The noble Lord had said true, that the extraordinary expence could not be prevented altogether, and that it was impossible to withhold the demands of officers upon actual service. He would, however, were he in the noble Lord's situation, would let the officers know, that it was not the treasury alone that they had to satisfy, but Parliament also; and that the treasury could not protect them from the inquiries and the censure of the country. He answered him with respect to the emoluments of office, and said that certainly men who enjoyed great and extravagant profits, merely from the occasions of war, would not ought to make no objection to yield up those profits, and be contented with the profits which they received in peace.

Lord George Gordon.

Lord *George Gordon* said, that the honourable gentleman had too hastily given the noble Lord credit for his intention

for his own part, he believed that his design was to cajole the House and the people.

Mr. Fox paid many handsome compliments to the propositions contained in the plan opened on Friday last by an honourable member (Mr. Burke) and allowed great candour and fairness on the part of the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, who had so readily approved of the idea thrown out of appointing commissioners of accounts; but could not agree with his lordship, that a better mode, or a more ready mode of accounting to the House for the expenditure of public monies, could not be devised, or reduced to practice. At present the issue of very large sums were year after year left unaccounted for, and he thought it right the Minister should no longer be suffered to lay out enormous sums, for the expenditure of which the House had as little given their assent, as the public were satisfied of its receipts.

The very last year, for instance, the estimate for the transport service from Corke to America, had been given in at 60,000*l.* and no less a sum than 400,000*l.* was actually charged for that very service, and the Minister, with a modesty peculiar to himself, had never thought it worth his while to explain such an enormous excess of the estimate. No less a sum than 60,000*l.* had also been issued to Mr. Stewart, to buy presents for the Indians, but how it had been laid out, the House were to this moment totally ignorant; and but for the integrity of the Minister, he might just as well have put the whole money into his own pocket, for he had just as much right to it; at least, if the noble Lord had chose to have done it, he might have as much satisfied the House as when he gave it to Mr. Stewart. The honourable gentleman deduced many reasons from these facts, to prove how necessary it was to have the expenditure of the public money put under some controul.

The honourable gentleman went largely into a defence of the various petitions from the county meetings, and animadverted with his usual poignancy of remark, on the protests entered into at several of the said counties, as the protestors were by no means warranted in libelling those persons who had thought fit to pray Parliament for œconomy in the public expenditures. As to the noble Lord (Lord Cranbourne) who had been very active that way, he thought the noble Lord stood particularly distinguished as deserving the censure of the House; for he had attended the county meeting, and might there, if he had thought proper, have signified his objections to the resolutions he had since protested against. But why did the protestors libel and tra-

duce the petitioners? if they had any dislike to the matter set forth in the petitions, they might have done it; but after giving the petition a tacit approbation, was it right, was it decent in the noble Lord to protest against it? The honourable gentleman would not say in what manner the protest ought to be treated.

He wished from his soul that the protest could be brought before the House; nay, he wished that every county would protest to its utmost, that numbers might be fairly counted. As to the protests already made, there was one way, indeed, and but one way, to bring them before the House, and that was by ordering those instruments before them, as false and infamous libels against the people of England, for using the right the constitution gave them of petitioning Parliament. There was a time, he was very sure, when the representatives of the people would have done this. He spoke now as a member of the House, and not a petitioner; and he thought he stood in a situation to complain of those protests, as an attack on his legislative character, as denying his Majesty's subjects a privilege of complaining to him of any injuries they might suppose they were labouring under.

The honourable gentleman took notice of the assertions made in another House, by a noble Lord [Lord Hillsborough] reflecting on the county meetings, and the Petitions they had sent to Parliament, and said he was very glad the noble Lord in the blue ribbon had no such opinion of them, but had abandoned the protestors. The honourable gentleman finally declared, that it was necessary that the influence of the crown should be checked for the safety of the constitution.

Lord North. Lord North said, the honourable gentleman was a powerful advocate in any cause, however arduous and difficult. His rapidity of speech, his severity of censure, and choice of words, made him an enemy to be dreaded; for his part, he feared him as an antagonist—yet notwithstanding this, he would rather have the honourable member for an *opponent* than a *commentator*, for nothing but such extensive talents for commentating, could possibly have induced the honourable gentleman to state, that he had ever said any thing that was to be construed into an abandoning, or any intention to abandon the protestors. Good God, was it possible for him to use any such expression? The petitions presented, were not the petitions of the county of Hampshire, nor of the county of York. They were not the petitions of this county, nor of

that county, but only of such a number and description of persons residing in the county, and for him to think of abandoning those who thought it their duty to protest against them, it would be monstrous and unpardonable.

With respect to the influence of the crown, the noble Lord declared *it had not encreased of late years*, and that any attempt at a diminution of it was to be resisted.

Mr. Dunning very ably defended the right of petitioning, Mr. Dunning said the persons who signed a petition by no means meant to convey what it contained as the sense of the county at large, but of the meeting held at that county, to which the freeholders had access.

Lord Mulgrave adverted to the late meeting held at York, Lord Mulgrave said it was true, that there was a property in the room of more value than within the walls of Parliament, as had been asserted by an honourable Baronet [Sir George Savile]: it was a still greater compliment to the county, that great as the property was at that meeting, it was not half of what the county possessed. His Lordship also denied that the petition was signed by a majority of the freeholders and landholders, for he understood the county contained very near thirty thousand persons under those descriptions, and not fifteen hundred names appeared to the petition.

But the noble Lord did not think that either the rank or number of the persons signified; the right of petitioning was universal and free as air. It mattered not who petitioned, it was the subject of the petition that was to be attended to, and a single person, a beggar, nay a foreigner, petitioning alone, had a right to be heard. But the noble Lord reprobated the present mode of petitioning: it was dangerous and unconstitutional; for the associations had as much as declared, that Parliament did not grant the prayer of the petitions, other means would be taken than those the petitioners had used. But the noble Lord begged leave to warn and caution men against their stepping out of the proper path; for the constitution had drawn a line for the people to go by, and if they transgressed they might expect to be punished with justice but without pity.

For his part, he loved the constitution; he did not wish a better; and as there was still energy enough in government and government he was sure was in good hands] he trusted would be properly put forth to curb the factious and dissipated, and support itself with the dignity it was bound to reserve.

Lord John
Cavendish.

Lord *John Cavendish* spoke of the legality of the meeting at York, and the respectability of the persons who had signed the petition. The noble Lord said he had seen near fifty thousand of his fellow-creatures wantonly butchered in an unnatural war, and could not but set his face against the ministers that had prosecuted it. He did not entirely agree with the noble Lord, that as much attention ought to be paid to a petition signed by an individual, as by a body of people; because it was more likely that a body of people should have more to complain of, and that of a nature more important, than an individual. As to the meeting at York, for instance, the property of the persons petitioning was supposed to be not less than 800,000 l. a year; and as rents had fallen one-third in value, they certainly had more right to petition than any one person could possibly have. The noble Lord did not agree that it was the matter of the petition alone that was to be considered; because if a majority of the people of England were to desire even a worse government than we have at present, they would have a right to have their wishes gratified.

He esteemed himself much obliged to the noble Lord, for the very kind caution he had given him, in common with other petitioners, to take care, and not step aside from the constitution. He had taken care, and should continue to do so. Every one knew, that he had connections too dear and valuable to him, to wish for anarchy and confusion, but no consideration should warp him from exerting himself to the very utmost, in enforcing a compliance with the prayer of the petitions.

Mr. T.
Townshend.

Mr. *Thomas Townshend* thanked the noble Lord under the gallery [Lord Mulgrave] for the very friendly hint he had thrown out, not to step aside the line the constitution had marked out, for that if he did, he would be punished with justice, but without pity. The honourable gentleman did not want to be informed of this; he knew well enough that punishment, without pity, would follow the friends of the people, if they should happen to step a little out of the path, and he believed ministry would do it now, if they dared.

He next adverted to the associations of Ireland, and reminded the House of the different treatment they had received from what the petitioners of England had experienced. He was surprised, and wanted to have a reason given him why the people of England could not arm themselves, as well as the people of Ireland. There they had been complimented here traduced. A proud secretary of state had, in the Upper House

House, declared the petitioners factious, and the petitions
 bellous. This was, he said, of all other men, the very last
 who should have uttered any such words. The first he ever
 heard of the noble Lord, was his turning out General Am-
 herst from his government, next his conduct at St. Vincent's
 when the wretched Caribs were treated with every species of
 brutality, and soon after he found the noble Lord writing
 letters to America, and piddling in the rebellion that after-
 wards raged through the whole continent.

The honourable gentleman attacked the noble Lord in the
 the ribbon very closely, as to his assertion, that the influence
 of the crown had not of late years encreased, and asked,
 what all the encrease of our military had tended to but an
 extension of the influence of the crown.

Lord North entered very fully into a defence of the Earl Lord North,
 Hillsborough, and urged the impropriety of taking notice
 of works spoken in another House. As to the influence of
 the crown, he again declared, that there were many gentle-
 men who did not think it too great.

Col. Barré said, as he had started the business, he would Col. Barré
 take the liberty of detaining the House upon it, until they
 came to a right understanding. The noble Lord, and he
 thanked him for it, had frankly told the House that any at-
 tempt at a diminution of the influence of the crown was to
 be resisted; he should therefore be glad to know of the noble
 Lord, if when a commission of accounts should be chosen,
 it was to be an instruction to them, to avoid touching upon
 any thing that might tend to lessening the influence of the
 crown. This he particularly desired to be informed of, as
 it would be better to die in the cause at once, if no real and
 substantial service was meant the people of England.

Lord North spoke again, and declared his readiness to co- Lord North.
 operate and co-operate with a commission of account, but did
 not give an answer to the right honourable gentleman.

Mr. Onslow exclaimed in the most bitter terms against the Mr. Onslow.
 petitions and petitioners; he did not like them, they were
 factious, and might do a great deal of mischief. It had been
 his fortune to have been educated in constitutional principles,
 and he could not bear to see such things. They made his
 heart ache, he vowed to God they did. He was down in Sus-
 sex a little while ago, and on a rainy day, taking a walk out,
 what should he see, but two men taking the heights of a hill,
 and when he asked them, what they were doing it for, they
 told him it was for the Duke of Richmond. This alarmed

him exceedingly. But when he heard of the Suffex meeting and their petition, he could not help feeling for the constitution, for he loved the constitution, by his soul he did. But this was not all he knew of the Duke of Richmond. His Grace was at the table of the Duke D'Aiguillon in France, and the Duke said, I wish, indeed, to see English pride humbled, but I wonder that an English duke should wish it. The honourable gentleman was here called to order by Col. Barré, who thought it incumbent on him to explain himself as to the Duke of Richmond, but the honourable gentleman denied he had traduced him, or spoken unparliamentary, and defied the most captious imp of the law to touch a hair of his head. After this, the honourable gentleman went on a considerable time abusing, in the most virulent terms, the petitioners and their conduct, and appealed to every one that heard him, and to God Almighty, that what he said, was spoken from the feelings of his heart. In the course of his speech, he was called to order seven or eight times by General Conway, Mr. Turner, and others.

The character of the Duke of Richmond was warmly defended by General Conway, Col. Barré, Mr. Townshend, and Mr. Fox, the latter of which was surprised the honourable gentleman should be alarmed because one of his Majesty's generals had sent two persons to take the height of a hill on the coast of Suffex, the better to enable him to put it into a state of defence. But it was so rare for any one to do anything for government for nothing, that the gentleman was quite alarmed, especially when he heard of the petition. If any foreigner were to hear the language used by ministers, he would conclude that the petitions militated against the constitution, tending to overturn the constitution, and raise rebellion; and yet, were he to read them, he would find them to pray for nothing more than œconomy in the public expenditure. Formerly, the honourable member said, the ministry were accusing opposition, every day, of wanting places, pensions, and sinecures; but, now that they prayed for an abolition of those things, they were charged with endeavouring to overthrow the constitution.

Lord Fair-
ford.

Lord Fairford (Lord Hillsborough's son) denied his father had used the words imputed to him.

Mr. Burke.

Mr. Burke then, moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill, for selling the forests and crown lands, with certain exceptions, reserving to the tenant the rights of common, and

same was unanimously agreed to. The honourable member then moved for leave to bring in a bill respecting the Duchy of Cornwall, which being opposed, was by consent both sides withdrawn.

February 15.

Sir George Savile moved, that an account of all places, the salaries annexed to them, &c. be laid before that House. By Sir George Savile.
his account, he said, the House, and of course his constituents, would be able to judge of the services done to the state in return for the salaries paid by it; in short, such an account would, in the judgment of the House, after full consideration, shew that the emoluments were held as sinecures. The motion was agreed to without any opposition.

Sir George next moved, as part of his plan, and a prime object of the county meetings, that an account of all pensions, whether paid at the exchequer, or out of the privy purse, for life, years, or at pleasure, be laid before that House. Lord Nugent opposed this motion. He said that many deserving persons enjoyed his Majesty's private bounty, who would not wish their names made public; some reduced gentlemen stood in the same predicament, and there were many Lady Bridgets, Lady Maries and Jennies, who would be much hurt at having their names entered in the proceedings of that House as pensioners of the state. Pride in general was not to extend its influence more or less every where, but female pride was sanctioned, and partly approved of by custom; if Lady Jenny and Lady Mary, who passed as persons of consequence in their respective neighbourhoods, were discovered to be mere pensioners and dependants on a court, they would soon lose the respect which their rank entitled them to. He knew there were several of those Lady Maries and Lady Jennies from North Britain; surely it would be cruel to rob them of their rights. There were some of those ladies in Ireland, at least some who had pensions on the Irish establishment. At all events, as their appointments were but small, and the object all taken together but trifling, he would be much better pleased that the honourable baronet would give up his motion. Ld. Nugent.

Sir George Savile acknowledged, that so far as the Lady Maries and Lady Jennies and Bridgets came within the views of his motion, he felt equally for the inconveniences and disagreeable consequences arising from the circumstances of depriving the means which persons of rank, but small fortune, had to support themselves. To this very painful necessity he Sir George Savile.

he had nothing to oppose, but the great and important advantages which his constituents expected to reap from such general disclosure. No man felt more for the delicacy and nice feeling of Lady Betty or Lady Mary, but yet no man considering the great object in view, could sacrifice those inferior feelings with more perfect resignation.

Mr. Cornwall. Mr. Cornwall said, the pension list consisted of two kinds, that paid out of the privy purse, and that paid at the exchequer, of which Lord Gage was the paymaster. Those paid out of his Majesty's bounty, the noble Lord who spoke lately had assigned a very sufficient reason for not publishing; and as for that paid at the exchequer, it was generally understood that no part of it was given to members of parliament, consequently it could not be supposed to increase the influence of the crown.

Mr. T. Townshend. Mr. T. Townshend observed, that the very reason assigned by the honourable gentleman was the strongest that could possibly urged in behalf of the motion; that was, that the pensions paid at the exchequer were supposed never to be paid to members of parliament: if so, then no inconvenience could possibly ensue, but the ludicrous one so often alluded to which he presumed would not be seriously urged against a great and so constitutional a motion as that now in the hands of the chair.

Lord North. Lord North said a few words against the propriety of the motion, though not against the motion itself.

Lord George Gordon. Lord George Gordon rose to speak, but while he was on his legs the Speaker seemed to be suddenly taken ill. Colonel Barré.

Barré then rose, and moved that the debate should be adjourned. A great confusion now arose, and after a few minutes the House adjourned.

February 16.

No debate. Adjourned to the 21st.

February 21.

Mr. Smith. Mr. Smith (member for Nottingham) after some general apologies for his first time of rising, said he had received a letter from a part of his constituents, which they had called a protest against a petition presented to the House from another and more respectable part of his constituents; that he was requested to lay the protest before the House, but he was in doubt whether such request could be complied with, and therefore he wished for information how to act.

Col. Barré. Colonel Barré said, that the honourable gentleman need not to have made an apology to the House on account of

Vol

st appearance, which had been in every respect proper. It was no wonder that he did not well know how to dispose of the protest; for though it was addressed to the House of Commons, it did not, like a petition, contain any prayer. No experience in the House of Commons could possibly have taught the honourable gentleman what to propose with regard to the protest, for he did not believe that any such paper had ever before been addressed to that assembly. However, so far was he from discouraging the protest, that he intended to move, that the six men who had signed that protest should be examined at the bar of the House of Commons. I will, with ease, learn from those gentlemen, said he, the grounds upon which they assure Parliament that a branch of the British empire is not lost to this country. I am sure there are not six men in this House that will make this assertion; and it is our duty to attend to any six men who are better informed, and who, it is to be presumed, are in possession of the means of authenticating so good news.

Mr. Fox was at a loss, whether to consider this paper as a *Mr. Fox.* petition, or a manifesto, or a declaration. It concluded nothing, and was calculated merely to fix a stigma on the petitions from the counties. Was this protest then to be brought up? Let those who favoured, let those who signed protests, teach us how to consider them, or what conclusion we are to draw from them?

The *Attorney General* said, that it was a very easy matter *The Attorney General.* to comprehend the intention of the protest. A certain number of men assuming to themselves to be the men, as if they were the only men, of a certain description, in that exclusive description or character, presented a petition, for a certain purpose to Parliament; others, who belonged to the same description or class, and differing from the petitioners on sentiments, complain, that they have asserted a falsehood, in attributing to that class of men, opinions and wishes which they did not entertain. For God's sake, gentlemen, said he, what names are we fallen into? Is liberty to be all on one side? Shall not there be a liberty of protesting, as well as of petitioning? The expression that has been found fault with in the protest, viz. That if petitions of this kind are encouraged, Parliament will become the mere register of the dictates of the counties, is a very proper expression, and conveys a very just sentiment. With regard to the ironical strain in which an honourable gentleman talks of availing ourselves of the knowledge and information of the six junior counsellors of Nottingham, I am clear to say, that there is nothing in their protest

from which it may be inferred that they are not possessed a very considerable share of knowledge and information. then went into the discussion of the legality of associations which he contended were legal or illegal, according to the object. The present associations were, in his opinion, harmless, and therefore legal; though he would maintain, at the same time, that if others were of a different opinion, they had a right to say so.

Mr. Fuller. Mr. Fuller said, that protests were legal, and in some instances necessary. A petition had been signed in the county to which he belonged at the time when he was attending duty in Parliament. How was he to signify his disapprobation of it, if he was not allowed the liberty of protesting against it?

Mr. Burke. Mr. Burke contended, that the protest answered exactly the description of a libel. The protesters had assumed to themselves the prerogative of judging for Parliament, of telling them what is derogatory from their dignity, and so on. He desired, that the petition from Nottingham might be read [which was done] and shewed that there was nothing in it which deserved the severe censures of the protesters. He said that although he was a great stickler for public economy, he would vote for opening the strings of the national purse for the purpose of rewarding the six counsellors of Nottingham, as soon as they should have authenticated the good accounts they gave of the national prosperity.

Lord North. Lord North said, that the protest was taken against the petition when it was fabricated and signed at Nottingham, when it was presented to the House of Commons. He acknowledged that it could not be received by the House, as it contained no prayer; but trusted that gentlemen would not take advantage of that circumstance, in order by false interpretations, to represent the protest as improper or libellous.

Mr. Fox. Mr. Fox said, that all he would henceforth insist upon was, that when the day should come for the consideration of the petitions, he should not hear one word of protesting having been received from different counties, since the House had acknowledged that they would not be received, he would consider them in this House as having no existence.

The order of the day was called for, when

Sir George Savile. Sir George Savile moved, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to direct, that there be laid before this House, an account of all subsisting pensions granted by the crown during the present reign."

otherwise; specifying the amount of such pensions respectively, and the times when, and the persons to whom, such pensions were granted."

Lord North moved an amendment, to add after the words, *Lord North*. *otherwise*, "and payable at the exchequer. His Lordship produced this amendment with saying, that he believed the state of pensions was but very imperfectly known. All not properly speaking *pension*, that appeared on the pension list. He enumerated a great number of salaries that were under the denomination of pensions. Seventeen thousand pounds were paid at the Exchequer; fourteen thousand to the paymaster of the pensioners. Thirty-five thousand pounds of what passed for pension list, was not really so. After deducting this sum and the four shillings in the pound of tax on places and pensions, the sum remaining under the denomination of *pension*, was eight and forty, or we will say, fifty thousand pounds, a sum less by ten thousand pounds, than that which an honourable gentleman [Mr. Burke] in his plan for public œconomy, had thought proper to be trusted to the management of the crown salary, under the name of secret service money. He thought that the country gentlemen were very ill informed with regard to many very important particulars. [Here it seems his Lordship either laughed, or fancied that he saw somebody laughing at him, for he proceeded] I do not mind gentlemen's laughing; laughing is a proof of the self-sufficiency of him who laughs; but not a proof of the absurdity of the person who is laughed at. I am persuaded, said he, that if the people of England knew, that all they could expect from exposing the names of pensioners, was only the savings of a severe œconomy, applied to so small a subject as fifty thousand pounds, they would have rather liberality and delicacy than to insist upon the present motion. The honourable Baronet had acknowledged that he was called for the pension list with reluctance. That the motion which a regard to public welfare extorted from him, was painful to him; and so it must be to every humane and honourable man. To expose the necessities of ancient and noble families to the prying eye of malignant curiosity; to hold up the man who has a pension, to the detraction and envy of the man who hates him, because he has none; to prepare a feast for party writers, and furnish materials for magazines and newspapers, which would magnify and misrepresent every circumstance in the whole detail of the account of the pensions! These were the bad effects, but he knew of no good ones.

ones that could result from an indiscriminate exposure of all who received pensions from government. He remarked a difference between the money that was granted to government for the express purpose of payment of public services and civil list money, which was granted freely, and without restriction or controul to the person of the King. Having again read his amendment, he proposed, on account of the Speaker's health, to leave the motion, thus amended, on the table till next day, and to adjourn.

The Speaker thanked the House for their kind attention but he found himself so much better as to hope, that the business of the House would suffer no farther interruption on his account.

Mr. Dunning.

Mr. Dunning said, that he would willingly have heard the sentiments of other gentlemen on this great and important occasion, before he troubled the House with his own; but if I am to speak to-night at all, said he, I must speak now, for at a late hour I am afraid lest I should not be able to make myself heard.

It is not uncommon for gentlemen impressed by their subject, to bespeak the attention of the House, by holding it to their view its great magnitude and importance. But I think I am not deceived by any warmth of imagination, when I look upon the motion now before us as the most momentous that has been agitated in this House for many years; for upon its fate the expectations of the people of England hang with regard to the object of their numerous petitions. If the honourable Baronet's motion shall be received as it came pure from his mouth, and unmixed with state-craft, then may the people hope their Petitions will have the desired effect. But if it is to be frittered down into the amendments proposed by the noble Lord, there is no room to hope that any farther application from the people of England, of this kind, will avail them. We are making our last effort. We have thrown our last stake. I look with a mixture of fear and hope, and with much impatience, for the eventful issue. In the course of my observations on this subject, I shall now and then have respect to what has been said in this debate on Tuesday last; nor let it be objected, that such a retrospect is unparliamentary and informal; for the debate of that night was continued, by adjournment, to this. I entertained some hopes from the frank manner in which the noble Lord gave his consent to the introduction of the present motion, that he would seriously give it his countenance and support. Unacquainted

ainted with ministerial arts, and courtly stratagems, I foolishly thought that a noble Lord, in a department so high and important, would think it below his dignity to pretend zeal in a cause, which, in his heart, he abhorred. He must greatly under-rate the understandings of gentlemen in this House, and those likewise of the people at large, if he thinks that they will be duped by his gross artifices so far to believe, that the difficulties he holds out, are the real objections which privately influence his heart when he opposes the motion. The sum of fifty thousand pounds is certainly not such as to yield great savings to the nation from the most rigid oeconomy. But the saving of money, is but a secondary object. The reduction of the influence of the Crown, is the first. If by cutting off forty thousand pounds from the civil list, we could cut off forty voters from that *balanx*, whom no considerations of public utility can influence, whom no obstacles can deter from adhering to the minister of the day, in whatever predicament he may stand, I should think we had attained an important end; for not only would the saving of that forty thousand pounds prevent a profusion and waste of much greater sums, but consolidate the basis of British liberty. The noble Lord affirms, that nothing extraordinary has happened, which can be a specific foundation for demanding an account of the list of pensioners, and he stiles the motion new and unusual. Sir, the exigency of the times is a sufficient foundation for this demand; and the voice of the people may perhaps be found sufficient to enforce. There are precedents on your Journals, so late as the year 1703, of an account being demanded and given of the expenditure of secret service money, and I shall by and by produce them to the House. The noble Lord does not refuse to lay before the House an account of about thirty and five thousand pounds paid by the paymaster of the pensioners, and at the public Exchequer. That is, he offers to compromise matters, by giving us somewhat we do not want, in lieu of something we desire. What we may know at public offices, he will tell us; what is a secret among courtiers and placemen, he will keep a secret. With such designs, and observing such a line of conduct, ought he to be surprized, that the petitioners in the different counties of England are, on many political subjects very ill-informed? He acknowledges their ignorance, and makes that ignorance an argument for not giving them what they desire, the means of a better information. Sir, I am as much an enemy to the impertinence of laughter

laughter in serious debates, as the noble Lord; [Lord North had complained of an honourable gentleman for laughing] I see the example of laughing set in that precise corner of the House [looking to Lord North] but I do not imitate it. I confess, however, that there are occasions when I cannot, by any strength of muscles that I possess, keep at least from smiling, and I own that this argument of the noble Lord's did force me to smile. I will tell you what you may know from the public offices, if you will not importune me to tell you what you wish to know of our secrets. The country petitioners are very ill informed, therefore it is very impertinent in them to desire the means of better information. Sir, the absurdity of these arguments cannot be palliated by all the eloquence on this side of the House, by all the art on that, nor by all the ingenuity that is contained in the gallery.—A noble Lord was against the motion on Tuesday night, from motives of delicacy, to some of his old acquaintances, in his younger days, certain Lady Betties, and Bridgets and Jennies in the kingdom of Ireland. But when his old friends read what he has said of them in the news-papers, they will not much thank him for his delicacy. He freely gives up his old female friends, but screens the great political defaulters, against whom and whom only his motion was levelled. Poverty is no disgrace where it is not brought on by vice or folly: it is no shame for persons nobly descended, when reduced to want through the extravagance or vices of some of their ancestors, to receive bounty from the Royal hand. I should be glad to see the list of pensioners made up of persons of that description. But truly I suspect, that it abounds with persons of far less, even than the negative merit of inoffensive maiden ladies in circumstances of indigence. The noble Lord has objected to the exposition of respectable names to the prying eye of malignant curiosity. It would be a pity, that through any of our public measures, the names of pensioners should be inserted in magazines and news-papers, in which their characters would be traduced, their services depreciated, and a thousand little circumstances magnified or misrepresented. Is the noble Lord aware of the severity of this censure on ministry? or has he spoken these words in the hurry and animation of debate? If the list of pensioners is such as the noble Lord needs not to be ashamed of, it would be his interest and his duty to have it published in all the magazines and news-papers in Great-Britain. He ought immediately to employ his hireling scribes to insert it

in their pamphlets, to lecture, to comment upon it, and to shew the world, that the jealousies and surmises with which we had been deafened concerning the pension list, are entirely without foundation. But, says the noble Lord, there are many persons on the pension list, that I know nothing about; their pensions had been bestowed on them in former days, and it would be inhuman to take them from them now. This I will readily grant, and it is not against those obscure and forgotten pensioners that we would direct our attacks, but against your flourishing and well known pensioners, pensioners obsequious to the nod of the noble Lord and devoted to his will. The merit of the obscure and forgotten pensioners, though it is nothing to the public, is greater than that of those who are so well known to the noble Lord. The influence of the crown, said the noble Lord, on a former occasion, is not, in the opinion of some gentlemen, any wise excessive or formidable. It is for that reason, it is because the noble Lord and so many gentlemen think the influence of the crown no wise formidable, that it appears so formidable to me. They feel its comfortable influence, and good reason they have to cry out, It is no wise formidable, but on the contrary, very agreeable, very much suited to our wishes. But says the noble Lord, this is not a time to think of pleas of reformation in the state, you will weaken the hands of administration, you will stop the wheels of government. This language goes abroad among ignorant and weak people, and they are deluded by the sound without examining the sense. Sir, what is government, but the execution of the laws of the country, the preserving the constitution inviolate, for the good of the community. By public œconomy, we mean not to weaken, but to strengthen the hands of the crown, not to impede, but to facilitate the movements of the wheels of government. We wish indeed to take away that grease from them, which is exacted from the marrow of the people, while they are driving on in a wild career of folly and madness that must inevitably terminate at least in destruction; but we will restore it to soften and smooth their hinges, whenever they shall be entrusted to hands that will guide them in the paths that lead to glory and peace. It is a storm, says the minister of the day; all hands to work! but remember that I and my adherents are the ship; don't meddle with us, for if you remove us from the helm, down sinks the ship. Sir, I am not one of those who love to fish in muddy waters, of that seek to establish my fortune on the ruins of the state. The

The noble Lord talk of gentlemen envying and hating place men pensioners, because they want places and pensions to themselves. But what place will the noble Lord give me that will accept? I know that speeches in Parliament have little weight if professions are belied by public or private conduct. But I appeal to my public and private life for the sincerity of my sentiments, when I declare that I believe, that public oeconomy, and that only, will retard the state of this down-falling nation. The arguments of the noble Lord appear to me to be so absurd, that they are unworthy of him. This is not Parliamentary debate, this is not reasoning we have now got into. Ministry flatly deny that white is white, and that black is black, and we as flatly affirm it. Matters are now, as is said in the language of hostility, at issue, between us. But whatever that issue may be, my conscience bears me witness, that I neither wish to be rewarded for taking any share in the *salvage*; nor participate in the wreck of the state. I only wish to see the vessel sailing gaily and pleasantly, as in former times, and bound to friendly and propitious havens.

Lord North. Lord North denied he had said it was a new motion, insisting upon it, that he had only quoted Sir George Savile's words, and that he had said no more, than that the motion was an unusual one.

Mr. Dunning. Mr. Dunning avowed his declaration, and affirmed that the minister had said the motion was *new*.

Sir George Savile. Sir George Savile, in the strongest terms of disgust, and appearance of indignation, reproved the noble Lord for the dissingenuous manner in which he had acted, for, though he might have said the motion was *new*, as the noble Lord knew otherwise, he ought to have set him right, and not have used his words, making them his own, and building such a superstructure of exultation upon them. With respect to the pension list, the honourable Baronet admitted, that he did not know what pensioners he and the House, which was equally interested with him in the matter, should think ought to be struck off, till the list called for should be produced. But, whatever the pension list might term it, such a character of it had gone forth, that it was become necessary the ministers should produce it for their own sakes. When that should be done, the worthy Baronet said he would run his nose into every article of it, and such unmerited pensions as he could scent out, he certainly would endeavour to have discontinued.

Lord *North* rose again to disavow that he had said the motion was new; indeed he could not have said so; for he knew to the contrary: tho' it was new, tho' there were precedents.— Some gentlemen being perceived to laugh, the minister grew angry, and with great warmth said, it did not hurt him, but only shewed the self-sufficiency of others.

Mr. *Dunning* replied, that if he was intended for the honour of coming in for a share of the noble Lord's observation, he was free to own there were moments when he might not, perhaps, be able to command his muscles. As to the motion, he considered it as the most important that ever came before the House, and he would therefore prove that it was supported, not only by reason and justice, but by precedent. In pursuance of which, the Clerk of the House read one of the 7th of Anne, 1710; and a motion similar to Sir George Savile's was then agreed to.

Col. *Barré* instanced another precedent of the 18th Dec. 1703; which being read, a like motion was then agreed to, and the then Paymaster General, Sir Stephen Fox, being brought to the bar, was ordered home with three members of the House who had charge of him, to fetch his accounts, and was compelled to give the names of all the Members of Parliament that had pensions given them.

Another precedent was also read, on the motion of Mr. Thomas Townshend, dated the 7th of Nov. 1703.

Mr. *Byng* called upon the minister to get up and declare like an honest man, if there were not pensions paid besides those received at the office of the Paymaster General, or the Exchequer; for he had very good information, that divers members of Parliament, of both Houses, at the end of every session, received pensions; that a list was privately made out for that purpose, and burnt the instant after the pensions were paid according to it.

The Lord *Advocate of Scotland* was for rejecting the motion *in toto*. There was no part of it fit to be complied with; and if the opposition knew any pensioners unworthy their pensions, why did they not point them out? The honourable and learned gentleman did not, in his conscience, believe there were any members of Parliament that received part of the eight and forty thousand pounds. He was of opinion that the motion ought not to be agreed to, because to lessen the pension list more than it was at present, was not amongst the propositions for a general reform of the public expenditure; and he verily believed, if the petitioners could be brought to

the bar of the House, they would one and all declare that they did not wish any enquiry at all into the list of pensions.

Mr. Burke. *Mr. Burke* said, it was not in the power of any language he was master of, to thank the noble Lord [Lord North] for the effusion of compliments he had poured upon the plan he had submitted to the House. The noble Lord admired prodigiously, it had riveted his panegyric, but when any part of it came under consideration, the noble Lord himself was the first to condemn it. He liked the whole of the propositions, but when they were divided, he was sure to condemn them. The honourable gentleman was severe on the noble Lord's account of the exchequer pensions, telling the House they were salaries, instead of pensions, though no proof whatever was given that they were not salaries, and as to the minister's pretended delicacy, on account of this lady and that lady, the honourable gentleman believed there was no Lady Betty, nor Lady Jane, that would care a fig for the minister's exposing their names, if the pension were to be continued.

Mr. Goodricke.

Mr. Goodricke supported the motion, with some very judicious and pertinent observations, and went fully into a justification of the petitions, and the motives of the petitioners.

Mr. Thomas Townshend.

Mr. Thomas Townshend spoke in support of the question and ridiculed the pretext set up by the Minister, that it would be meddling with the civil list. The honourable member also opened a new matter respecting the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the West India ceded islands: and attacked the minister very severely, for suffering the pensions of the Duke of Gloucester and Lord Chatham, which had been paid out of those duties to be neglected, because those duties no longer continued.

Lord North.

Lord North replied on the subject.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox followed *Mr. Townshend*, in arraigning the conduct of the minister respecting the Duke of Gloucester and Lord Chatham, whose pensions were now seven years in arrears. With regard to the question, he agreed with his learned friend before him [*Mr. Dunning*] that it was the most important that could be brought before the House. The honourable gentleman severely reprobated the assertion of another learned gentleman [the Lord Advocate] that the petitioners, if at the bar, would disapprove of the motion; an assertion which was monstrous and preposterous, and too gross for any one to use, but the person who had used it; because, to strike off all unnecessary and unmerited pensions, was certainly

only going directly to the two objects of the petition, which were, a reduction of the public expences, and a decrease of the influence of the crown.

The honourable gentleman, in terms the most poignant and expressive, displayed in a thousand different shapes the insincere conduct of the minister in adopting Sir George Savile's expression, and taking it upon himself, declaring to the House, over and over again, that the motion ought to be rejected, because it was a new one, though he knew at the same time, that it was not a new one, and there were precedents for it. The noble Lord, said the honourable member, shakes his head, but he would appeal to the House for the truth of what he had said, and for the pitiful subterfuge of the noble Lord, when detected of sheltering himself under the word unusual. If the opposition had been guilty of such meanness, such a baseness, they would never have heard the list of it.

He next adverted to the minister's fixing the motion to the pensions paid at the exchequer, and by the paymaster general, as if he did not know there were other pensions the House wanted to get at. As to pretending it was indelicate to give the pension list, it was to the last degree ridiculous, for the pension list of Ireland was every year given. A learned gentleman too [Lord advocate] had called upon the opposition, to name the person they suspected undeserving the pension he received, and was determined to keep back the pension list, which was the only thing that could enable them to do it, and as all great things were only to be done by detail, it was preposterous for the noble Lord to reject this and that branch of the intended reform, because it would not make any great saving to the public. Yet it had been said, that a total abolition of the pension list would save the people but 48,000*l.* as if a number of such savings, and a number of them might be made, would not make up in the aggregate a very great sum total.

With regard to the denying the pension list, because it would be interfering with the civil allowance given to the King, the honourable gentleman was of opinion it ought to be exploded as falacious and false, for though the money was given for the use of the crown, the House were competent to see if it was properly expended. The King had his prerogative, and yet no one would say he might not abuse it, or that the House could not, on a suspicion of it, enquire into the fact. It was now incumbent on the minister to produce the list called

for, for he challenged him to find any six members of the House that would get up and declare his belief that the pension list was not abused, or that persons were not hired for attacking the constitution, and vilifying its best friends; that all the abuses were not to be laid to the charge of the present minister he would allow, but the noble Lord had so refined upon them as to have made them almost his own.

Some well-directed strictures were then applied by the honourable gentleman to the pensions, or salaries paid at the exchequer to the commissioners of the police in Scotland, and said it now cost the nation as much to keep the Scotch in good humour, as it had to suppress the late rebellion. The honourable gentleman here entering into the nature of that rebellion, denied it had failed, as was the language so familiar with many. It had, indeed, failed on the part of the Pretender; but his adherents had gained their point; they had got an influence here by the event, and from time to time improved it, he feared, to the utter destruction of the British empire. The honourable gentleman then touched upon America, and said, it had cost the public ten thousand times more to lose America, than it had to get it. He called upon the minister in the most pressing manner, to give the people satisfaction, for they believed the majority of the House to be under the influence of the crown, and he entreated the members to do their duty, and enforce justice, to consider who they were, and from whence they came, for that the people made them, and would certainly unmake them when they found they could no longer confide in them.

The honourable gentleman, with some pleasantry, and a great deal of satire, adverted to the speech made by Mr. Smelt, at York, and vindicated him from the suspicion of being a bad man. The honourable gentleman understood and believed him to be a good character; but he had less prudence than some men. He came to the York meeting warm with the prerogative of the crown, and he could not help betraying those sentiments of loyalty he always heard amongst those he associated with. He excused him from having any greater dislike to the liberties of the people than other creatures of the court; all that could be said was, that he had been weak enough to disclose what others were prudent enough to keep to themselves. With respect to the influence of the crown on the people, he knew, would have it lessened, however it might be resisted; and, for his part, he was of opinion it ought to be entirely destroyed.

the honourable gentleman next indulged himself in point-
 out, with infinite ingenuity and humour, the charesteri-
 versatility of the minister. In the course of the present
 he had said and unsaid a hundred times: sometimes
 motion was new, and sometimes it was unusual: the no-
 lord was so adroit at this kind of tergiversation, that
 was no one, however watchful, that would not be foiled
 recting him. The petitions, for instance, his Lorsthip
 wed of exceedingly; but he liked the protests never-
 s, though they decried these petitions as libellous.
 Mr. Burke's plan, he gave the whole of it his sincere
 bation; but there was no part of it he did not in reality
 t from. Who, too, was there in the House, that had
 stentimes been led to think, from the noble Lord's words,
 peace was upon the point of being made with America,
 h after the debate ended, they presently understood that
 ng but war was meant?

The learned gentleman [the Lord Advocate] had declared
 gh time every gentleman spoke out, and the honourable
 sman wished he himself had done it, and plainly told the
 ewhat the ministers really intended. If any thing of his
 on could be collected, it was that the petitions tended
 overt the constitution, which was as much as to say, that
 onstitution was corruption, for the petitions only prayed
 removing abuses. But no sooner were petitions presented
 abolishing pensions and sinecure places, than strait a hue
 cry was raised, and the constitution was said to be in
 er, as if pensions and sinecure places were actually the
 titution. This, the honourable gentleman pronounced
 nnable doctrine; it was an hypothesis that was not
 and he trusted the constitution of his country would
 e found to stand upon such a basis of mud and dirt.

The honourable gentleman further justified the petitioner
 awing an analogy between the state and an individual.
 petitioner, he said, came to government, and argued
 —You are engaged in a heavy and expensive law-suit,
 ve beseech you to make every saving you can, to enable
 to defray the expences of it, and go through it with
 . Upon the whole, he insisted upon it, that ministers
 bound to give the pension list, otherwise they were in-
 g the people of England, and had acted ridiculously in
 ing up their petitions.

The Attorney General, in a speech of great professional in-
 ty, opposed the motion, though there were many parts
 of

The Attor-
 ney General.

of Mr. Burke's plan which met his ideas, and had his probation.

Mr. Dempster and Mr. Aubrey. Mr. *Dempster* and Mr. *Aubrey*, each of them spoke in defence of the motion.

Col. Barré. Col. *Barré* remarked, that not one Englishman had da to stand up in the course of the whole day, to support minister, and severely attacked the Attorney General, Lord Advocate of Scotland, for the part they had taken, one of which enjoyed sinecure places in Scotland, and other was looking up to the first situation in the law department in this country.

Mr. Wedderburne. Mr. *Wedderburne* felt himself much hurt at what had de from the right honourable gentleman, but hoped the humour of the House would excuse it, as it was the constant custom of the right honourable gentleman to be personal against him, whenever he found himself disposed to spe

Col. Barré. Colonel *Barré* said it was false.

The House was instantly thrown into a general ferment which prevented the Attorney General from speaking, who rose with great apparent anger. The Speaker, however, interfered, for the purpose of preventing any ill consequences and was assisted in it by Lord Nugent, Mr. Joliffe, Mr. *Dempster*, and Sir J. Griffin Griffin, and the matter terminated by Colonel *Barré's* declaration, that in what he had said, he had meant nothing personal against the Attorney General.

At half an hour past one o'clock the House divided on Lord North's amendments, and they were agreed to by a majority of two votes only, there being for the amendments 188, and against them, 186.

Upon which the motion in its amended state was agreed without a division.

The following is a Correct List of the Division :

Against Lord North's Amendment.

For Lord North's Amendment.

Bedfordshire.

Lord Ongley, Bedfordshire.

Lord Oslory, do.

Sam. Whitbread, Bedford town.

*Against Lord North's Amendment.
Berkshire.*

For Lord North's Amendment.

Elwes, Berkshire.

W. Hartley, do.

Annesley, Reading.

John Dodd, Reading.

John Mayor, Abingdon.

Aug. Keppel, Windsor.

Buckinghamshire.

Verney, Bucks.

Thomas Grenville, do.

Thomas Grenville, Bucking-

ham town.

Waller, Wycombe.

Hubrey, Aylesbury.

Anth. Bacon, Aylesbury, Contractor.

Sir J. Borlase Warren, Marlow, master and commander.

H. Druminond, Wendover, gold contractor.

Thomas Dummer, do.

Drake, Agmondesham.

William Drake, jun. do.

Cambridgeshire.

Sir J. Hynde Cotton, Cambridgeshire.

Sir Sampson Gideon, do. brother-in-law to the paymaster of pensions.

Soame Jenyns, Camb. town, lord of trade.

Crofts, Cambridge Univ.

Wilbraham Bootle, Chester.

Cornwall.

W. Lemon, Cornwall.

Elliot, do.

Isaac Salt, Leskeard.

Edward Gibbon, Leskeard, lord of trade.

Lord Fairford, Lestwithiel, son to Lord Hillsborough, secretary of state.

Thomas Potter, do. a Welsh judge.

Bamber Gascoyne, Truro, a lord of the admiralty.

Sir James Laroche, Bodmin.

George Aunt, Bodmin.

John Yorke, Helstone.

Fr. C. Cust, counsel to the admiralty.

Sir Grey Cooper, Saltash, secretary to the treasury.

Henry Strachey, do. clerk of deliveries to the ordnance.

John

Against Ld. North's Amendment.

For Lord North's Amendment.

John Buller, East Loe, a lord of the admiralty, auditor of Cornwall, and controller of the mint.

William Greaves, do. master in chancery

Richard Aldworth Neville, Grampton

Sir Ralph Payne, Camelford, clerk of the green cloth.

Sir George Osborne, Penryn, groom of the bed-chamber, and major of the regiment of foot guards.

John Chaytor, do. contractor, and brother-in-law to Mr. secretary Robinson.

Hon. Charles Stuart, Boffiney, lieutenant in the army and son, to the Earl of B...

Philip Dehaney, St. Ives.

Philip Raffleigh, Fowey.

Lord Shuldham, Fowey, commander of Plymouth.

Benjamin Langlois, St. Germain's, keeper to the ordnance office, and secretary to Lord Stormont.

James Peachey, do. son to Sir James Peachey, a groom of the bed-chamber

Francis Hales, St. Michael, nephew to the paymaster of the forces.

John Stevenson, do. contractor.

Richard Bull, Newport.

John Frederick, do.

Earl Nugent, St. Maws, vice treasurer of Ireland.

Hugh Boscawen, do. son to Lord Falkland, captain yeoman of the guards.

Cumberland.

Sir J. Lowther, Cumberland.

W. Spen. Stanhope, Carlisle. Anthony Story, Carlisle.

James Adair, Cockermouth.

Derbyshire.

Lord G. Cavendish, Derbyshire.

Hon. Nathaniel Curzon, Derbyshire, to Lord Scarfdale.

Lord Frederick Cavendish, Derby town.

D. Parker Coke, Derby town.

Derby

Against Lord North's Amendment.

For Lord North's Amendment.

Devonshire.

John Parker, Devonshire.

W. Rolle, do.

John Palke, Ashburton.

Richard Hopkins, Dartmouth.

Minchin, Oakhampton.

Richard Vernon, Oakhampton, clerk of the green cloth.

Geo. Yonge, Honiton.

Lawrence Cox, Honiton.

Lord Lewisham, Plymouth, son to Lord Dartmouth, lord privy seal.

Sir Charles Hardy, do. governor of Greenwich hospital, &c.

Hon. George Hobart, Beeralston, brother to Lord Bucks, lord lieut. of Ireland.

Sir F. Drake, do. master of the household

John Durand, Plympton, contractor

P. Jennings Clerke, Totnes.

James Amyatt, Totness, ministerial candidate for the East-India direction.

John R. Fitzpatrick, Tavistock.

R. Hon. Richard Rigby, Tavistock, paymaster of the forces.

Charles Warwick Bampfylde, Exeter.

John Baring, Exeter.

Dorsetshire.

Amphry Sturt, Dorsetshire.

John Ewer, Dorchester.

Hon. Henry Fane, Lyme, surveyor of the King's private roads.

Right Hon. Welbore Ellis, Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, treasurer of the Navy.

Gab. Stewart, do. paymaster of the marines.

George Rous, Shaftesbury.

Christopher D'Oyley, Wareham, commissary of the musters.

John Jenkinson, Corfe Castle, gentleman usher of the privy chamber to the Queen, and brother to Mr. Charles Jenkinson.

John Manger, Poole.

John Bond, Corfe Castle.

Tho. Clavering, Durham county.

Sir John Eden, Durham, brother to W. Eden.

John Tempest, Durham city.

John Lambton, ditto.

Yorkshire.

George Savile, Yorkshire.

*Against Lord North's Amendment.**For Lord North's Amendment.*

Edwin Lascelles, do.

Wm. Baker, Aldborough.

Sir J. Pennyman, Beverley.

Beilby Thompson, Heydon.

Ld. G. H. Cavendish, Knaref-
borough.

Savile Finch, Malton.

William Weddell, do.

D. Lascelles, Northallerton.

Hon. William Hanger, Aldborough.

Charles Mellish, Pomfret, son of W. Mel-
lish, esq. receiver general of the customs.

Earl Tyrconnel, Scarborough.

Thomas Frankland, Thirsk.

Charles Turner, York city.

David Hartley, Hull.

Essex.

John Luther, Essex.

T. B. Bramstone, Essex.

Hon. Rich. Savage Nassau, Malden, clerk
of the green cloth,

John Strutt, Malden.

Hon. George Aug. North, Harwich, elder
son of the minister.*Gloucestershire.*Sir William. Guise, Glou-
cestershire.

C. Barrow, Gloucester city.

George Aug. Selwyn, Gloucester city,
paymaster of the board of works, sur-
veyor of the meltings, and clerk of the
irons in the mint, and register in the
court of chancery in the island of Bar-
badoes.Sir William Codrington,
Tewksbury.

James Martin, do.

*Herefordshire.*Sir George Cornwall, Here-
fordshire.Right Hon. Thomas Harley, Hereford-
shire, gold contract, army cloathing, &c.Lord Viscount Bateman, Leominster,
keeper of the dogs.Frederick Cornwall, do. cousin of C. W.
Cornwall.John St. Leger Douglas, Woboly
Hertfordshire.

John Calvert, Hertford.

inst Lord North's Amendment.

For Lord North's Amendment.

n. Plumer, Hertfordshire.

n Radcliffe, St. Albans. Sir Richard Sutton, St. Alban's, counsel to the ordnance, a pension, and in high expectation of something more.

Huntingdonshire.

Ludlow, Huntingdon- Lord Hinchinbroke, Huntingdonshire, son to the Earl of Sandwich, and vice chamberlain.

Lord Mulgrave, Huntingdon, Lord of the admiralty, and captain of the *Courageux*, now at sea.

Sir G. Wombwell, Huntingdon, contractor.

Kent.

n. C. Marsham, Kent,

st. Gregory, Rochester.

d Newhaven, Canterbury.

Sir Charles Frederick, Queenborough, surveyor of the ordnance, &c.

Sir Walter Rawlinson.

Hor. Mann, Maidstone. Hon. Charles Finch, Maidstone, brother to Lord Aylesford, a Lord of the bed-chamber.

Lancashire.

d R. Cavendish, Lancaster.

George Warren do.

H. Houghton, Preston.

eral Burgoyne, do.

W. Meredith, Liverpool.

n. Pennant, do.

Leicestershire.

J. Palmer, Leicestershire.

Hungerford, do.

n Daker, Leicester.

Lincolnshire.

J. Thorold, Lincolnshire.

r. Anderson Pelham, do.

d Lumley, Lincoln.

Sir George Howard, K. B. Stamford, a general, col. of the nine-troop regiment, and governor of Chelsea Hospital.

d G. Sutton, Grantham. Peregrine Cust, Grantham
Humphrey Sibthorpe, Boston.

lyn Anderson, Grimsby.

*Against Lord North's Amendment.**For Lord North's Amendment.**Middlesex.*

John Wilkes, Middlesex.

Thomas Wood, do.

Lord Malden, Westminster, son to the
Earl of Essex, another keeper of the dogs*London.*

John Sawbridge, London.

Monmouth.

John Morgan, Monmouthshire.

Sir John Stepney, Monmouth, envoy to
Dresden.*Norfolk.*

Sir Edw. Aftley, Norfolk.

Thomas Wenman Coke, do.

Crisp. Molineux, Lynn.

Hon. R. Walpole, Yarmouth. Right Hon. Cha. Townshend, Yarmouth
vice-treasurer of Ireland.Hon. Charles Fitzroy, Thetford, vice-
chamberlain to the queen, and colonel
of a regiment of dragoons.John Talbot, Castle-Rising, nephew to
Earl Talbot, and son-in-law to Lord
Hillsborough.

Robert Mackreth, do.

Sir Harbord Harbord, Nor- Edward Bacon, Norwich, chairman of
wich. privileges and elections.*Northamptonshire.*

T. Powys, Northamptonshire.

Lucy Knightly, do.

R. Benyon, Peterborough. Matthew Wyldbore, Peterborough.

Hon. Wilbraham Tolle-
mache, Northampton.Timothy Caswall, Brackley, deputy pay-
master, and a pension.William Egerton, do. yeoman clerk of
the jewel-office, and lieutenant governor
of the Scilly Islands.

F. Montagu, Higham Ferrers,

*Northumberland.*Sir William Middleton, Nor- Lord Algernon Percy, Northumberland,
thumberland, son to the master of the horse.Peter Delme, Morpeth, brother-in-law to
Lord Carlisle, first lord of trade.

inst Lord North's Amendment.

For Lord North's Amendment.

J. W. Egerton, do. major of a regiment
[new raised.

Matthew White Ridley,
Newcastle.

Robt Wilkinson, Berwick.

Nottinghamshire.

Ed Edward Bentinck, Not-
tinghamshire.

Rich Meadows, do.

Thos Smith, Nottingham.

Cecil Wray, Retford.

Thos Sutton, Newark.

Oxfordshire.

William Eden, Woodstock, a lord of trade,
auditor of Greenwich Hospital, one pen-
sion for himself, another for his wife.

Lord Parker, do.

Lord North, Banbury.

George Bridges Brudenell, Rutlandshire,
clerk of the green cloth.

Shropshire.

Thos Baldwin, Shropshire.

John Maltby, Shrewsbury.

John Pigot, Bridgnorth.

Lord Clive, Ludlow.

Alexander Wedderburne, Bishop's castle, at-
torney general.

William Clive, do.

Somersetshire.

John Coxe, Somersetshire.

John Phelps, ditto.

John Popham, Taunton.

James Halliday, Taunton, contractor.

Nathaniel Webb, ditto, got a good place
for his son in the custom house.

John Temple Luttrell, Mil-
borne port.

Charles Wolfeley, Milbourne port, captain
in the navy.

John Tudway, Wells.

Anne Poulet, Bridge-
water.

John Allen, ditto.

Sir John Sebright, Bath, colonel of a regi-
ment of foot, and a place in the West
Indies.

Abel Moysey, ditto, a Welsh judge.

H. F.

*Against Ld. North's Amendment.**For Ld. North's Amendment.***H. F. Luttrell**, Minehead.**Thomas Pownall**, ditto.**Edmund Burke**, Bristol.**Jerv. Clarke Jervoise**, Hants.*Southampton.***Henry Penton**, Winchester, a lord of the admiralty and penny post.**Lovell Stanhope**, ditto, a pension.**Sir William Gordon**, Portsmouth.**Hon. Robert Monckton**, ditto, colonel of a regiment of foot, and governor of Portsmouth.**Hans Sloane**, Newport, Deputy cofferer to the King.**Right Hon. Sir Richard Worsley**, Newport, governor of the Isle of Wight, and comptroller of the household.**Rob. Kingsmill**, Yarmouth.**James Worsley**, Yarmouth**Charles Ambler**, Newton, solicitor general to the Queen.**Ed. Morant**, Lymington.**Henry Goodricke**, ditto.**Lord Hyde**, Christchurch, son to Lord Carden, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.**James Harris**, ditto, secretary to the Queen.**Sir J. Griffin Griffin**, Andover.**Benj. Letheuilier**, ditto.**Ld. Visc. Middleton**, Whitechurch.**Sir Abr. Hume**, Petersfield.**Lord Irnham**, Stockbridge.**Hon. James Luttrell**, do.**J. Fleming**, Southampton.**John Fuller**, Southampton.*Staffordshire.***Sir J. Wrottesley**, Staffordshire.**Richard Whitworth**, Stafford.**Thomas De Grey**, Tamworth, a lord of the trade, secretary to Lord Geo. Germain, and comptroller of the first fruits and tenths.**Anthony Chamier**, ditto, under secretary of state.

Against Lord North's Amendment.

For Lord North's Amendment.

Ld. Trentham, Newcastle, son Earl Gower.

George Anson, Litchfield.
Thomas Gilbert, ditto.

Suffolk.

Land Holt, Suffolk.

Thomas Staunton, Ipswich.
G. Vanneck, Dunwich.

William Wollaston, Ipswich.

Barne Barne, Dunwich

Lord Beauchamp, Orford, cofferer of the household, and son to the Earl of Hertford
Hon. Robert Seymour Conway, ditto, captain in the guards, and son to the Earl of Hertford.

Martin Fonnereau, Aldborough.

Richard Combe, ditto.

Richard Burton Philipson, Eyre, colonel of a regiment of dragoons.

Hon. John St. John, ditto, surveyor general of the crown lands.

Charles Davers, Bury.

Hon. Henry Seymour Conway, ditto.

Surrey.

Mawbey, Surrey.

Scawen, ditto.

William Adam, Gatton.

Sir Meyrick Burrell, Haslemere, contractor.

Peter Burrell, ditto, his wife created a peeress.

Sir C. Cocks, Ryegate, clerk of the ordnance.

Bert Clayton, Bletch-

George Onslow, Guildford, out-ranger of Windsor park.

Polhill, Southwark.

Suffex.

James Wallace, Horsham, solicitor general.

Hon. Henry Seymour Conway, Midhurst,

clerk of the hanaper in Ireland, constable

of Dublin castle, and son to the Earl of

Hertford, lord chamberlain.

Thoroton, Bramber.

John Ord, Midhurst chairman of ways and means, master in chancery, and attorney general of the duchy court of Lancaster.

Lord George Germain, Grinstead, secretary of state for the colonies, and clerk of the council of Ireland.

Filmer

*Against Lord North's Amendment.**For Lord North's Amendment.*

Filmer Honeywood, Steyning.

Tho. Ed. Freeman, ditto.

Sir Thomas Miller, Lewes.

Thomas Hay, ditto.

Hon. W. Keppel, Chichester.

Warwickshire.

Sir T. Skipwith, Warwickshire.

Hon. C. Greville, Warwick, lord of the
Hon. Robert Greville, ditto, lieutenant
the guards.

Edward Roe Yeo, Coventry.

John Baker Holroyd, ditto, commanding
a regiment newly raised.*Westmoreland.*Sir Michael le Fleming,
Westmoreland.

James Lowther, ditto.

Philip Honeywood, Appleby.

*Worcestershire.*Hon. Edward Foley, Worcester-
shire.

William Lygon, ditto.

Thomas Bates Rous, Worcester.

Sir J. Rushout, Evesham.

Lord Westcote, Bewdly, lord of the
fury.*Wiltshire.*

C. Penruddock, Wiltshire.

Ambrose Goddard, ditto.

Hon. W. Hen. Bouverie,
Salisbury.

William Hussey, ditto.

Charles Garth, Devizes.

Hon. James Brudenell, Marlborough,
of the robes, and keeper of the privy.

John Dunning, Calne.

Isaac Barré, ditto.

Hon. C. J. Fox, Malmesbury. William Strahan, Malmesbury, king's printer.

Henry Dawkins, Hindon. J. Macpherson, ditto, agent to the Navy.

W. A'Court Ashe, Heytesbury. Archibald Macdonald, Hindon, king's
fel.Hon. W. Gordon, Heytesbury, colonel
regiment, and groom of the bedchamber.

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Against Lord North's Amendment.

For Lord North's Amendment.

Muel Estwick, Westbury. Hon. Francis Wenman, Westbury.

b. Scott, Wotton Bassett. Hon. Henry St. John, Wotton Bassett, colonel of a regiment of foot, and groom of the bedchamber.

rd George Gordon, Lugershall.

Charles Herbert, Wilton, groom of the bedchamber.

Sir Philip Hales, Downton, ditto.

Robert Shaftoe, ditto.

al Methuen, Bedwin.

Lord Cranborne, Bedwin, son-in-law to Ld. Hillsborough, secretary of state.

Cinque Ports.

an Trevannion, Dover.

John Hennicker, Dover, contractor.

Right Hon. C. Jenkinson, Hastings, secretary at war, clerk of the pells in Ireland, and a place in reversion.

Sir Charles Farnaby, Hythe.

Sir Edward Dering, Romney.

Hon. T. Onslow, Rye, son to Lord Onslow, treasurer of the household and pension.

William Dickenfon, ditto.

Charles Brett, Sandwich.

Philip Stevens, Sandwich, secretary of the admiralty.

George Medley, Seaford.

Lord Gage, Seaford, paymaster of the pensions.

m. Nedham, Winchelsea.

Charles Wolfran Cornwall, Winchelsea, a lord of treasury, and a pension.

Wales.

rd Bulkeley, Anglesea.

Hugh Williams, Beaumaris.

Charles Morgan, Breconshire.

Sir C. Gould, Brecon, judge advocate.

Earl of Lisburne, Cardigan, a lord of the admiralty.

Thomas Johnes, junior, Cardigan.

John Adams, Carmarthen.

an Vaughan, Carmarthenshire.

Asheton Smith, Carnarvonshire.

ynn Wynne, Carnarvon.

K. Mostyn, Flintshire.

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Against Lord North's Amendment.

G. Venables Vernon, Glamorganshire.

W. Mostyn Owen, Montgomeryshire.

Evan Lloyd Vaughan, Merionethshire.

George Dempster, St. Andrews, &c.

Earl of Fife, Bamffshire.

John Johnstone, Kinghorne.

For Lord North's Amendment.

Whitshed Keene, Montgomery, surveyor of the board of works, and secretary to the lord chamberlain.

Hugh Owen, Pembroke, deputy to the treasurer of the household.

Lord Kensington, Haverfordwest.

Edward Lewis, New Radnor, packet-boatsman, Scotland.

Adam Livingstone, Argyllshire.

Sir J. Patterson, Berwickshire.

Adam Drummond, Brechin, &c. contractor.

Sir Archibald Edmonstone, Dunbartonshire.

Henry Dundas, Edinburghshire, lord advocate of Scotland, and clerk of the signet.

Lord W. Gordon, Eglinshire, deputy ranger of the parks.

Staates Long Morris, Elgin, &c. colonel of a regiment of foot.

John Henderson, Fifeshire.

Earl of Panmure, Forfarshire, colonel of a regiment of dragoons.

William Nisbett, Haddingtonshire.

Hon. Simon Fraser, Invernessshire, colonel of a regiment, with two battalions.

Lord Adam Gordon, Kincardenshire, colonel of a regiment of foot, and governor of Tinmouth castle.

Andrew Stuart, Lanerkshire, a lord of trade.

Sir William Augustus Cunningham, Linlithgowshire, clerk of the green cloth.

John Campbell, Nairnshire.

Sir J. Cockburne, Peebles, &c. contractor, and his lady a pension.

inst Lord North's Amendment.

For Lord North's Amendment.

Hon. J. Murray, Perthshire, a regiment of foot.

Right Hon. James Stuart Mackenzie, Ross-shire, keeper of the privy seal in Scotland, brother to the Earl of Bute.

Hon. Fréd. Stuart, Rothsay, &c. son to the Earl of Bute.

G. Elliot, Roxburgshire.

Lord Fred. Campbell, Glasgow, &c. Lord register of Scotland, and a fencible regiment.

Hon. James Wemys, Sutherlandshire, colonel of a fencible regiment.

Tellers.

Tellers.

at Hon. T. Town-
end, Whitchurch.
ge Byng Wigan.

John Robinson, Harwich, secretary to the treasury.

William Joliffe, Petersfield. *

Feb. 23.

r. Coke brought up the petition from the county of Nor-Mr. Coks.

Mr. Bacon informed the House that this was by no means the petition of the county, as there had been a protest

This produced a short conversation, in which Mr. took occasion to say that from his honour he believed the petition to express the general sense of the county, and the protest, from the manner in which it was procured, the terms in which it was expressed, was an insult on the county. He stated that there had been the most shameful mention on the part of Ministers towards the protection of domestic trade on the coast of Norfolk. He had received a letter from a respectable merchant some time ago, informing him that there had been four vessels taken within sight of the coast by a single privateer with two guns; and that

The vote that gave a negative to the laying before the House of Commons the list of pensions, is the best apology for an apparent neglect in not giving to many other gentlemen the *honourable* reward due to their merit; their *modesty* could be the only ground for the concealment of such merit and such rewards: at the same time it should be acknowledged that the law forbidding a Member of the House of Commons to receive a pension during pleasure, was better suited for other days than the present; and no terms harsher can be bestowed on those absurd men who voted for the measure, and who entertain those idle, vain notions of marking distinction and duty to their country, in preference to the attainment of more solid advantages to themselves.

though he had informed the Admiralty of this circumstance there had been no notice taken of his letter, nor means taken for the defence of the trade. In consequence of this letter he had, with his honourable colleague, applied to the Secretaries of the Board, but though they had been treated with the most politeness, the Board had not yet provided against the depredations. Mr. Robinson and Mr. Bamber Gascoigne spoke in answer to this, and made some explanations with respect to the conduct of the Admiralty. Sir Edward Alesbury also spoke on the occasion.

Mr. Burke. Mr. Burke introduced his bill for a general reform in the public œconomy, and moved that it should be read for the first time. It accordingly was so, and he mentioned Tuesday next as a proper day for reading it a second time, and he begged the noble Lord in the blue ribbon to inform the House whether or not he intended to oppose it on that day.

Lord North. Lord North said, that he did not yet know whether he would oppose it or not. It was a bill of the utmost importance, and it required time and leisure to study and determine on its propriety. Tuesday, therefore, he thought was not early a day for entering on the consideration of it.

Mr. Burke. Mr. Burke observed, that in a moment when the minds of men were held in suspense, and when the nation was looking with anxiety and suspicion to the conduct of Parliament, the subject of their petitions, delay would be exceedingly dangerous, and what ought to be studiously avoided. He did not wish to quarrel with the noble Lord for a day. The bill would be printed, and in the hands of the members before that time; and if it was agreeable to the House, he would move for Wednesday next.

Lord North. Lord North still persisted the time was rather too short, as the members had hardly any time for study but Saturday and Sunday, and he would wish that it should be adjourned to the next week.

Mr. Fox. Mr. Fox said he could not conceive why the noble Lord should wish to have so much time, and so much delay in the business. The temper of the people was not at this moment such as would admit of subterfuge and put-off. There was something exceedingly suspicious in the noble Lord's conduct. His plea of ignorance was absurd; he had not indeed studied all the parts of the bill; it was not possible that he could do so done; but the general principle was well known to him, and the subsequent detail was the business of the committee. Did not the noble Lord know whether or not he was to oppose the principle of the bill, or when he was to oppose it?

ight it would be very becoming in the noble Lord to declare his intentions; for he firmly believed that no member could possibly attend would be absent on the day when the bill was to be debated. The member who wilfully or negligently absented himself on that day would pay very little regard to his duty, and to the general voice and desire of the people of England.

This Lordship would speak out, and say whether or not, when, he intended to debate the bill, members would be prepared, and the point would be fought with fairness. As it was, the House must be upon its guard, and that might not be taken by surprise, must come prepared for onset on the first day. The noble Lord had also given strong reasons for alarm, in his wish to put off the business to a late day. What security could the people of England have of the system being adopted, if the House permitted the supplies to be granted before the bill had passed? The Parliament might not be dissolved, but it was very possible it might be prorogued before the business was concluded; he looked upon this to be the reason why the Minister had to postpone it.

Mr. *Burke* said that the principle of the bill was easy and simple, and required but little time for deliberation. It consisted but of two parts, the first was, To curtail a variety of offices and burthensome offices in the King's civil list, and other departments of Government, in order to apply the savings to the constitutional services of the State; and the second, to provide against the revenues voted for the maintenance of the King, the provision of his family, and the ease, dignity, and independence of his life, being diverted to the uses of a minister, and applied to the corrupting of Parliament. These were the simple principles, easy to be understood, but whether the measures and regulations proposed for the attainment of these ends were the best and properest for that purpose, were considerations for the committee in the passage of the bill; they would come there to be debated on; and perhaps other suggestions might be made, which would be adopted in preference to those in the bill. He had other matters which he might propose to their consideration. Perhaps a better method might be suggested of furnishing the King's table, &c. by contract; but all these considerations could not prevent the noble Lord from deciding in his own mind whether or not the principle of the bill ought to be opposed.

Lord *North* said it was true the principle was plain in appearance, but the truth and propriety of the principle could,

only

only be ascertained by an examination of the parts, and this required time and study.

The day fixed for the second reading was agreed to Thursday next.

Mr. Powys. Mr. *Powys* begged leave to inform the House, that his honourable colleague and he had been honoured with instructions of their constituents, the freeholders of Northamptonshire, on the subject of this bill; that is, on the subject of a general reform in the public œconomy. He read their instructions to the House; and having paid very high and just compliments to the county which he represented, he said, he hoped that he would be enabled to report to them, at their next adjourned meeting, the measure which that House had taken in compliance with the common voice and desire of the people. He trusted, that Parliament would not venture to play with the feelings of a distressed country, and by delays or neglect, add insult to injury.

Sir Philip Jennings Clerke.

Sir *Philip Jennings Clerke*, informed the House, that he would bring in the contractors bill positively the next day.

The order of the day being now about to be read, Mr. *David Hartley* objected to the accounts for the ordinary and extraordinary of the navy being referred to the committee of supply. This was, he said, the first committee of supply that had occurred since the petitions of the counties, cities, and boroughs had been laid upon the table; and the House could not go into the votes to be called for, without outraging the unanimous voice of the people of England, by acting in express contradiction to their requests: for money was now to be asked for without estimate, and in gross sums so unspecified and vague, that they appeared to be actually petitions. It would therefore, he thought, be necessary that a proposition of some kind or another should be made, by which the House might avoid the difficulty in they were involved, and yet not distress government, and weaken the service, by withholding the money which was actually necessary for the support of the navy. The sum to be demanded was 700,000*l.* and of this sum there were several articles so general and undefined, that they left Parliament utterly in the dark, and bore not the most distant resemblance of an estimate; particularly one charge of 101,000*l.* for repairs, without any other specific description.

Instead therefore of voting the money in this manner which he conceived the gentlemen on his side of the House could not do, consistent either with their duty to their constituents

ents, or the line which they had prescribed for themselves, he would propose that the money should be granted to government by a vote of credit, specifying the particular use for the application of every part of the sum, and making the ministry responsible to bring in the vouchers every year of its being so applied. At the same time the honourable gentlemen painted in very pathetic colours the distressed situation of the mercantile interests, and the finances of this country—distresses brought on by the noble Lord who now tottered beneath the burthen which he was unable to support.

He declared, and he felt himself tortured when he said it, that national bankruptcy seemed to tread closely upon our heels, and that the minister was unable to extricate us from our difficulties. He wished that that noble Lord would now tell the House what were his prospects, what his resources, how he expected to extricate us from our distress. It was necessary that the House should know this, previous to entering into the committee of supply. He heard, that the noble Lord felt himself so pressed by difficulties, in proposing the loan, that he was obliged to open his subscription; and that the dependence on the East India Company had failed him in that degree. By what means did he mean to provide for the necessities of the state? It was necessary for the noble Lord to give the House this information, or they would be led to believe, that removing the minister from his situation was a means of strengthening the hands of government.

The difficulty which arose about the point of order being settled, and the Speaker having settled what was the business before the House, Lord North rose, in answer to the honourable gentleman, and said, that he thought himself fully justifiable in acting agreeable to the wishes of the House of England, as he should think gentlemen equally blameable in acting opposite to their wishes. It certainly was the tenour of the petitions on the table, that more relief should not be granted, unless the plan of œconomy was adopted; but he denied, that that was the voice of the House of England. The petitions were far from speaking the general sense, nor was there one that contained a material objection of the freeholders. The York petition, as an honourable Baronet said, contained 9000 names; but even, if all those were freeholders, they were not more than one part of the freeholders of the county. It might be the

the universal wish to establish a system of œconomy; it was not the general wish to withhold supplies from government till that system was established: but if it had been the general voice of the people of England, *he should think himself bound to obey it.* Every subject of Britain had a right to petition that House, but that House had a right to think for itself, and not to be bound by the opinions of others.

As to the proposition which the honourable gentleman had made, of granting the sums required by a vote of credit instead of the manner now proposed, he conceived that there was a distinction without a difference. This was in favour of a vote of credit; and though the House could not be assured that the money voted for the repair of particular ships would be applied to those ships, yet they would be assured of being applied to the repair either of those or of other ships, and that those ships would ultimately want repairs to that amount. As to the accounts being fictitious, the honourable gentleman would find that it was as fully expressed, and particularly specified, as the nature of the service would admit. It was impossible to provide for all the contingencies in the naval service. The 101,000*l.* which he had alluded to was the sum calculated to be required for repairs of a certain nature, and the article could not be more particularly specified.

The honourable gentleman in giving an account of the distressed situation, constantly charged him with being the author of it. He confessed, that we were pressed with difficulties, but he denied that he had brought them on; he felt himself guiltless, and he trusted, that he could prove to the world that he was so. As to the difficulties that were found in procuring the present subscription, undoubtedly there were difficulties, but not of the nature which the honourable gentleman pointed out. He found the money both in this country, and in foreign countries, anxious to subscribe their money, and he was not driven to the necessity, for want of subscribers, of opening the subscription. There were difficulties, perhaps, about an annuity, and a fund for the loan, but there was no difficulty in getting money on as easy terms as it had been heretofore.

Sir George
Savile.

Sir George Savile rose to advert to an assertion that had been made by the noble Lord, that 9000 were not a third part of the freeholders of York. He could assure the noble Lord, that if he had been as much mistaken in his calculation

sions of finance for the present year, he would be very
 de from the mark. He had over-rated the number of
 eeholders of the county of York considerably; he had
 en out in his reckoning at least one half. He begged the
 ble Lord not to fancy that the voice of the people of
 ngland was not contained in the petitions. It was just so
 the beginning of the American dispute. He would not
 lieve that the voice of the colonies was contained in their
 itions; he would not give ear to admonition; he would
 t believe that the people were determined because they
 re temperate, nor would he be convinced of his error till
 had lost the country. He begged the noble Lord not to
 r sist in blindness, but to take warning from experience, and
 lieve that 9000 freeholders out of the county of York were
 t to be neglected.

Lord *Mulgrave*, in order to prove that the accounts were *Lord Mul-*
 fictitious, enumerated several services for which the *grave.*
 ney was appropriated. The ships now building in pri-
 e yards, by contract, were to be paid, by installments,
 of this money. The ships now building in the dock-
 ds, to be completed with it; and as to the estimates, it
 s utterly impossible but that they must in general be ex-
 ded; as, for instance, when a ship was ordered for re-
 r, it was seldom known, at first, to what extent it would
 necessary to go, and it almost always required a greater
 pence than the estimates had formed.

Mr. *Pulteney* was of opinion, that an honourable member *Mr. Pulteney*
 (Mr. Temple Luttrell) that many naval officers were at *ny.*
 time neglected. There was one, in particular, that
 always uppermost in his thoughts, whenever the subject
 s touched upon. That officer, he said, was Sir Hugh
 lliser. Indeed, he blamed him for bringing Admiral
 pel to trial; but as he had himself afterwards submitted
 self to a like tribunal, and been honourably acquitted,
 re could be no reason given why he was not again em-
 oyed by government. Before it was better known, the
 eral opinion, he confessed, was, that by accusing his
 mander, he meant to screen his own conduct; but his
 avour since had effectually wiped away the imputation;
 after the fair and impartial acquittal he had received,
 thought it cruel and unjust in the extreme to suffer pre-
 ce any longer to stand in the way of his again serving
 country, which Sir Hugh Palliser had often done, and
 particular in the well-remembered affair off Brest, with
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Y

Monsieur

Monfieur d'Orvilliers. The honourable gentleman professed himself an independent man, indifferent who did or who did not approve of the part he had taken: all he had in view was to discharge his duty; and he was surpris'd the timidity of the ministry prevented them calling so brave and so experienced a commander as Sir Hugh again to their assistance.

Sir Joseph
Mawbey.

Sir Joseph Mawbey, with a most laudable animation, reproved the opinion of the honourable gentleman, and called to the recollection of the House, that the court martial on the trial of Sir Hugh Palliser, had not honourably acquitted him. They had found him guilty of having brought an ill-founded and malicious charge against his commander, which, in the worthy Baronet's opinion, for ever rendered him unworthy any employment in the service of his country. He knew the honourable gentleman to be an independent man, or he should have concluded he had said what he had thrown out on the subject, by way of feeling the pulse of the House, and to make an opening for the taking Sir Hugh Palliser again into his Majesty's service. For his part, whenever the ministry should dare attempt such a thing, he would, if he should stand single on the occasion, set his face against it, and oppose such an insult, as he should consider it to the British navy, to the very utmost of his power. Not when he said thus much, he thought he should stand alone, for his Majesty's Solicitor General has declared in that place, that he would impeach the minister, who should dare again to employ Sir Hugh Palliser, and the honourable gentleman sincerely wished, that the learned gentleman had been present, as he certainly would have saved him the trouble of shewing the indignation he had at the hint, for he trusted it was no more, that had been thrown out for the employment of a man, whom he conceived for ever precluded by the sentence of a court martial, which had adjudged him to have brought a malicious and ill-founded charge against his superior officer, and he wished from his soul, that there had not sat on that court martial men improper for the situation.

Lord Mulgrave.

Lord Mulgrave broke out in the most extraordinary violence, and said the honourable gentleman did not know what he had said, for there were men the most honourable on the trial, and none but honourable men, but it was, as ever had been the little dirty practices of opposition to slander them.

Sir *Joseph Mawbey*, replied that he did not mean to re-^{Sir Joseph Mawbey.}
 spect on the private characters of the gentlemen who sat in
 judgment on Sir Hugh Palliser, but he could not give up
 his opinion, that there were those amongst the judges who
 had been very improperly called on the business.

Mr. *Pulteney* said he did not rest his opinion on the sen-^{Mr. Pulteney.}
 tence of the court martial, but the evidence and printed
 trial, and to those two things he referred the House for a
 proof of the innocence of Sir Hugh Palliser.

Sir *Richard Sutton* said the court martial had done a great ^{Sir Richard Sutton.}
 deal through their zeal, but that they certainly had no right
 to pass the judgment they had, for it was not for them to
 enquire if Sir Hugh Palliser had brought an ill-founded and
 malicious charge.

Col. *Luttrell* spoke in the most pointed terms against the ^{Colonel Luttrell.}
 employing Sir Hugh Palliser, and vindicated the conduct of
 Admiral Keppel, in support of which, he moved for the
 reading the thanks the House had voted to Admiral Keppel,
 and they were read accordingly.

Lord *North*, with great warmth, denied that the sentence ^{Lord North.}
 of the court martial convicted Sir Hugh Palliser of having
 brought an ill-founded and malicious charge against his com-
 mander, for that it was necessary their charge should have
 been tried and found well grounded, before it could be fixed
 on the person they had imputed it to. It was, his Lordship
 said, in the nature of granting an individual unjustly ac-
 cused, a copy of his indictment. Admiral Keppel thought
 himself wrongfully charged, but he had never prayed a copy
 of the indictment, to speak in the terms of a lawyer, or
 prosecuted him, much less convicted him, of having brought
 an ill-grounded and malicious charge.

Colonel *Barré*, to prove it to be the opinion of the House, ^{Colonel Barré}
 that Sir Hugh Palliser had brought an ill-founded and ma-
 licious charge, called for the thanks returned Admiral Kep-
 pel by the Speaker in consequence of the votes for that pur-
 pose. The minutes being read, it appeared, that the Speaker
 had, in particular, taken notice, in thanking Admiral Kep-
 pel, of his having had an ill-founded and malicious charge
 brought against him.

Lord *North* felt himself hurt as a member of Parliament ; ^{Lord North}
 for though the Speaker had used those words, he had used
 them only as reciting the words contained in the sentence of
 the court martial ; but if the Speaker had given them as his
 own words, he did not think he was to be bound by them ; and

if the Speaker's opinion was, that Sir Hugh Palliser had brought an ill-founded and malicious charge against his superior officer, his Lordship, for one, ever had, and ever should, dissent from any such opinion.

Alderman
Sawbridge.

Mr. Alderman *Sawbridge* was firmly of opinion that Sir Hugh Palliser had brought a malicious charge; for, having brought an ill-founded charge, it was of course a malicious one.

The Speaker then quitted the chair, and the House went into a committee of supply.

Mr. Buller.

Mr. *Buller*, after a short speech, by way of introduction, moved, "That a sum, not exceeding 385,385*l.* be granted for the ordinary service of the navy."

Mr. T.
Luttrell.

Mr. *T. Luttrell* rose, and drew the attention of the committee to a variety of facts, which served to shew the necessity of correcting this unconstitutional mode of granting such enormous sums without estimate. He adduced them in the course of various speeches, answers, and replies, as the foundation for a motion of amendment.—We have thrown them together, that they may be more connected and clear.

He said, that the extraordinaries of the navy on building, rebuilding, and repairing ships of war, for the current year, 1780, amount to 697,903*l.* which is more than three times the amount of extraordinaries for the like purposes in the most expensive and brilliant year of the Earl of Chatham's administration.

In 1759 these extraordinaries were 227,052*l.* One hundred ships of the line have been launched as new since Christmas 1757, (twenty-three years) viz. three of the line annually at a medium, during the nine years of Lord Sandwich's government (in all twenty-seven) and upwards of five annually at a medium in the fourteen years immediately preceding (in all seventy-three sail.) On the yearly list of ships of the line for extra repairs, are 113 English, within the said twenty-three years, and thirteen French and Spaniards; besides nine additional foreign men of war, of 60 guns, or larger, purchased for the King's use, but not repaired. Total of our increased naval force, since December, 1757, 235 ships of the line, of which 100 entirely new from the keel. In December, 1757, were seventy of the line on actual service, exclusive of hospital ships, prison ships, guardships, &c. &c. In December 1779, seventy-seven of the line were ready for ac-

tual

service, not counting the Royal Oak, Nonfuch, Prince Wales, St. Alban's, and Monmouth, which ship then had a repair of several months. It is, therefore, obvious, notwithstanding a long peace establishment, it has been necessary to provide ten ships of the line *communibus annis* (usually) to maintain our numbers. How then can our fleet be rendered at all formidable for battle under the present management, which, notwithstanding these enormous and unprecedented estimates, promises only three new ships of the line and three repaired for the year 1780; seven of the line new, and one repaired, for 1781; and five of the line new, and one repaired, for the year 1782? Besides, several ships of men of war on this list, and thus engaged for to Parliament, have been promised year after year, to be forthwith ordered ever since 1774 and 1775, till government have, by such fallacious pretences, got from the nation more money on the said ships specified by name, than would build three times over, with proper œconomy, in the King's service. Considering, that the docks, together with the masts, men, stages, utensils, and a great part of the materials, are paid for and provided by the public, on other grants of money.

The Warrior, of 74 guns, has been eight years in hand, and 52,000*l.* from the House of Commons for her hull, masts, and yards. The Anson (64 guns) has been in hand as long, and had near 40,000*l.* for hull, masts, and yards. Caesar (74 guns) is said in this estimate to be now ordered to be built, and the fact is, she has already received almost her value by a vote of this House, and was reported to be ten years ago, as actually in hand at that time. Here Mr. Pitt particularised several other deceptions of the same kind, and shewed that the price of a 74 gun ship in the contractor's or builder's yard is from 28,500*l.* to 30,000*l.* for a 64 gun ship about 22,000*l.* True, says he, it is, that the board of admiralty charge in the account now on the books for ships of 64 guns, many thousands more than they should allow the builder. They demand of us 34,000*l.* for a ship contracted for one-third less. How the rest of the money applied remains known only among themselves. He reproved the shameful misconduct, negligence, and delay in the royal dock-yards, and bad mode of constructing our ships, not a man of war now left in ordinary (or out of commission) in a state to be repaired—all of them are at least twenty

twenty years old, and we have no good line of battle ship employ of so long standing (under a first rate, the *Royal George*) excepting ships captured last war from the French for instance; the *Foudroyant*, *Courageux*, *Bienfaisant*, which are still in the highest estimation of their class in the whole British navy. Some new and effectual expedients ought to be adopted for improving our men of war, augmenting the number, and forwarding the equipment of public fleets, otherwise the enemy must progressively advance in maritime strength as we decline. From 25 to 30 of our capital men of war now in commission, will, without any unforeseen casualties of war, be totally rotten and past repair within three years to come: several of them have been half patched up, and their damaged timbers secured by what are called hooks and riders, only to hold together on the spur of a desperate occasion, to delude the empire at large to a false confidence and security.

The enemy are already in the proportion of three to two: their combined line of battle in all parts of the world exceeding 120 sail, and our line of battle the approach spring at its very utmost exertion 82 or 83 sail. The French of Bourbon have the same degree of advantage in their ports both as to number and size.

Mr. Luttrell pointed out where more ships might be immediately built of good English oak; and shewed, that of war, viz. *St. George*, 90 guns, *Cæsar* 74, and others now given in for five or six years hence, (by the time their timbers will perhaps be half rotted) could, by the plan touched on in a former debate by an honourable Member [Sir Charles Bunbury] the engaging a certain proportion of wheelwrights, coopers, joiners, and house-carpenters, in addition to the professed shipwrights now so reduced in number for the King's work, be ready for sea in a fourth part of the time proposed by the admiralty and navy boards, and at less cost. The journal of the House prove, that the ministers have received from Parliament, since January 1757, when Lord Sandwich came to the admiralty, more than was asked or allowed for building, rebuilding, and repairing by one million and a half sterling, within the same time since England has been a maritime power, and that Hawke left a better fleet when he resigned.

Mr. Luttrell shewed, that, from the bad quality of timber, particularly the German oak, and mistaken method of preparing it, the men of war in the royal dock-yard

g this King's reign, and since the war of 1739, decayed more rapidly than ever was known in former times, al in four or five years after launching, and without having crossed the seas. He ascertained this fact by g their names, and official reports of their condition; g others, the Victory, in five years; Magnificent, in years; London, five years; and the Resolution, built 1770, was repaired in 1773. He pledged himself also, early day, to exhibit in the House full proof of scan- s profusion and waste on the several heads of the navy- for last year, which has exceeded the estimates and vote 1779 about two millions sterling. He hoped a speedy dy would be provided for all these alarming defaults and s in the naval department; and insisted, that although y-seven or eighty-eight sail of the line might actually ar for service by the month of June next; yet eight or f that list, from the Asiatic and American stations, are or ought to be very soon, on their passage home for re- which will of course extend through the better part of summer.

ter a long conversation, in which many of the members tered, the question was put and unanimously agreed to.

r. *Buller* then moved, "that a sum, not exceeding *Mr. Buller*, 80l. be granted for the extraordinaries of the navy."

r. *Luttrell* proposed, as an amendment, that the said sum *Mr. Luttrell*, d be voted, provided the whole of it should be applied e specific purposes for which it should be given.

ter a good deal of conversation and debate, *Sir George* *Sir George* informed the committee, that a motion was preparing, *Yonge*. a would meet the wishes of gentlemen in general, and ded it should be accepted of, the other amendment would withdrawn.

o this *Mr. Luttrell* agreed, so far as his consent went, but *Mr. Luttrell*. s in the hands of the committee, and they must do with they pleased; but his purpose and end was answered, precedent was formed of check and controul upon the ralty.

r. *Minchin* read the motion of amendment, which was, *Mr. Min-* d that accounts be laid upon the table of the application *chin*. e sums voted last year for the ordinary and extraordinary e navy, specifying the particular services performed at that money, from the 1st of January to the 31st of umber, 1779." The first amendment being withdrawn, this

this was accepted, and in this shape the votes passed with a division.

February 24.

Sir P. J.
Clerke.

Mr. Coke.

Sir P. J. Clerke moved for leave to bring in a bill to exclude contractors from sitting in that House. Agreed to.

Mr. Coke, member for the town of Derby, moved for leave to bring in a bill for restraining and regulating the power of admitting honorary freemen in corporations, and then giving them a right to vote for members to serve in Parliament. His motion was agreed to as a motion for leave.

He next moved, that it might be an instruction to a committee appointed to bring in said bill, that they do add up a clause, that no person who is not entitled to take up freedom by birth, servitude, or marriage, shall be admitted to vote for members of Parliament, in any borough, town, or place, without taking up his freedom on a stamp charged with a duty of 20l. said clause to be referred to the committee to supply.

This produced a debate. The persons who supported the motion were Mr. Mansfield (a maiden speaker) Mr. Grenville and Sir William Meredith: against it, Mr. Fox, Lord Frederick Cavendish, and General Conway.

The whole bill itself, and its ultimate objects on the debate on this clause, came under consideration.

On the part of the bill, and the clause which was to be in its operation, it was contended, that the natural interest of the country gentlemen was destroyed by admitting aliens and people at a distance, honorary freemen, who never saw the borough of which they formed a part, but who in seven years, at the time of a general election; that the real burgesses, those entitled by birth, servitude, or marriage, were deprived in fact of their franchises, because outnumbered by those intruders who had no will but what the person through whose influence they gained their honorary freedom chose fit to dictate; and that these means of deciding and determining for the real freemen, was in fact destroying the popular right of voting, which was always supposed to originate from property, or some natural or acquired right.

On the other hand, the making honorary freemen, to be eligible at election purposes, was not defended; but it was not a partial but a general reformation that was wanted, such as the powers vested in a few persons constituting the corporations to appoint whomsoever they pleased to represent the whole of the people in Parliament. The burgage tenures, by which

men were returned by the burgage-holders, confined to few persons, in other instances where the deviation was still more striking, because a single person, the owner of the estate, appointed or named the two representatives. These were the great and leading abuses; if the House was ready to enter upon a thorough reform, they were ready; but they could never consent to a partial one: they could never agree to the Derby, Bedford, and a few others, where the power complained of had been hitherto exerted in the cause of freedom, marked out as the only object of parliamentary disapprobation and regulation. It was well urged, that the granting honorary freemen extended the right of voting; which was a power, however created, that might be employed for a good as well as a bad purpose; and that the greater the number of persons to be managed or corrupted, the more difficult it was to effect it.

The question being called, the House divided; Ayes for Mr. Coke's clause, 23. Noes, 171.

As soon as this motion was disposed of, the House suddenly changed so much, that for a considerable time there were not many members in the House.

Mr. Alderman *Hayley*, in consequence of a petition which had presented from the American merchants some days before, for opening such ports in that country as were in our possession, moved that a committee be appointed to which the petition be referred. He said he had persons ready about the House to prove every single allegation in the petition, and if his own word would be trusted, he was prepared to justify the whole contents in his place.

The House immediately resolved itself into a committee on the said petition, Gov. Pownall in the chair. After some time spent therein the committee rose, and the chairman reported a resolution which was for leave to bring in a bill pursuant to the prayer of said petition.

The orders of the day were then called for, among which was the report from the committee of supply of the preceding day.

Mr. *Luttrell* rose, and observed how thin the House was; and that many gentlemen had come down to the House with an intention of speaking, particularly a noble Lord, and another officer high in the profession; that a debate of four hours having unexpectedly taken place, the noble Lord through indisposition, and some others through fatigue, were obliged to retire.

Lord Mulgrave.

Lord *Mulgrave* observed, that the resolutions which were to be reported, were unanimously agreed to in the committee; that if gentlemen either chose to neglect their duty, and go away through caprice, or were indisposed, the business of the nation was not to stand still on that account. After some further altercation, the first order of the day, the recommitment of Mr. Powys's bill for removing difficulties in county elections, was moved.

The House resolved itself accordingly into a committee on the said bill, Mr. Elwes in the chair.

The only amendment proposed by Mr. Powys, was, in enacting, that an account of all freehold leases to intitle the lessee to vote at county elections, shall give an account of his tenure, the name of the lessor, &c.

Sir Cecil Wray.

Sir *Cecil Wray* opposed this clause, and after some debate the committee divided, and the clause was carried by a considerable majority.

The committee rose, and the bill was ordered to be reported.

The other order of the day was going to be read, when it was opposed by Mr. Luttrell, for the reason before assigned by him, that of almost empty benches. He was answered by Lords North and Mulgrave; and the question for the House to receive the report of the navy estimates was put when Mr. *D. Hartley* rose, and after prefacing his proposition with a speech of considerable length, moved, that an account of the expenditure of the extraordinaries of the navy be made up from time to time, as they shall or may arise, and be laid before Parliament as early in the next session as they can be made up.

This produced a debate. At length it was postponed till after the resolutions were reported, by a kind of compromise. The resolutions from the committee of supply were reported and agreed to.

February 25.

No debate. Adjourned to Feb. 28.

February 28.

Order of the day for the second reading of Lord Bessborough's bill to amend an act of the 32d of his late Majesty intituled, "An Act for Relief of Debtors, with respect to the imprisonment of their persons; and to oblige debtors who shall continue in execution in prison beyond a certain time, and for sums not exceeding what are mentioned in the

to make discovery of, and deliver upon oath, their estates for the benefit of their creditors benefit."

A petition having been presented to the House against the bill by each of the two committees of Westminster and Southwark, and the two parishes of St. John and St. Margaret, Westminster, praying to be heard by counsel, the petitions were read, and the counsel called in, as soon as the business of the day for the second reading of the bill was finished.

Mr. Lee appeared as counsel for the city of Westminster and the borough of Southwark, and opposed the bill very strenuously on the ground of its principle, which he said amounted to a total alteration of the law of the land in a very important particular, an extension of the laws of bankruptcy to individuals not in trade, and the creating a permanent act of insolvency. He observed that the bill was not founded on any alleged ground of inconvenience or error in the laws relating to arrest on *mesne process* now in being, but contrary to the custom of Parliament, and contrary to all legislative precedent, rested solely on an imagined possibility of inconvenience, arising from the circumstance of their existing at one time or another, for it did not state when, certain insolvent and revengeful creditors who kept their debtors in prison from motives of resentment and cruelty, after they had offered to resign their entire property. Had a specific allegation been made that such hard-hearted creditors now existed, he should have considered the bill as a libel and gross calumny on the people of England; as it was, and as no such allegation appeared in the bill, he should not deem it a libel, but it certainly amounted to a very injurious reflection on the national humanity. Mr. Lee complimented the noble Lord who brought in the bill, on his intentions, because, he said, he knew the noble Lord meant well; but even if the laws now in being required so violent a change as the bill would produce, if it passed, he submitted it to the House whether, in difficult times like the present, it was a fit or a prudent measure to alter the system of law processes, so much as the bill would alter it; he asked also, what could induce any man to think that the change was necessary? Was it from the people now living, having grown wiser than their ancestors ever were? Or to what motive of policy was the attempt to be ascribed? He proceeded to use more general arguments, and concluded with urging the House to stop the bill where it was, and not suffer it to go into the committee, because

because the principle of it tended to affect credit, with which a commercial country could never thrive.

Mr. Silvester.

Mr. Silvester was counsel also for the same clients, and forced *Mr. Lee's* arguments, adding some of his own, and particularly pressing upon the minds of the House that this was an improper time for the agitation of such a bill; that at present trade was greatly embarrassed, but little cash in circulation, and all parts of the kingdom in difficulties and distress.

Mr. Erskine.

Mr. Erskine declared he was employed by the county of Middlesex, and likewise by the two parishes of St. John, and St. Margaret, Westminster. He went into a full history of the law respecting arrests for debt, shewing it was not in existence till the eleventh year of the reign of Edward I. and that it was nearly three centuries afterwards, viz. in the reign of Henry VII. that any additional laws were made respecting it. He proved, that the custom of not imprisoning the bodies of debtors, as it prevailed of old, was not founded on principles of liberty, but rather the reverse, having its foundation in feudal principles. As the commerce of the country increased, the laws respecting debtor and creditor were formed, and the necessity of establishing some measure for the latter's having a sort of security upon the former pointed out the power of arrest as the most proper security that could be given. After going through the history of arrests very circumstantially, *Mr. Erskine* came to a particular consideration of the bill itself, and declared it to be neither more nor less than a perpetual act of insolvency, and an extension of the laws of bankruptcy to persons not in trade. He said the frequency of insolvency acts was a disgrace to the country; that it was owing to such acts so often passing, and passing in such a careless manner and without limitation, or discrimination of persons, so that the fraudulent debtor was entitled to derive the same benefit from them as the honest debtor, that our prisons were full of debtors at all times. With regard to the present bill, it certainly was a libel on the humanity of the people of England, because he verily believed, notwithstanding the prisons of London, Westminster, Southwark, and in the environs of those places were now full of debtors, there were not to be found in all of them, more than fifty persons who came under the description that this bill stated to be its foundation, or that were detained in prison, after giving up their all, by merciless or revengeful creditors. He spoke to the various parts

the bill, contending that it was liable to many objections in its provisions and enacting clauses, as well as its principle, saying that it was so pompously, absurdly, and obscurely framed, that if he was to be put in prison, and to be obliged to stay there till he understood it, he certainly should obtain his groats, because he must unavoidably be imprisoned for it.

He reprobated the idea of its being founded on humanity, and declared, that if it passed into a law, commerce would be much injured, and numbers of honest tradesmen would suffer by the imposition of fraudulent debtors. He said also, that it would open a door to perjury, and every sort of villany that the mind of man was capable of; that it portook of the complexion of an act passed in the first year of the present reign, which was found to be of such a pernicious tendency, that Parliament was obliged to be convened, at the very next session, two months earlier than usual, and longer than would otherwise have been necessary, merely for the purpose of repealing that act. The act he alluded to was generally termed the Whitewashing Act; the inconveniencies arising from which, and the variety of frauds that grew out of it, must still remain on the minds of many gentlemen present. Mr. Erskine particularly objected to the clause, giving it in the power of a judge to determine, whether a debtor who came before him, and made an affidavit of his property, and surrendered his all, was an object who deserved to take the benefit of the bill or not, asked who was to direct the judge to determine either one way or the other, and by what was he to be guided in his judgment; a false debtor might procure the most fraudulent debtor his liberty, as a true one, would do the same for an honest and unfortunate debtor.

Mr. Erskine pointed out the frauds daily committed by Mr. Erskine. Debtors who claimed the benefits held out by the bankrupt law, declaring it frequently happened that soon after a man had taken up a large amount of goods from strangers, so as to enable his estate to make a better dividend among his old creditors, and thence procuring a majority to sign his certificate, and had got himself cleared, he drove in his own chariot, and splashed them and his creditors with the dirt of his chariot wheels. He concluded with observing, that it was necessary for the legislature occasionally to interpose between debtors and creditors, by passing an act of insolvency, but that interposition should be made but seldom, and when such

such an act passed, it ought to be done with care and circumspection, discriminating the objects who were to be advantaged by it, and making a distinction between an honest and a fraudulent debtor. Such acts, he acknowledged, would be of real utility, but the idea of establishing a fixed, certain and permanent act of insolvency was highly repugnant to every principle of commerce, and could not but be attended with very pernicious consequences,

Mr. Bearcroft.

Mr. *Bearcroft*, as council in support of the bill, replied to all that had been said against it, by his learned opponent, and declared, that it was nothing more than a continuation of an act, commonly called The Lords Act, only extending the benefits of that act, by enacting that persons owing more than 100*l.* might be entitled to those benefits, on a verification of having made an honest and fair *cessio bonorum*. Mr. *Bearcroft* went into a long examination of the law of insolvency as it stood, and argued that the present act was equally founded on public necessity, expediency and sound policy.

Lord Beauchamp.
Mr. Barrow.

Lord *Beauchamp* moved that the bill be committed.

Mr. *Barrow* complimented Lord *Beauchamp* for the liberality of his intention in bringing in the bill, but stated several objections to the principle of it, and gave his reasons for opposing its going to a committee. He particularly replied to what Mr. *Bearcroft* had said, that this was merely a continuation of the Lord's Act, denying the assertion, and observing that that act gave the creditor a right of negotiating the debtors obtainment of his liberty by a *cessio bonorum*, while the present bill took away the negative from the creditor, and placed it in a judge, so that the creditors would now have no check and less controul over their debtors than they had before. He mentioned also the daily abuse of the bankrupt laws in proof of the inexpediency of extending the principle of those laws to persons not in trade, and said that it was no uncommon thing to see a bankrupt rise like a phoenix from his own ashes, and become a great man from the circumstance of his having been a bankrupt.

Lord Beauchamp.

Lord *Beauchamp* lamented that the House had been so disorderly while Mr. *Bearcroft* was replying to what had been said against the bill by the other council, and begged the attention of the House, while he shortly went over the same ground. His Lordship then, in a most clear and manly manner, defended his bill from all the objections that had been made to it, and proved, that it was not only founded on humanity, but in real policy; that it would do a very

to the country, by keeping the gaols clear of debtors; trade would be benefited by it, and that it neither opened the door to perjury, as had been stated, nor would it afford the worst men an opportunity of defrauding tradesmen out of property, and then escaping from their merited punishment by procuring their liberty, upon a fictitious asseveration of having given up their all. He said, he was very much surprised the bill would not have been opposed at all, by the presence of petitioners, many of whom were very worthy and respectable characters, had they really understood the principal purpose of the bill; he would therefore explain both the one and the other. The bill was as had been stated, only a continuation of the Lord's act, with this only difference, that it went to the relief of debtors who owed a less sum than one hundred pounds, and that instead of putting it in the power of the creditor to prevent his debtor from obtaining his liberty, on giving up his all, by declaring his assent to it, it vested the right of a negative in a third person, one of the judges, or a court of law, where as the distribution of justice was lodged, it was surely safe to place it in this instance; and as the judges could be under no influence, it was obviously more consonant to real and impartial justice to place it there, than to suffer it to remain in the power of a creditor who might feel the impulse of resentment, and who from the nature of things, was not the most likely to act impartially in his own cause. With regard to the bill's having been declared a libel on the humanity of the people, if that sort of reasoning was to be admitted in opposition to the bill, the Lord's act was as much a libel, so were all the acts ordaining new regulations; the *Habeas Corpus* act might, with equal truth, be deemed a libel on the king, who lived when it was passed. But it appeared from the arguments of one of the learned gentlemen, that there was a necessity for passing the bill, for so far from there existing one hard-hearted creditor, or one person libelled by the bill had been stated to libel the people of England, the learned gentleman who spoke last but one at the bar, had admitted that there might be fifty debtors confined in the prisons about this metropolis, who were kept in jail by inextinguishable creditors, who were actuated by revengeful motives and not with any hope or expectation of obtaining the payment of their debts. Let gentlemen, before they oppose the bill, ask themselves whether the liberty of fifty Englishmen, so circumstanced, was not an object worthy their attention?

attention? but the great error which had occasioned all the like of the bill, was an idea, that it was to take away the power of arrests for debt, and that it enabled a debtor totally to set out the claim of his creditor, by making an affidavit that he had resigned his all. The bill went to effect neither of these purposes; nothing could be further from his idea than the former, and the latter was very far from being the case. If a debtor gave up his all to his creditor, and made affidavit that he was not worth five pounds in the world, and had no estate but the bedding of his wife, the clothes of his children, and the like, he was to be brought before a court, and the affidavit, with the proper documents, were to be exhibited; if the court was satisfied that the debtor had sworn the truth, that there was no fallacy in the matter, nor no concealment of fraud, then the court might award the man his liberty, but that award did not clear him from the debt; he was bound to it just the same as before, and all his future acquisitions, whether by accidental circumstance, or by his own good fortune and industry were liable to it, till it was paid. The whole object therefore was to prevent an honest, but unfortunate man, from spending his whole life in a prison, and to prevent his wife and family from being deprived of the benefit of his industry. Surely, if gentlemen thought a moment, they would see that this was more likely to be of advantage than of disadvantage to a creditor, because he could not possibly be paid by his debtor's remaining locked up in a prison, but he might be paid by the profits of his labour. With regard to the bill's opening a door to perjury, how did it differ from that, more than any other process upon affidavit? Neither did it put the fraudulent and honest debtor upon a footing, but a proper discrimination of the one from the other had already been paid, and the very object of the bill was to draw the line fairly between them, and hold an equitable balance; for that very reason was the negative vested in the judges, who were empowered at their discretion to liberate debtors, applying to the court in the manner specified, or might if they suspected fraud, and were not perfectly satisfied with the affidavit and documents exhibited, upon their suspicion and want of satisfaction, remand the debtor. It had been said of the loss traders would experience for nearly insolvent running in their debt, then going to prison and obtaining their liberty by virtue of this bill; he had already shewn that fraudulent debtors would not be benefited by it, and as to traders, from their eagerness to get custom,

credit to every man that came to their shops in a fine coat, without enquiring into the debtor's circumstances, no act of parliament could prevent it; it depended entirely on their caution and prudence, and unless the House could by their acts infuse a greater portion of common sense into the heads of traders, such inevitably ever must be the case with some of them, but then they must thank themselves for it. His Lordship answered the objection that the bill was ill-founded, declaring that such an exception was always in the mouth of those who happened to think differently from the proposer of any measure, but that in the present case it was most exceedingly ill-founded, for as there were at this time near 1800 debtors in the prisons in and about London, and they were engaged in a war which took great numbers of the people out of the kingdom, the community could not afford to lose the industry of eighteen hundred people who were lying in a jail; this therefore was a very fit moment for the passing a bill that would restore such of them to liberty as merited that benefit; it would also render insolvent acts, which had of late years been so frequent, and were so justly complained of, unnecessary, at the same time that it was not liable to the censure they merited, because there was an express provision in the bill against liberating of Swindlers and cheats, whereas an insolvent act always let such vipers loose on the public. With respect to the clause obliging creditors to allow their debtors, confined for want of bail, their groats, at 4d. per week, his Lordship said it had long been the disgrace of our laws of arrests, that this provision was not made for the maintenance of debtors. In Holland, a people nearly as frugal as the English, a commercial people, and ever remarkable for their generosity, it was the law for creditors to pay their debtors 1s. a day from the commencement of their imprisonment to a stated period, and 6d. a day as long afterwards as they kept them in jail: in France too, there was an edict obliging creditors to allow their debtors six pence a day for their support, and both these regulations had been attended with the most salutary effect in Holland and France; so much so in the former, that on a general survey of the prisons, there were found to be only *seventeen* debtors in prison in the whole country, and of them no more than three in the prison of the populous and commercial city of Amsterdam. His Lordship stated various reasons both of humanity and policy, why a creditor, if he seized the body of a debtor, and prevented him from earning his livelihood, was

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by locking him up in a jail, ought to maintain him there and asked if a man could be supposed to live upon less than 4d. a day? He pointed out the many frauds to which traders were now liable from the acts of insolvency, and contended that his bill would remedy them, by rendering such acts necessary; he replied also to Mr. Erskine's observation, that the bankrupt laws were abused, and that men frequently splashed the commissioners they had surrendered to, and the creditors, with the dirt of their chariot wheels, by shewing that such abuses were in some cases impossible to be avoided but that his bill was not liable to similar abuses. His Lordship concluded his argument, with summing up all the heads of his speech, and begging it to be understood, that the bill did not put creditors in a worse situation than they stood in before; that it did not alter the power of arrests; and that it only went to the relief of such honest debtors as through misfortune were arrested and confined in prison, where they were not unfrequently doomed to linger out a miserable existence by the cruelty of merciless creditors. That therefore the bill was an attempt to deprive men of the power of tyrannising over and oppressing one another; a matter as much the duty of the legislature to attend to, as the checking the power of the crown; and it the rather became them, because it was a noble and disinterested act to relieve the distressed, which could not be suspected of having any other influence on them, but a claim on their humanity; for these and other reasons, his Lordship hoped the House would suffer the bill to go to a committee, by whom it might be fully discussed and such parts of it as, upon due consideration, should appear to be inexpedient taken away, and others more wise and salutary introduced.

Mr. Coventry.

Mr. Coventry opposed the principle of the bill, and therefore hoped it might not be allowed to go to a committee. He said it desired an entire alteration of the laws of the land and was of infinitely too important a nature to be agreed to; that he objected both to its principle and to its provisions. That men now went to jail on purpose to enjoy the luxury of a prison. That the King's bench was crowded to, and that the proposal of allowing debtors 2s. 4d. a week was highly improper. A soldier had but 6d. a day for being shot at and should a rascal who had cheated industrious tradesmen and perhaps ruined many persons, be allowed 4d.?

Lord Westcote.

Lord Westcote, as a corroboration of what Lord Beauchamp had said, of the custom of creditors in Holland being obliged

allow their debtors 6d. a day, he instanced the sentiments of a very able writer, from a work entitled *Batavia illustrata*, written in 1721; the author of which book was long since dead, and therefore what he had printed alluding to the bad custom that prevailed in England of imprisoning debtors, without obliging creditors to maintain them, as the cause of the prisons being always crowded, might be admitted as immaterial evidence.

Mr. *Burke* supported the bill. He began with an ironical allusion on Mr. *Coventry*, for his having declared that men ought to go to jail to enjoy the luxuries of a prison, and likewise that having said four-pence a day was a luxury to a debtor, which he ought not to have. Mr. *Burke* remarked, that the tables were now fairly turned on the noble Lord, and that so far from his bill being founded, as every body had supposed, on benevolence and humanity, the honourable gentleman himself had proved that it was founded in inhumanity. For what was the avowed object of it?—To oblige men to come out of those prisons in which they lived so luxuriously! To deprive them of that liberty which the honourable gentleman had proved to be so unpleasant to men who were debtors. Having carried this to a very laughable extent, Mr. *Burke* paid Lord *Beauchamp* a most handsome compliment, and went on to give a warm and persuasive description of the good effect the bill would have, urging it so powerfully, that no man whose heart was not steeled against the impulse of humanity, could have heard him unmoved. He said, he wished the bill to go further than the noble Lord had intended; that the re-washing clause ought to be inserted, and that honest debtors should be cleared effectually upon a true *cessio bonorum*, and not remain liable to the claims of their creditors ever afterwards.

Lord *Ongley* objected to the bill; said it would open a door to perjury; that perjury was the vice of this country; that he verily believed nineteen out of twenty of the debtors in jail were fraudulent debtors, and that the greater part of them would make no scruple to perjure themselves, if taken a false oath would clear them and give them their liberty. In proof of the great prevalence of perjury, his Lordship said, that in the House there was a man at the custom-house who was known by the name of *The damned Soul*, who would swear any thing for five shillings.

Mr. *Sawbridge* said he would not oppose the bill's going to the committee if the noble Lord would assure him that it should be

be printed after it came out of the committee, and let the third reading be fixed for so distant a day, that the public large might have full time to consider of the bill in all its parts before it passed.

Lord Beauchamp.

Lord *Beauchamp* assured the honourable gentleman, that such had been all along his intention.

Mr. Turner.

Mr. *Turner* said, since it came into the House, he had received instructions from his constituents, to oppose it; but from what the noble Lord had said, he would agree to it going to a committee.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. *Fox* declared he had brought in the Westminster petition against the bill; but though he had the greatest respect for the petitioners, and hoped they would hereafter be satisfied by their constituents, from what he had heard of the bill he should certainly vote for its going to a committee, though he did not agree to it in all its parts. He defended the principle of the bill, and said it was equally liberal, humane, and laudable. Mr. *Fox* reprehended Lord *Ongley* for, a part of his speech, as too general a censure.

Lord Ongley.

Lord *Ongley* said a word or two by way of explanation.

Lord George Gordon.

Lord *George Gordon* opposed the bill. He said, that the House were not so competent to judge of the probable operation of the bill as the petitioners; for that most of the members knew but little of trade. That they were chiefly debtors and not creditors. That many of them had no property, not even a table, a chair, or a three legged stool to sit down upon, that they could call their own. He would be guided by the old members (pointing to Mr. *Barrow* and Mr. *Cventry*) and neither misled by the treasury bench, nor by the honourable gentleman who lately borrowed a plan for reformation from the French. The honourable gentleman had great eloquence, but though he might admire the wreath of flowers that grew out of the fertile bog of his understanding, he was not to be deceived, when he saw it was a plan sent between the treasury bench and the honourable gentleman, to alter and repeal the salutary laws of George the 2d.

Mr. Popham.

Mr. *Popham* recommended that the debtors of the crown should be inserted in the bill, as persons within the benefit of it.

After a few words from Lord *Westcote* and Mr. *Barrow* the debate ended, and the bill was committed.

February 29.

Lord North.

Lord *North* said, he had a motion to offer which he presumed would take up but very little time, as he did not imagine any gentleman would make the smallest objection to it.

motion was for a vote of thanks to Admiral Sir George
 ges Rodney, Bart. for his late signal services, which
 gentleman who then heard him, must be perfectly well
 imited with, and which certainly were of the utmost im-
 portance to this country. The capture of the fleet of trans-
 was not only of considerable importance to Great Bri-
 from the value of it, but was rendered additionally so,
 if he was warranted to say, that the want of the stores
 cargoes on board those transports, was a matter exceed-
 ingly distressing to Spain, and would put her to very great
 expence in fitting out her future fleets. The late success of
 George Rodney against the Spanish admiral Don Juan de
 Lara, was still more signal and serviceable to his country,
 although it was true that his fleet was superior to that
 of the enemy, there were circumstances attending the engage-
 ment, such as the exceeding tempestuous and bad weather,
 the sea, and a very dangerous shore near at hand, that
 rendered the risque and difficulty even greater than the Admiral
 probably would have had to encounter, if he had met and
 fought with a squadron superior to his own, and consequently
 merited the greater honour on Sir George, as an officer whose
 conduct was equal to his bravery, and whose judgment and
 courage kept pace with his resolution and gallantry. In that
 action Sir George had dispossessed the enemy of eight sail of
 the line, besides greatly disabling the rest of their squadron,
 and he had added five ships of the line to his Majesty's fleet
 at Gibraltar. He had also so effectually relieved that im-
 portant fortress, that he might now venture to assert, it was
 brought into such a state as would secure it from future danger.

It was upon these grounds, his Lordship said, that he
 brought in his motion, which he had endeavoured to form as
 far as possible to the various precedents on the Journals.
 He proposed, for the thanks of the House, in the course of the last
 session, to Lord Hawke, and that to Admiral Boscawen, had
 been for signal services rendered their country, at such and
 such places. In the present motion, he had expressed it in
 the words "for his late signal and important services," be-
 cause they were by no means confined to one place—the first
 on the coast of Portugal, the second on the coast of Spain,
 and the rest at Gibraltar. His Lordship then moved, "That
 the thanks of this House be given to Admiral Sir George
 ges Rodney, Baronet, for the late signal and important
 services he has rendered his King and country."

Right

Right Hon. *T. Townshend* seconded the motion which he afforded him the highest satisfaction. He had long had the honour to be intimate with Sir George Rodney, and was perfectly well acquainted with his singular bravery and conduct as an officer, having been the person, on the capture of *Minico*, who had made a similar motion in that House. He was glad, however, that the motion now was in better hands, and that it was made at that particular crisis, when every man must be ready to confess his admiration and his gratitude for the gallant services which the Admiral had rendered to his country.

Lord Howe. Lord *Howe* declared, that although it might be thought on an occasion like that, reserve would better become him than saying any thing, because his rising to speak about the late conduct of the gallant Admiral would naturally promote the question of his competency to give an opinion on the subject, yet that he felt no occasion to be reserved on a subject respecting which he would venture to say professional men could have but one opinion, and that was, that the Admiral for whom the thanks of the House had now been moved, the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, highly merited every mark of distinction and honour which that House could bestow. He would not, his Lordship said, go into a discussion of the particulars of the Admiral's last action with *D. Juan de Langara's* squadron, but thus much he would say, that from the circumstances of it, Sir George Rodney must have felt great uneasiness in his own mind in undertaking it, and could not have completed it in the brilliant and successful manner in which he had the good fortune to finish it, without an uncommon degree of resolution and judgment. Sir George therefore, as he had before declared, amply merited the gratitude of that House, and he was exceedingly happy to find the minister stand up immediately on the receipt of confirmation of the news, in the absence of the Admiral, and do him justice in the face of a British House of Commons. Such conduct became ministers, and was due to those who were risking their lives and characters at a distance from home in the service of their country. It was that sort of protection and justice that officers were encouraged to exertion, and that their country might expect to reap the advantages of their future services.

Mr. James Luttrell.

Mr. *James Luttrell* said, as the House were now proceeding to vote their thanks unanimously to a gallant officer

signal and important services, he hoped they would not there, but that they would keep that officer's present in their eye. That they would not suffer his character to be hereafter trifled away. That they would go with him to Gibraltar; go with him to the West Indies; that they would watch him every where, and keep his honour and his reputation alive effectually and substantially, taking care that he should not be sent to be a sacrifice, should have a force equal to the objects he was sent to; that they would strengthen him with ships, when he should have occasion for more. He was now, it was generally understood, going to the West Indies. Let the House send him ships equal to those of the enemy in that quarter of the globe. He, for one, would vote him ships, his services were not worth the gallant Admiral's acceptance.

The motion was put by the Speaker, and carried *nemine contradicente*.

The Speaker was then ordered to transmit them to Sir George Brydges Rodney.

While the above conversation passed, Admiral Keppel was in the House, but coming in soon afterwards, he took an early opportunity of rising, and after asking pardon of the House for getting up in a disorderly manner said, it was to express his sorrow at not having been present when the thanks of the House had been moved to Sir George Brydges Rodney. He did assure the House, that one only instance was excepted, and that the House would be kind enough to excuse him for saying, he never felt more sincere satisfaction at the thanks of the House having been voted. Sir George Rodney had rendered his country most important services, of which he would venture to say, were not more significant in themselves than well performed. He thought it incumbent upon him to give his testimony in that House to the credit of an Admiral, who deserved every honour in the power of his country to bestow.

The Hon. Charles Marsham said, as the House had done to Sir George Rodney the honour to vote him their thanks, he thought it incumbent on them to do something more; and he rather thought so, as he believed it was pretty generally understood that the gallant Admiral's finances were not in the best condition, and that although he had served his country for many years, and rendered it many important services, it had so happened that honour had been his only reward, and he had not been able to acquire that handsome provision

Hon. Charles
Marsham.

provision which an officer of his high character and important service, was entitled to, and generally supposed to obtain. He therefore thought it became the House then, while George Rodney's merit was warmly acknowledged by every gentleman, to proceed a step further, and to save the great Admiral from the hazard of his being neglected, or his services forgot in consequence of some future misfortune; therefore, unless a satisfactory reason was given to shew the impropriety of such a measure, threw it out to the House. Whether it would not be proper to address his Majesty "that he would be graciously pleased to bestow some post of honour on Admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney, for his late signal services." Mr. Marlham added, that he was the farthest in the world from wishing to encroach on his Majesty's prerogative in any degree, but he could not refrain from mentioning that there was a post now vacant which was generally bestowed on gentlemen in the service who had distinguished themselves, and risen to high character, and that was, the post of Lieutenant General Marines.

Lord North. Lord North rose immediately, and said, that no man in that House had a stronger sense of the great merit and character of Sir George Rodney than he had, nor was there any who would be more willing than he was, that Sir George should be most amply rewarded for his signal services, but he could not but submit it to the House, that the motion brought at by the honourable gentleman was altogether unprecedented, and that if it were once agreed to follow a vote of thanks with an immediate address to his Majesty for a reward, that so coupling the two matters, would in future subject the House to very great difficulty, and establish a precedent which they would hereafter have cause to repent.

Mr. T. Townshend. Mr. T. Townshend upon this charged ministers with having neglected to reward their officers, and asserted, that Sir George Rodney in particular had been neglected and treated by them. In proof of this assertion he declared that after the taking of Martinico Sir George was neglected at Greenwich Hospital indeed was given him, but it was taken away from him by the present first Lord of the Admiralty on Sir George Rodney's being sent to the West Indies on a command. General Monckton also, who shared with him in the glory of taking Martinico, was neglected, and was a considerable time before he obtained that, which Admiral Rodney had again and again applied for. It was of

ers so much the practice of ministers to give up their
 characters, to whisper away their characters, and to suffer them
 to be run down upon the least change of fortune, the least
 success, covering their own blunders under the ruin of
 others characters, that he was happy the honourable gentle-
 man had made so proper a motion; he had done it, he was
 happy, without the smallest communication with any person;
 and he was the more happy that it came from such hands,
 no man existed who was more universally beloved, or
 whose character was more highly respected than that of
 the honourable gentleman both within those doors and
 without.

Hon. Mr. *Marshall* declared he would persist in his motion, Mr. *Mar-*
 he did not hear a more satisfactory answer from the noble *Mar-*
 lord, or unless some promise were given, that the Admiral
 should be taken care of.

Lord *North* said, that it would be exceedingly irksome for Lord *North*.
 to oppose the form of a motion, the substance of which,
 was as much inclined to further, and carry into effect, as
 any one man in that House; but, if the motion were per-
 sisted in, he should be under the necessity of opposing it,
 merely for the sake of Parliamentary precedent. He had
 already declared, that coupling a vote of thanks, with an
 address for a reward, would subject the House to very great
 difficulty in future, and would establish a precedent, which
 they would hereafter have occasion to repent; it was on that
 ground, and that ground alone, that it became his duty,
 however unwelcome it might be to him, to oppose the mo-
 tion, if the honourable gentleman persisted in it. Another
 honourable gentleman had charged ministers with having
 neglected Sir George Rodney. He begged leave to say, the
 fact was not so: Admiral Rodney, during a peace, had been
 at Greenwich Hospital. It was true indeed it was after-
 wards taken from him, but that was, when at his own desire
 he had been given a command in the West Indies; and tho'
 it might be urged, that there had been a precedent of an offi-
 cer's having a command and holding Greenwich Hospital,
 yet it was very far from usual that an officer should have the
 hospital and a command on a foreign station at the same
 time. Besides, when Admiral Rodney went out last, he
 was Rear Admiral of England. The honourable gentleman
 who had proposed the motion had said, Sir George Rodney's
 chances were low; they were not very high he believed
 when he took his present command, but he hoped that diffi-

culty had been lessened by his successes. At present Sir George had received the thanks of that House, and whatever the honourable gentleman might think, the thanks of that House were in themselves a very high reward. But exclusive of that, he really saw no reason why gentlemen should assume that Sir George Rodney would be neglected. He was not himself very likely to neglect him, because, exclusive of his perfect sense of his exalted merit as an officer, that his late signal services could not be too highly rewarded, and that they well deserved not only the thanks of that House, but of the Admiral's country at large, he was intimately acquainted with, and had the strongest personal esteem and regard for him. At the very moment in which, for the reasons they had stated, he declared he must oppose the motion, he begged leave to assure the House, that he was far from thinking the place the honourable gentleman had alluded to, viz. that of Lieutenant General of Marines by any means more than equal to the Admiral's high deserts.

Mr. Mar-
sham.

Hon. Mr. *Marsham* said he now rose with great pleasure to withdraw his motion, because in the noble Lord's speech there were many kind expressions, which convinced him that Sir George Rodney would not be neglected; at the same time that he said this, he could not but observe, that there fell a word or two from the noble Lord which he felt exceedingly, and that was, the noble Lord's throwing out an insinuation that he had said, the thanks of that House were not an high reward. He had not uttered a syllable to colour such an insinuation. He thought the contrary, and he had expressed the contrary. He begged leave also before he sat down to declare, he now withdrew his motion, on the presumption that something would be done for the gallant Admiral.

Admiral
Keppel.

Admiral *Keppel* said, that Greenwich Hospital might be taken from any officer to whom it was given, in such a manner as not to be a matter of complaint; that in the case of Sir George Rodney he understood it had been offensively taken away. Greenwich he said, was doubtless a very handsome retirement, and there had been periods of his life, in which, though he was conscious he had not merited it, he should have thought himself highly obliged to that minister who would have given him Greenwich. With regard to the thanks of that House, he did not know what value his friend Rodney might set upon such a vote, but he prized the vote of thanks that he had been honoured with, infinitely above all reward or emolument, either the Lieutenant Generalship

Marines, Greenwich, or in short any lucrative and honorable appointment in the power of a minister.

The motion withdrawn.

Colonel *Barré* called the attention of the House to the account of the extraordinaries of the army for the last year, the account of the distribution of a vote of credit for a million, which had been delivered in that day. He said the account of the extraordinaries of the army alone amounted to upwards of three millions of money considerably, full of hundred thousand pounds more than the extraordinaries of the army for the preceding year had amounted to. He then said, that fifteen hundred thousand pounds had been sent to America the preceding year, which was not yet in shape accounted for, and that last year upwards of six hundred thousand pounds had been sent to America. That these enormous excesses demanded the strictest scrutiny and most serious attention of Parliament; that the account of the extraordinary was so large, and the articles so numerous, that the whole occupied seventy-five pages in folio; it was impossible therefore for any five of the most capable and industrious members in that House to make themselves sufficiently masters of the account to be able to speak to it. Which reason he moved that the extraordinaries of the year be printed.

Col. *Barré*.

The *Secretary at War* objected to it, as a matter unprepared. He said he recollected that the same motion had been made last year, and that it was then rejected. The motion however was agreed to; and the reader will find the account at the beginning of this volume.

The *Secretary at War*.

Order of the day being read for the second reading of *Townshend's* bill "to enable the members of the House of Commons to be eligible to serve in Parliament for any county, city, borough, town, or place;"

Mr. Burke rose and called upon Lord North to say when at what stage he meant to oppose his bill for the reformation of his Majesty's civil establishment.

Mr. *Burke*.

Lord North in reply said, he did not mean to oppose its second reading, nor its going into a committee; but he thought it fair for him even then to tell the honourable gentleman, that when it came out of the committee with the bills filled up, if such of the various allegations stated in it were capable of proof, were not established on a better evidence than general notoriety, he should oppose them.

Lord *North*.

them as grounds of a bill not sufficiently established for Parliament to admit, and proceed to alter the constitution upon.

Mr. Burke. This occasioned a speech from Mr. *Burke*, who said, the noble Lord put him upon proving that which it was impossible in the nature of things for him to give further evidence of, than general notoriety, his bill was put to death already. That it appeared, as if the minister meant only to gain time, to run taxation against reform, to obtain his supplies, to trifle with the House, and to double distance reformation, and so to go into all the horrors of an election without satisfying the people, or complying with one of the petitions.

Lord North. Lord *North* spoke in explanation, and desired that motion which he did not acknowledge, might not be so unfairly imputed to him. He thought he had acted candidly in declaring what he really meant to do respecting the bill, and was sure, the honourable gentleman himself, would not suffer so important a bill to pass, unless the allegations which the plan of reform was founded, were satisfactorily established.

Mr. Rigby. Mr. *Rigby* declared, that no man knew his sentiments of the bill. That he approved of parts of it highly, and would speak his opinion of the whole, at which ever stage he should think proper, but that he would not be bound by any bargain that should be made in so irregular a manner by any man whatever on one side of the House with any man who ever on the other. He called upon the Speaker therefore to exercise his authority, and put a stop to the conversation. Another bill was now under discussion, and it was time to come to talk to the bill of the honourable gentleman who had put a question to the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, when the bill was before the House,

*Sir Grey
Cooper.*

Sir *Grey Cooper* having previously risen to urge the same question, The Speaker owned he had been in the wrong to let the conversation to proceed, and begged to call the attention of the House to the business before them.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. *Fox* nevertheless rose to say, that he thanked the honourable gentleman [Mr. *Rigby*] for his candour. And that all the gentlemen present would attend the House on Friday, and desire those whom they knew, and who were not now present, to do the same.

1780. Sir Grey Cooper said he had some objections to make to the principle of the bill then under consideration. However Sir Grey Cooper. he said the evil of suffering the chancellor of the exchequer to give the Chiltern Hundreds at his discretion to a member, who by his acceptance of that nominal place lost his seat in Parliament, the remedy for that evil held out by the present bill, would leave a still greater evil behind; that were the House to adopt the bill, it would reverse the old maxim established by the wisdom of ages, that it was wrong to remove what was bad, unless it were evident that worse would not be the immediate result of the removal, and that it was right not to meddle with what was good, unless it was certain that better would be the consequence of the alteration. Sir Grey set out with asserting that the bill in its principle went to a direct violation of the constitution of Parliament; as a proof of this, he instanced Lord Brougham's declaration, that though a gentleman was sent up to Parliament by one county or one borough, that having taken his seat, he was the representative of the whole kingdom, and that it was his duty *ac faciendum, ac consentiendum* for all. To prove that the House had ever attended to this rule laid down by Lord Coke, Sir Grey cited various instances of contested elections in 1606, 1641, and other periods, whence it appeared that the House had always decided, that a person who had taken a seat for one borough or county, or having even presented a petition claiming a seat for one borough or county, was not eligible for any other borough or county, pending his petition; and one great reason for this was, the care always shewn for the preservation of the fullness of Parliament, and the pains taken, in order that all its members, as far as the constitution of Parliament would allow, should be effective members, and capable of attending their duty, unimpeded by personal indisposition. After stating these instances, he contended, that the present bill overturned all the maxims, and if carried, would operate in a manner exactly the reverse of their purview. He also opposed it, he said, on account of the indecisive wording of the preamble, because it implied, though it did not directly state, a failure of the noble Lord who was at this time chancellor of the exchequer; but he declared he had no objection to any other remedy for the evil complained of, either by a new bill, or an alteration or modification of the powers of the chancellor of the exchequer respecting his granting the Chiltern Hundreds.

tern Hundreds, if any such better remedy should be proposed.

Mr. Townshend. Mr. *Townshend* offered to give up the bill, on allowing fixing an equality to members respecting the Chiltern Hundreds.

Lord North. Lord *North* and the Lord *Advocate* spoke against the bill. The latter said, that it would in effect be a partial provision in favour of themselves against the people at large, and would be like keeping a bag fox in the House to let loose for the purpose of running down any private gentleman without doors who should start as a candidate for a seat, and might be obnoxious either to one side of the House or the other.

Sir Joseph Marubey. Sir *Joseph Marubey* did not approve of the bill as it stood but was for its going to a committee.

Mr. Byng. Mr. *Byng* desired the matter to be put on a fair footing. The House divided, whether the bill should go to a committee or not. Ayes 29. Noes 66. Adjourned to March 1. *March 2.*

Lord North. Lord *North* said, he had a proposition to open to the House of an important nature, but as he did not wish to take up the time of the House upon it then, if, when he had opened it, any gentleman had an objection to it, he would not put it as a motion, but wished to have it understood merely as notice that he should make such a motion at an early day. There had been, his Lordship remarked, a great deal said in various conversations and debates that had taken place lately, respecting the great increase of the public accounts and against the voting for such parts of the public service in which estimates could not be previously produced. He had then to say with regard to the latter, what he had often said before, that in many instances, while we were engaged in an expensive war, it was impossible to lay previous estimates before the House, because every part of the public expenditure could not possibly be foreseen, and depended upon events as they rose; with regard to the enormity of the expenditure that was likewise in some degree unavoidable, from the very nature of the case. He wished, however, as heartily as any one gentleman in that House, to give the public the fullest satisfaction, that the money was duly applied to their service and he heartily wished also that some method could be devised for stating and settling the public accounts in such a manner that the numerous balances upon each head of expence, might be brought forward more speedily, and in consequence be sooner applied to the public service. Various methods had

hinted at for effecting this purpose; the method he proposed would be by a commission of accounts; and the reason why he thought a commission better than a committee of accounts, was, the former would have many advantages over the latter, as it might be strengthened with powers, with which it was not in the capability of the House to vest a committee of accounts, such as the power of issuing for papers of all sorts, examining witnesses upon oath, &c. commissions of accounts which had in former times been instituted, it had been remarked, and truly remarked, proved nugatory, and of little use. This was easily to be accounted for, and as easily remedied. The fault lay in the cause of instituting those commissions, partly in the form and extent of their institution. His intention was to have, either then, or, as he had before said, at an early time, as to the House should be most agreeable, for leave to bring in a bill for appointing a commission of accounts. Former commissions, he observed, had merely been authorized to take a retrospective view; he meant to carry the present idea further. He designed that the bill should expressly authorize the commissioners not only to enquire into the accounts of the past expenditure, but into the current accounts, and further to direct them to consult, prepare, and report to the House what should upon due examination and consultation appear to them to be a more easy and speedy mode of keeping the public accounts, and settling them so that their true state from time to time, as near as possible, be laid before the House when called for, and the various balances in hand immediately brought forward, and applied to the service of the ensuing year. His Lordship said, when he was lately asked for assistance by an honourable member who had declared the necessity of enquiring into the public accounts, he declared his readiness to assist as far as he could, but it afterwards been stated, that his sincerity was to be doubted; that what he had said was plausible enough, but was not a mere parliamentary trick; was it not an attempt to sow dust in the eyes of the public? An attempt to gain parliamentary popularity by affecting a readiness to do that, which he had no real intention to come into? Such remarks, he said, had not been a species of comments very welcome to him, nor, he believed the House would think, very candid to themselves. He was determined therefore, from a conscience, that he was sincere in his offers of assistance, to take the earliest opportunity of giving the House indisputable proof

proof of his real sentiments, and therefore he now came prepared either to move for leave to bring in a bill to carry the proposition he had opened into effect, or, as he had been declared, he was content, if the House rather chose it, that what he had said upon the subject might be considered merely as notice that he should, on a future day, move for leave to bring in a bill, the principle of which he had stated. The honourable gentleman had thrown out, on the day that he had offered his assistance towards enquiring into the public accounts, that it would appear from the sort of committee to be appointed, whether he was sincere, or whether the enquiry was to be a farce and a mockery. In order to bring that matter out of doubt, and to obviate the various objections, that would in all probability be made, from his not being appointed of the committee, either from one side of the House or the other, he should make it a provision in the bill he meant to bring in, that the commissioners be respectable, intelligent, and independent gentlemen, who were members of neither House of Parliament. This he hoped, would wipe all suspicion away, and give satisfaction to all parties. His Lordship said a few words to the general effect that the commission would have, the superior ease with which it might be conducted, from its being of the constitution he had mentioned, and the facility with which it might proceed from being able to sit at all times, without being engaged and harassed by the intervention of parliamentary duty; after which His Lordship read what he intended to be his motion when he made it.

Sir George Yonge.

Sir George Yonge said, that unless the noble Lord declared whether he meant to move now or at another time, the House would be at a loss how to proceed. If the motion were made he should, if no other gentleman would, have something to say upon it.

Lord George Gordon.

Lord George Gordon rose also, and the House proceeded in disorder; upon which

Lord North.

Lord North said, as he saw it was likely to provoke disorder, and as he did not by any means wish to stop the business of the day, or to interfere with it by the proposition he had opened, he should not move then, but wished that what he had said might be considered merely as a notice.

Col. Barré.

Col. Barré said that in the history of Parliament he had never seen there was no instance of a similar transaction. He had several days since told the House, that he had a plan to propose an investigation of the public accounts. He had called

the noble Lord to know whether he would assist him or not, because he was conscious that it was impossible without the power of a minister to penetrate the Arcana and come to the bottom of many matters, which loudly demanded enquiry. The noble Lord now without consulting or advising with him, came with a proposal of his own; he had stood between an obscure individual, and the little ray of sunshine, which he had attempted to draw upon him, for honest purposes only. His scheme was founded on a wish to serve the public, on a wish to check the lavishness, the extravagance, and the prodigality of those who managed the public expenditure; the strong arm of the minister had wrested it out of his hand and had put an end to his labours, to the produce of many watchful hours, and many sleepless nights. "Not, added the Colonel, that I speak the language of complaint; if the noble Lord carries his purpose into effect, and attains that end, which I was humbly endeavouring to reach, for the benefit of my country, *tamen ego gaudebo*—in God's name let me have all the merit of it!" Having said this, he informed the House, how far his labours had proceeded, and assured them, that though the object was the same, his plan was of a different and less expensive nature than that proposed by the noble Lord. He said he had purposely foreborne to mention the House, at the time that he called on that noble Lord for assistance, and for two reasons: the first because he would not be so uncivil to his honourable friend who had so ably opened a plan of reformation to the House, and brought in a bill for the purpose, as to bring forward other matter, just when that bill was first agitating, and the title of it scarcely known; the other was, he should have been ashamed to have produced any plan of his to that House before he had properly digested it and made it as worthy their notice as his abilities would enable him to make it. He then went on to shew that a commission of accounts was by no means wanted, that the greater part of the accounts, they would find it necessary to revert to, were already on the table, and that the chief business that remained to be done, in order to come at the knowledge in question, would be to call for such other papers as might be wanted. With this view he had framed two motions, which he had brought down with him, having intended to open his plan that very day, but hearing on his arrival at the House that the noble Lord had a plan of his own to propose, it was now no longer necessary, though he could certainly make his motions, as well because the papers

they called for were necessary, as in order to convince the House that he was serious in what he said respecting his intended plan of enquiry. The noble Lord, he declared, as soon as he came down, called him aside, and shewed him his motion, asking him if he had any objection to it. He had read it, and directly said "none," but it was not by any means consonant to his idea of the necessary enquiry. He had at the same time shewn the two motions he intended to offer to the noble Lord; and he must do the noble Lord the justice to say, he did not disapprove of them. The Colonel then moved, "For an account to be laid before that House of all charges, fees, and perquisites, received by the officers of the Mint, on account of the late re-coinage."

Mr. T.
Townshend.

Mr. T. *Townshend* submitted to his honourable friend whether it would not be better to leave out the word "*perquisites*" in his motion, as it implied a confession of having received that which ought not to have been received. He also hinted that the word was rarely introduced in a motion in that House.

The Colonel replied, and said it was the softest word that expressed what he alluded to, that he could fix on, for if he had put into the motion at full length all that he had heard relative to the subject, it would be an extraordinary motion indeed. If his motion was formally drawn up, he hoped the noble Lord would set it to rights.

Lord North.

Lord North said it was true he had told the honourable gentleman he did not object to either of his motions, but on hearing the one now put a second time, he thought the word "late re-coinage" too vague and indefinite. The officers of the Mint might not comprehend it, as they on the late re-coinage of the gold coin in 1775, 1776, and 1777, received it from the Bank in ingots, the Bank getting it melted into ingots before they sent it to the Mint.

Lord George
Gordon.

Lord George Gordon said he did not like Mr. Burke's plan of reform, because it did not abolish sinecure places. The other honourable gentleman who had just spoken, meditated another sort of reform, and had told the House, that he should attack poor *Mat of the Mint*!

This set the House in a roar. At length however the motion was put and carried.

The Colonel then made another, for an account of the various fees, &c. received at all the offices, and by all the officers, through whose hands the public money passed, from

being originally, paid by the peasant to the tax gatherer, to its being issued from the Treasury.

This Lord *North* said he should not oppose, but he begged *Lord North* to inform the honourable gentleman, that it would take long while, many months, to prepare the various accounts must necessarily occasion to be made out.

The motion was put, and carried.

Lord *George Gordon* then entered into an argument on the inadequateness of Mr. Burke's bill, and pressed the necessity *Lord George Gordon* of taking the petitions of the good people of England into immediate consideration, which he said he would move.

Mr. *James Luttrell* agreed that there was a necessity to go *Mr. James Luttrell* to the consideration of the petitions as soon as possible, but declared, that in his opinion, Mr. Burke's bill was founded on the prayer of those petitions.

The bill was then read a second time.

Mr. *Burke* moved, that the bill be committed for the next *Mr. Burke* day.

Lord *Beauchamp* said it was very unusual for a bill to go to *Lord Beauchamp* committee immediately after the second reading. The usage of Parliament had been otherwise for a very good reason. It was necessary that all bills, and especially those of great moment, should be proceeded through with caution and circumspection. If this was the constant practice, he submitted it to the consideration of the House, how necessary it was to postpone going into a committee so soon as this day on a bill of such a magnitude, of an object so very extensive, and in the event of which such a variety of individuals were so deeply interested. From these circumstances, which he with great deference submitted to the House, his Lordship recommended that the word *to-morrow* might be struck out, and Wednesday next substituted in its stead, as he by no means thought there would thereby be any unnecessary delay.

Lord *Nugent* followed in the same line of reasoning against *Lord Nugent* going into a committee so soon as the motion proposed. After which his Lordship animadverted on the petitions, and the independency the opposition meant they should have, but verily believed there was not the cause set forth in them for combining against government. The prerogative of the King, his Lordship did not think any ways increased, and for his part, he would not restore Parliament to its independency lessening the influence of the crown. [The House was reupon in a tumult, and a loud exclamation of hear him!

hear him! continued for several minutes.] By the influence of the crown, he said, he meant a due and constitutional influence; the crown was to be independent, and the Parliament was to be independent, but they were both to be dependent, in order to be independent, for that the one grew out of the other. He asked how it could be said, that the influence of the crown had been encreased, thirteen colonies having been lost; the addition of new taxes, he denied, to be a means of extending that influence, and with respect to the commitment of the bill, he thought there was no occasion to go into a committee upon it before Wednesday. As to the bill itself, there were parts of it he much approved, but so far as it tended to a diminution of the influence of the crown, he would most assuredly set his face against it. He reminded the House, that the minister had been uniformly supported by the country gentlemen throughout the whole of the American war.

Hon. T.
Townshend.

Right Hon. *T. Townshend* attacked the noble Lord for the expression which fell from him, by which the House were a second time given to understand, that any attempt at a diminution of the influence of the crown was to be resisted. The noble Lord in the blue ribbon [Lord North] had some few days ago explicitly opened his mind upon the matter, but the noble Lord he was replying to, had gone a great way farther; he had made no scruple to say, that he would not restore Parliament to its independency by lessening the influence of the crown. Mr. Townshend said, he had been long in the most intimate friendship with the noble Lord, or he would have called upon the Speaker to have taken down those words, as he had done, and could wish to have explained. As to the observation that the influence of the crown was surely not so great now as before government had lost thirteen colonies, he was very ready to admit, that if that had been a plan of the ministry's for the purpose, it had been a plan of their own designing, and had been effectually executed. But the noble Lord had asked, if laying new taxes on the subject, could be thought to add to the influence of the crown? There were such things as tax-gatherers; and though the taxes might not, the tax-gatherers, he was sure, tended not a little to extend the power of government. The increase, too, that had been made in the military establishment, in the raising of new corps, and the appointment of officers to them, had both augmented the means of cor-

ruption

on, and shewn the real designs of those in power too to escape the notice of the House.

Lord Nugent in explanation said, that all he meant was, Lord Nugent. as the House was at present by no means in a dependent

the petitions were wrong at aiming to lessen the influence of the crown, in order to restore the independency of government. His Lordship repeated his former assertion, the power of the crown was not extended, and maintained, that the King was constitutionally the distributor of places, pensions, and other gifts which belong to the royal prerogative.

Lord North objected to the going into a committee so soon Lord North. day. The bill was of the most important and complicated nature, and required such a mature consideration, Wednesday was, in his opinion, as early a day for bringing it to a committee, as the House could well think of putting.

Mr. Fox accused the minister of attempting an unnecessary delay. It was absurd and ridiculous to pretend that early a day was proposed for the bill's going to a committee. The noble Lord had, indeed, asserted it, but had no good reason, in his opinion, for postponing the bill, and he called upon the noble Lord to lay his hand on his heart, and say, if he was not ready to go into a committee, as far as a knowledge on his part of the bill was necessary. It was not supposed that the whole of the bill was to be immediately considered, but a part only; and what was that part? Whether the third secretary of state, or the secretary of state for the American colonies, was not an office altogether useless, and as such to be abolished? This was the first part of the bill to be investigated, the honourable gentleman thought it so simple a question, there required no more preparation than had been taken to decide upon it.

The other noble Lord [Lord Nugent] had argued in a curious way. When opposition complained against government for an undue use of power, the noble Lord was ready to exclaim, what would you have! we have lost thirteen colonies, and surely we have reduced the influence of the crown as much as you ought in reason to require. He denied in the most express terms, that it was true, that the influence of the crown had not been extended, and added in the most happy vein of satire to the argument used by Lord Nugent in contradiction to that fact. The noble Lord

Lord also said, that all places, pensions, and sinecures in the gift of the crown, and that the crown acts constitutionally in giving them away; so that the noble Lord meant if he means any thing at all, that when a member solicited a place, a pension, or a sinecure, he is, in so doing, supporting the constitution. As to the fact, whether the crown had extended its power or not, he wished sincerely the question could be fairly put, and the sense of the House impartially taken upon it.

The minister had often complained, that opposition was actuated by interested views, and the calumny had been echoed through the ministerial circle into the world. If it was the case, as it had been confidently said, how did the present conduct of the side of the House on which he sat himself, correspond with the charge? If they really wanted places, how was it that they had brought in a bill for cutting off so many of them? If they wanted pensions and sinecures, how happened it, that they had proposed an abolition of them? Did they want money too? Then why were they struggling for economy in the expenditure of the public money? To this fine, the honourable gentleman contended, that by the conduct in question, they removed every suspicion of selfishness, and he could not but call to mind the observation of an honourable gentleman, not a member of the House) who took the chair at the Wiltshire meeting, that the bill went to make the opposition honest, as well as the ministry. He then took notice of Lord Nugent's observation, that the minister had been supported by the country gentlemen, (and commented with great ingenuity on the noble Lord having spoke in a preter perfect tense, for though the country gentlemen had supported the minister, he believed they would no longer do it, and the noble Lord had seemed so sensible of this, that he had not ventured any thing more than to speak in the preter perfect sense of it, as if the account between the minister and country gentlemen had really closed in good earnest.) He also took notice of some expressions that had fallen from the other side of the House, respecting the liberty of the press having been carried to a great degree of licentiousness, and confessed he was apt to think our present situation in a great measure owing to the bad use that had been made of it by those hired by government, whose system it was to mix all ranks together, to bring them to a level with each other, and to impress the people with a notion that there were no virtuous men in the present age. This vile and damnable

y, he exploded with a proper warmth of expression, thought it done merely to set the public against the liberty of the press, and traduce those very men who were proving their integrity by promoting the bill under discussion. He said, that as the thirteen colonies were now actually lost, the noble Lord [Lord Nugent] had at length admitted it, the public was to have a great saving, and he hoped to hear the pensions given to the American governors would be continued, and particularly that granted to Gov. Hutchinson, who had been the fore-runner and very firebrand of the rebellion on the other side of the Atlantic. He urged the bill into a committee on the bill next day; and charged the minister with an intention of putting it totally aside, or making it nugatory, by dissolving the Parliament after passing the budget.

Lord North disclaimed any intention of dissolving Parliament before the usual time; said if he had been supported by country gentlemen, for he was willing also to speak in a more perfect sense, it proved he had not been supported by improper influence.

As to the bill, gentlemen had certainly a right to be angry with him, if he objected to its going to a committee next day, and did not mean to let it go to a committee on Wednesday, which was not the case, for he did mean that it should go to a committee, and he begged leave to declare it to the house, but as the bill consisted of a variety of allegations, and was a farrago of incidents, he did not suppose it could be thought unreasonable, if he should then call for evidence in support of those facts, on which the propositions of the bill were founded.

Mr. Burke treated the expectation of the noble Lord as to the proof of the allegation in his bill, with the most positive contempt, because the thing was impossible. He said, the third secretary of state was useless, and how was he to prove it, but by the notoriety of the fact? Neither the deputy, the clerks, nor even the fire lighter, would come forward with it. If he understood the noble Lord, he was to let all those places to be useless he meant to abolish, and to shew by evidence, that he could make the savings he proposed, and as neither of those things were to be proved by evidence, except collateral evidence, he considered them as the success of his bill. Indeed, he concluded the noble Lord meant on Wednesday to throw it out, for though he would concur to its going to a committee, he would not say

say it should be debated in it. He adverted to the Lord's observation, that he would speak in the preter tense, that they had been supported by the country gentlemen and said the noble Lord need not be in danger of a grammatical error in language; it was a solecism in politics he ought to take care to avoid: for he acted in direct opposition to the true sense in politics, in direct opposition to every wise government, and to all honest and dishonest politicians who ever produced.

Mr. Gilbert. Mr. Gilbert avowed himself a friend to the bill, inasmuch as that he would take care it should have fair play, and Lord Turner spoke a few words in favour of the bill.

At twelve o'clock the House divided upon Lord Brougham's amendment; for it 230, against it 195. Adjourned to March 6.

March 6.

Lord North. The Budget. Lord North began with lamenting, that he should have a task so disagreeable to perform, as that he had about to execute. A noble Lord, [Lord George Gordon] had called it a very serious business; another honourable gentleman had called it a devouring business; it certainly was far from an agreeable thing to him to come to that House to ask a large loan, which must necessarily add greatly to the burthens already felt by the people; as little pleasant could it be for Parliament, however pressing the necessity of the state, to add to those burthens. But when gentlemen bestow harsh epithets on the business of the day, it would be fair in them to remember that it was the war and the national demands that caused the budget and swelled it to an enormous size, whenever it was so swelled, and not the budget that caused the war or encreased the national demands. At the moment it must be obvious to every gentleman, that the expences of the last year had been unavoidable; our enemies had fitted out so formidable a fleet and sent it to lay siege to us, that the boasted Armada, and all the fleets that were of in history, that had ever been sent to sea against Great Britain at former times, were in the comparison mere trifles, when weighed against the naval preparations of France and Spain last year; a large fleet was therefore necessary to be fitted out on our parts, and a finer either in point of number, or in point of strength, had never sailed from our ports; but every effect was traceable to its cause, the navy of England therefore it was, that had devoured the

forces of the country, and to that principally was to be attributed the enormity of the last year's expences.

His Lordship after a few more words of a general tendency to the subject of the national expenditure, went into a recital of the supplies already voted, and those that remained to be voted for the service of the current year, stating them by article, and at length casting up the several gross amounts, he made the total nearly twenty-one Millions. After naming the army, the army extraordinaries, the ordinary and extraordinary of the navy, the ordnance and the various other usual services, he said that what served to swell the supply to nearly twenty-one millions, was the inheritance of the deficiencies of the last year's ways and means, and particularly the failure of the taxes. He stated what the land tax had fallen short, and said that he had come down to himself, that the tax on houses had, as gentlemen might see from papers on the table, failed for the two years very considerably. In the first year it had been given for 260,000*l.* and the produce of it had not amounted to quite 100,000*l.* The next year, 1779, it had also fallen short, but not exactly in the same proportion. Gentlemen had at different times been extremely severe on that tax, and termed it unproductive, partial and unjust. He was free to own, that though neither of those epithets was due to the tax itself, because its not being productive, nor its been partial, did not arise from its principle, yet it had certainly failed in its operation, and therefore it in some degree merited what had been said of it, the fault as far as he had been able to trace it, was ascribable solely to an erroneous and improper collection of it. The tax itself he still approved, and he was sure it might be rendered both productive and efficient. The collectors and assessors down in the country had not done their duty, and hence its having failed hitherto. They had taken the rents of Houses by an improper estimate, and in consequence the produce had fallen short, and the payments had been partially made, but he begged leave to say, that although it had from the mode of its being collected, proved favourable to the public, it was not for that, nor for any reason, to be complained of as having oppressed the poor. He said further, that he had been induced to adopt the mode of collection by parochial assessors and collectors, as an experiment how far the most convenient and least disagreeable way of receiving it from the subject would answer the desired end; nor was he at all sorry that he had tried the experiment, although the event had proved, that had it not been governed by the rents of houses,

but taken by the more certain, though less agreeable rule of the window tax, it would have exceeded in the produce by a considerable sum, the sum for which it was given. The wine tax his Lordship declared, had also fallen short, in appearance, but he would not say in reality, because the deficiency might be owing solely to the quantity of wine designed to be imported, not having been imported by the time when the account was made up to, in consequence of the ships waiting at the ports where the wines were put on board a considerable time, either for convoy, or in consequence of their being detained from sailing, for some other reason. What therefore the produce fell short last year might be made up this. The deficiencies of the taxes upon the whole for the year before the last, his Lordship stated at about the hundred thousand pounds. The deficiencies of the taxes last year, at near two hundred thousand pounds.

He said that the great and heavy expence of the navy, having necessarily encreased the debt of the navy, it had usually had its effect upon navy bills, which were for that reason at a large discount; he proposed therefore to pay a million and a half of the navy debt, by exchequer bills. He mentioned thirteen thousand pounds paid the African Company last year, as a sum to be deducted from the amount of the parts of the supply not already voted, because they having been moved last session after the budget, was voted upon address, and therefore stood charged in the previous account, under the head of monies paid upon address to His Majesty, and not with the rest of the resolutions of the Committee of Supply.

After very copiously detailing every part of the supply, his Lordship came to the ways and means by which he proposed to provide for the amount of the supplies, and first mentioned the same number of exchequer bills as he had made a part of last year's ways and means; next the land and malt tax, and then the disposable monies arising out of the sinking fund; stating them thus:

Ways and Means, 1780.

Exchequer bills,	-	-	£. 3,400,000
Land and malt tax,	-	-	2,750,000
From the sinking fund,	-	-	2,500,000
			8,650,000
Which, with the intended loan of	-	-	12,000,000
			20,650,000
Would amount to	-	-	

his Lordship descanted on each of the above heads as he mentioned them, giving his reasons for making the same use of exchequer bills as he had made the last year; and declaring the sinking fund afforded a most comfortable prospect. When he went into a discussion of the loan itself, accounting its being so large a sum, and informing the committee he had entertained hopes of not having occasion to borrow so much this year, from an expectation of being able to draw a very considerable resource from the East India Company; he said that the propositions which had been submitted to him, and which doubtless had been seen by every gentleman present, appeared to be a proper ground for a treaty which might have been brought to a point upon due conference and consideration, so as to have enabled him to have laid it before Parliament for a ratification of them that year, but a difference of opinion had arisen among the proprietors, that the matter was at an end for the present. It might never soon be thought right by Parliament to give the Company the three years notice, as the charter would expire three years from the 5th of April next; for certainly the Company had a right to look for very considerable resources from territorial revenues in India, all of which were, in his opinion, the property of the public, but he believed it was a universal opinion that the public had at least a right to a participation of the profits. The treaty, however, being laid off for the present, he had made the bargain for a loan of twelve millions, and he thought rather did it, because he had made him for the loan of twenty millions; he thought it better therefore to take it at a large sum this year and leave the loan of the next year to be proposed, he hoped not by him, but by his successor in office, to be more easy, which undoubtedly from many causes would be. It might possibly be said, that it was easy to talk of twenty millions, but those who had offered it, men capable of making good conditions? He did assure the House upon his honour, among all the names entered in his books, there were not more than one million of the whole twenty, which were not the names of men whom he knew to be substantial respectable characters; men capable of giving security complying with the conditions of the loan. Nineteen persons he consequently could have answered for, and gentlemen thence would see that his great difficulty had been, not to raise the money, but how to strike off from the sum proposed, and from the numbers that offered to be subscribers,

so as to divide it satisfactorily. The terms of the loan which he proposed to the committee were these :

Annuity irredeemable for seven years, at 4l. per cent. taken at	-	-	£. 4
Long annuity for eighty years, at 1l. 16s. 3d. taken at 16 years	-	-	74 0
Four lottery tickets (of a lottery consisting of 48,000 tickets) for every 1000l. subscribed, equal to a profit of	-	-	29 0
			104 0

The 4 per cents. to be payable from the 5th of January last.

After stating this collectively, his Lordship spoke particularly to each of its three distinct parts. With regard to the first, the four per cent. annuity, he said, it had been wished to have raised the loan at five per cent. but that the monied men in the city, men highly respectable in a commercial point of view, objected to it, and gave their reasons among others, they had stated, that it would not be a very pleasant thing to have a five per cent. annuity done upon par, and different supposed valuations were put upon it. He would then have taken it at the next gradation 4l. and a half but the very same objections gentlemen would see lie against that. In fact, the sum to be borrowed was a large one, he was the borrower and the monied men the lenders, the result therefore was, that the latter prevailed, and, though he had not at all changed his sentiments, and would recommend it to his successors to try again to borrow at 5 per cent. because it did not follow that what could not be procured at one time might not be procured at another time, he was now under the necessity of taking it at the highest he could get it, which was 4 per cent. He stated, why he took their price at 74, and then proceeded to speak to the long annuity, declaring, he was aware that it would be objected to him, that he was guilty of inconsistency; that he had always argued against long annuities, and therefore it was very extraordinary that he should himself come down to parliament, and propose that very thing which he had repeatedly condemned. It was very true, that he had expressed a dislike of long annuities; it was no less true that he felt the same dislike to them at that moment. But every thing depended upon circumstances.

stances, and it did so happen just now that various reasons occurred, which rendered a long annuity for so small a sum as 1l. 16s. 3d. preferable to a short annuity.

His Lordship gave his reasons at full length, and after stating that he proposed as one part of his budget, a lottery consisting of 48,000 tickets, in order to raise 480,000l. why he preferred a 4 per cent. annuity to an addition to 3 per cent. funds, proceeded to a declaration of the manner and times of payment of the loan, reciting them thus: Ten pounds per cent. to be paid on Saturday next. Ten pounds on May 26. Ten pounds June 23. Ten pounds July 15. Fifteen pounds on the 15th of August. Ten pounds on September 24. Ten pounds October 24, and ten pounds on the 24th of November.

He afterwards stated that the first payment for the lottery was to be made on the 20th of May; the second on the 10th of July; the third on the 12th of September; and the fourth and last on the 20th of October.

He took notice of the usual effect that a large loan had always on 'change when it was first heard of, and said, that as soon as the terms were known in the morning, business was done upon it, and that he understood the 4 per cent. annuity had fallen to 72, and the long annuity to 27l. reducing the *bonus* from four to under one per cent. He had since, however learnt, that the price had risen up to 2 per cent. He had no manner of doubt but it would get up in a little time much higher, as had been the case last year, and indeed all former years.

His Lordship contended that the present bargain, notwithstanding the largeness of the sum was considerably more beneficial to the public than the loan of the last year; and when the largeness of the sum was considered, that surely was a matter of no small moment. He said, the interest that remained to be provided for, amounted to 697,000l. that it might possibly be expected, he should then propose the taxes, the produce of which he meant to pay it. As it was a matter, which, he declared, would oblige him to go into a much longer discussion than the lateness of the hour would admit of, he must defer it to another day. Wednesday, he observed, would be occupied by the honourable gentleman's motion for the reformation of the civil establishment; he had already given his honour that he would not oppose it, that he would not oppose its going into the committee. He certainly could not, though he should hold himself free to discuss it as well

well as any other honourable gentleman, while it was under the consideration of the committee; but as that bill stood for Wednesday, he would, with the leave of the House, propose the taxes on the next open day, viz on Friday. Thus much however he would say then, that heretofore he had proposed new taxes, and such as there was an appearance and a probability of turning out efficient and productive, without much burthening the subject; now, let the consequence be what it might, let the opposition to them, or the clamour raised by them, either within doors, or without, be ever so great, let the pressure of them be complained of, as loudly as possible, he was determined to propose none but substantial taxes, taxes which being governed by certain and almost indubitable rules, should carry with them the strongest probability of fully answering the sums for which they were given. After a variety of argument in additional proof, that the house might be rendered an efficient tax, and in asserting, that he meant to regulate it in such a manner, and by such a new mode of collection, that it should be sufficient in future, his Lordship concluded with moving a resolution, comprehending the heads of what he had stated.

Mr. Fox.

The motion was read by the chairman; after which Mr. Fox rose, and remarked that the noble Lord had exultingly compared the terms of the present loan with those of the loan of last year, ironically complimenting him upon having compared it with the worst loan that ever had been made in the country. He said, that this loan being better than a worse loan, was no proof that it was a good one in itself. The noble Lord had boasted of having nineteen millions offered to him, and had afterwards told the committee, that he being the borrower, and the monied men the lenders, he had been obliged to make the best terms he could, and to take the present; though he had wished for terms exceedingly different. This, Mr. Fox said, was an irreconcilable argument. He should have thought a man who had found a difficulty, not in obtaining a loan large enough, but in striking off from the sum offered, and the number of persons desiring to lend, might have made his own terms, and not felt the usual difficulties of a borrower, because as the noble Lord stated the case the lenders were the party obliged and not the public. The noble Lord however had acted as the borrower indeed! for what had the noble Lord given as a bonus to the lenders? Not as the noble Lord had stated it, a bonus of 4 per cent. No such thing; the noble Lord had given the enormous bo-

of eighteen per cent. to the subscribers; this assertion Fox rested altogether on the present value of money; de-
claring that as the 3 per cents. thereon were at 60l. money
clearly and decidedly at 5 per cent. the noble Lord there-
ought to have taken the 4 per cents. at 80 instead of 74,
the long annuity at 35 instead of 29. Add to this the
surplus on the lottery tickets, and the 11. 15s. for prompt
payment. He attacked the noble Lord for having used the
same trite excuse, that he had made the best bargain he could
make for the publick, and said, he had as usual followed the ad-
vice of that side of the House the year after it was given;
the other side of the house having last year particularly recom-
mended long annuities, which the noble Lord thought pro-
per then to reprobate, though he had now thought proper to
adopt the idea, and make it a part of his budget. He ad-
ded to what the noble Lord had said relative to the East-
India company, and declared it had been hinted at, that the
aim of the noble Lord, was to assume the patronage of
the company, and not to come to any treaty, the basis of
which was the advantage of the public. Here he also threw
out an assertion, that the first Lord of the admiralty, and
the treasury, were notoriously complained of as endeavour-
ing to manage all questions at the India house; rejoicing that
the proprietors had lately defeated them.

He mentioned the necessity of the Committee's being sa-
tisfied, not merely whether the terms of the loan now pro-
posed were better than the terms of the last, but also how far
a sum of money as twenty-one millions was necessary,
and whether the enormous sums already voted had been ho-
nestly and duly applied. He observed, that the extraordi-
nary expenses of the army had been a chief part of the public ex-
penditure, and desired gentlemen to see how great a part of
the cursed extraordinaries were occasioned by the American
war, calling upon the committee to demand an explicit an-
swer from ministers, whether they meant to pursue that dam-
nable and detested war any longer, and pointing out how
many millions had been appropriated to that service for the
last years, though there had not been a single stroke
of the sword there the whole of the last campaign; that on the
contrary it had been an inactive campaign; as to the Ameri-
can war, the only thing we had done upon the Continent being
the protection of Savannah from falling into the hands of the
French. Mr. Fox in very striking colours contrasted the be-
neficial advantages of a war with France and Spain (our nat-
ural

tural foes) with the injuries even of success against the Americans; shewing that on a peace every American ship had destroyed, would turn out a loss to our trade; whereas on the contrary, every ship we either destroyed or took from our Bourbon foes, was a material advantage, and a material acquisition to our own strength. He appealed to the committee whether every shilling that was desired for carrying on the war vigorously against France and Spain was not most cordially, most cheerfully granted, and whether every penny appropriated to the American war was not given with regard and with the most serious dissatisfaction. He declared, were it possible for the House of Commons that instant come to a decisive and a distinct vote on the question, whether the war with America ought or ought not to be continued any longer, he did in his honour and conscience believe that a very great majority would vote, for putting an end to the America war immediately. He said, he rejoiced heartily in our late glorious successes over the French Spaniards, and he hoped to God, ministers would have wisdom to make a fit use of them, to point the war with the possible exertion against these our natural enemies. He observed that we had taken and destroyed nine sail of the enemy, and our own navy was in consequence strengthened with the addition of six sail of the line. This was a substantial, real advantage: this, if properly pursued might give us what was desirable to all men, who felt a real love to their country, a lasting, a safe, and an honourable peace. Continuing the war with America never could produce the same salutary effect. He spoke of Sir George Rodney in the warmest terms of praise, and said if ministers delayed longer in appointing him to the vacant place of lieutenant general of marines, he hoped his honourable friend would renew the motion made by him the last week, and withdraw on what had been said by the noble Lord in the blue ribband who had himself declared, that the place alluded to, was no means too much, or too high a reward, for Sir George Rodney's merit. If ministers did delay the appointment of above brave Admiral, to the place in question, they would give authority to the blackest suspicions which had already gone abroad, and which impartial men, both without doors and within, could scarcely resist admitting the force of. He said he was not in the House when an honourable gentleman had deemed the ministers timid for not employing Sir Hugh Lindsay. Surely the honourable gentleman had forgot what

year. Ministers he understood had not only defended Sir Hugh, but that they had censured the court martial for the sentence so honourable to the Admiral his worthy relation, and so ignominious to his false accuser. The honourable gentleman who had advised that a character so universally detested in the navy should be employed again, seemed to have forgot, that so conscious was that person of the intention and feelings of the House towards him, that he had resigned the very employment which all men joined in wishing to see bestowed on Sir George Rodney, because he was convinced, that if he did not resign it, that House would have moved an address to the King, desiring that he might be stripped of it. Mr. Fox dwelt for some time on an assertion, that the ministers had deceived the public from year to year: he likewise made a great many more assertions, and used a great deal more argument.

Mr. Cornwall said, that it was the principle of his political conduct and opinions, that the people ought never to be deceived; that it were better in cases where they petitioned improperly, to say at once, "no; your request is improper, and therefore cannot be complied with," than to lead them on with false hopes, or be guilty of the smallest degree of fallacy or double dealing.

Sir George Savile urged the necessity of giving the petitioners some assurance of relief previous to the agreeing to a resolution of such great extent in matters of supply, as the motion then under consideration, and recommended voting the loan piece-meal, as the public service should from time to time require it. Sir George reprehended the noble Lord for making the motion for a commission of accounts so indelicately out of the hands of Colonel Barré.

Admiral Pigot severely censured Sir Hugh Palliser, entered into a professional attack upon his defence on his trial, and assured the House that he would move an enquiry. He also went at large into the affair of Lord Pigot's being imprisoned in India, and the circumstances of his death, stating the trial of the culprits, the nature of the judgment, and the extent of the sentence, accusing the first Lord of the Admiralty, and the Secretary of the Treasury, of undue influence at the India-House and elsewhere.

Mr. Pulteney declared he was glad to hear the honourable Admiral assure the committee he would fully go into the case of Sir Hugh Palliser the first convenient opportunity.

For his own part, he thought Sir Hugh a very deserving officer, and ministers were not to blame for their timidity in employing him.

The committee on the motion.

Noes - - - 28 Ayes - - - 102

The Hon.
Mr. Luttrell.

The Hon. Mr. *Luttrell* complained of "divers undue and corrupt practices respecting the election of members to serve in Parliament for the borough of Milbourne Port in the county of Somerset, at the approaching general election, committed by the Right Honourable Frederick Lord North, chancellor of his Majesty's exchequer, and others acting as his agents in the said transaction."

Mr. *Luttrell* afterwards moved, for eight persons to attend, in order to be examined at the bar of the House.

Mr. *Luttrell* on this occasion said, the House will permit me to ask attention for a few minutes, on a subject, which however it may seem in the introduction of it merely to touch an individual, and that individual—myself; yet, when fully stated, and weighed in your minds, I trust it will be found to involve a most important public concern; especially in the present critical situation of the government of this country, and at the eve of an expiring Parliament. I shall, as concisely as possible, state some principal facts, in support of which, evidence is ready for your bar, and which evidence will (I presume) come forth clear, substantial, and decisive; as it certainly ought, on a charge of high criminality thus moved against the most exalted and decorated character of your own body, and who also is the first confidential servant of the crown—I mean the noble Lord facing me with the blue ribbon. The current session is the sixth during which I have sat here as member for Milbourne Port; and though in political measures, uniformly and entirely guided by my own free sentiments, yet have I been so fortunate as to find my Parliamentary conduct approved of by those who sent me hither; and their unsolicited public thanks were some time since transmitted to me in terms the most flattering and the most respectful. Not only have I, as occasion might offer, experienced the good wishes of the several electors and inhabitants, but also in a peculiar manner, those of Mr. Thomas Medlycott, heretofore a member of this House, who owns a considerable estate in the borough of Milbourne, from which he resides scarcely a hundred yards distant. He has, as well by letter as otherwise, repeatedly acknowledged service to him performed on my part, and

professed

professed towards me the most grateful return and zealous attachment; particularly for what might regard my future connection with the same constituents I now represent; in-
somuch, that about two years ago he signified his hopes in writing, that I should keep, by the most unexceptionable tenure, the seat I now hold, till his eldest son, aged about eleven, should at least attain twenty-one years. Thus circumstanced, and in habits of confidence and friendship with the borough in general, it was not till the late Christmas recess that I could harbour the least doubt of my being again elected for Milbourne Port. To my extreme astonishment I then learnt, that a treaty between the first Lord of the Treasury and Mr. Medlycott, for the sale and purchase of the borough representation had been clandestinely on foot ever since March last, when I was far enough removed from the spot by a close attendance on my duty here. One seat was, it seems, agreed for on a dissolution, in exchange for a weighty purse of gold; but, to seduce a worthy set of people from their rivetted predilection in my behalf, (and which it can be made apparent still subsists there) almost to a man; and above all, to over-rule every tie of probity and good faith in the breast of a person of Mr. Medlycott's rank and description, was not very easy to compass: yet was this the avowed paramount object of the noble Lord in the blue ribbon from the beginning of the treaty; and it was fully expressed by his Lordship's agents and attornies,—
“At any cost Mr. Luttrell must be removed. Lord North is determined to pursue him to *any* borough for which he may offer himself a candidate.” The noble Lord acted but fairly to consider me an irreclaimable enemy to him in his political station; and he did me an honour, of which, in the midst of all his persecution, I feel exultingly proud, when, amidst a great and formidable minority of above 200, he thought it worth while to hunt down so inconsiderable an opponent as myself, at the expence too of such pains—such malignity and base corruption, though probably there are many others marked out for the same pursuit;—it required the lure of a first minister's dignified situation and power, joined with the immediate practical influence of the dispenser of secret-service-money (I allude to a secretary of the Treasury) to enthrall this poor over-matched country gentleman, Mr. Medlycott. He was, it seems, beset with a miscellaneous crew of evil spirits, such as you may have seen painted in a *temptation of St. Anthony*, but wanted the preternatural aid of

the like divine grace ; therefore at the end of a fix months siege, he surrendered to the noble Lord, not (I believe) without condition munificent in the extreme, such as became the minister of a rich and generous nation to bestow for such salutary state purposes : I speak feelingly, I hope not too warmly, on this matter. A consideration of my public duty has caused this open mode of meeting the injury, perhaps not the most advisable to frustrate the hostile views of the noble Lord on the day of election. If the suffering of a private person were not totally absorbed in the insult to Parliament, and to the country at large, I might dwell further on this signal act of oppression. It is surely no illaudable ambition to aspire to a seat here, upon independent, constitutional principles : but who on those principles can stand his ground among you, if such an attack be endured at those hands, which may distribute honorary and pecuniary gratuities, together with places and pensions, without controul, and without account ? I have now only to add, before I move summonses for the evidence in proof, that I had not even the least distant hint or surmise of any negociation of this nature, in which Lord North was a party, when I moved a standing resolution now on your journals ; to which the noble Lord assented at the time, and which seems so aptly to fit his present case : that resolution occurred to me as proper, upon considering the petition from Middlesex, for securing the independence of Parliament.

Lord North. Lord North in reply said, he was perfectly astonished when the honourable gentleman began to inform the House, that he had a charge to make against him for undue practices with the borough of Milbourne Port. The honourable gentleman had not stated any one specific fact, which was capable of an answer ; it was impossible therefore for him to say more at present than that he cared not how soon, nor how fully the charge was gone into, conscious of his own innocence, and perfectly satisfied, that whenever the day of enquiry came, it would be manifested to the whole House. The honourable gentleman had accused him of cruelly persecuting him, and that it had been declared “ he was determined to follow him to any borough for which he might offer himself a candidate ;” he did assure the honourable gentleman he never had the most distant intention of persecuting him, much less of preventing his having a seat in that House ; whether he had or had not, would be the very last object of his consideration ; and as to the words imputed

...m, they certainly never were spoken either by him or his authority; least of all should he have thought of entering with the honourable gentleman's return for Milbourne Port, to an exclusive election for which place he not doubt he was fully entitled by having a large house, large estate in the neighbourhood; by old connections, acquaintance, great intimacy, and great regard! After living this irony for some time, his Lordship seriously he wished the motion to be carried; that he was ready to meet the enquiry, being most perfectly convinced, he could assert and prove his innocence without the least preparation, though he was sure all the preparation the honourable gentleman could desire, would not enable him to support the charge.

Mr. Luttrell in reply, rejected the noble Lord's sneer *Mr. Luttrell.* contempt, and said he had neither affected great wealth, nor long connection with the electors of Milbourne Port; that the tenour by which he held his seat for that borough was built on a much nobler basis than that of the noble Lord—he held it by the tenour of a consistent line of conduct in that House, governed solely by principle; and by the tenour of having disdained every idea of personal interest in opposition to the particular advantage of his constituents, and the general good of the people at large. His hope, on which he had rested an expectation of being re-elected for Milbourne Port, arose from his having received the unanimous and unsolicited thanks of his constituents, as well of those who had opposed, as of those who had supported him in his election) for his Parliamentary conduct, and from his being conscious of his having, from the first day he took his seat to that hour, persisted uniformly in that line of conduct which had gained him a testimony of the esteem and good opinion of his constituents, honourable and so flattering to him as the unanimous approbation which he had mentioned.

Lord

Lord North presented to the House the following PAPERS
To the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes in Par-
liament aſſembled.

An Account of all ſubſiſting Penſions granted by the Crown, at
pleaſure, or otherwiſe, and payable at the Exchequer; ſpecifying
the amount of ſuch penſions reſpectively, and the times when
the perſons to whom ſuch penſions were granted.

Out of his Maſteſty's Civil Liſt Revenues.
Annuities and Salaries.

Edward Lord Thurlow, lord chancellor, by patent, Feb. 11, 1779; ſalary commenced June 3, 1778,	5000
Sir Fletcher Norton, knight, chief Juſtice in Eyre north of Trent, by patent, March 21, 1769; by privy ſeal, May 16, 1769; commenced March 21, 1769,	1566
Francis Earl of Hertford, lord chamberlain of the houſhold, by privy ſeal, February 21, 1767; ſalary commenced December 1, 1766,	3000
William Earl Talbot, lord ſteward of the houſhold, by privy ſeal, July 3, 1761, ſalary commenced March 25, 1761,	1540
William Duke of Queensbury, firſt lord of police, by privy ſeal, December 21, 1776; ſalary commenced Jan. 28, 1776,	1200
James Earl of Lauderdale, a lord of police, by privy ſeal, February 18, 1776; ſalary commenced Janu- ary 28, 1776,	800
John Earl of Galloway, another lord of police, by privy ſeal, March 10, 1774; ſalary commenced September 24, 1773,	800
George Earl of Dalhousie, another, by privy ſeal, March 4, 1775; ſalary commenced Feb. 17, 1775,	800
David Earl of Leven, another, by privy ſeal, July 1, 1773; ſalary commenced June 21, 1773,	800
Alexander Fraſer, eſq. one of the gentlemen of police, by privy ſeal, April 21, 1763; ſalary commenced March 23, 1763,	400
Sir Robert Menzies, bart. another, by privy ſeal, April 21, 1763, ſalary commenced Mar. 23, 1763,	400
Thomas Dundas, eſq. another, by privy ſeal, Feb. 5, 1771; ſalary commenced Oct. 5, 1770.	400
Sir John Halket, bart. another, by privy ſeal, June 10, 1779; ſalary commenced April 5, 1779,	400

l. s. d.

Coutts and Thomas Coutts, secretary to the commissioners of police, by privy seal, August 21, 1761; commenced from Oct. 25, 1760, -

600 0 0

Total of annuities, -

17,706 13 4

Stipends and Perquisites.

Maskelyne, D. D. professor of astronomy, by privy seal, March 15, 1765; commenced from January 6, 1765, -

320 0 0

of the Isle of Man, an ancient grant in perpetuity, -

100 0 0

of Chester, for four preachers, by privy seal, November 3, 1761, -

200 0 0

of Oxford, an ancient grant in perpetuity, -

10 0 0

of divinity in the said university, ditto, -

13 6 8

of law, do. -

40 0 0

of physic, do. -

40 0 0

Noel, D. D. professor of history in the said university, by sign manual, Nov. 11, 1772; commenced from March 26, 1771, -

400 0 0

of Cambridge, an ancient grant in perpetuity, -

10 0 0

for a preacher, do. -

10 0 0

of divinity in the said university, do. -

13 6 0

of law, do. -

40 0 0

of physic, do. -

40 0 0

Raymonds, esq. professor of history in the said university, by sign manual, February 25, 1773; stipend commenced November 26, 1771, -

400 0 0

Martin, A. M. professor of botany in the said university, by privy seal, Aug. 15, 1774; stipend commenced from January 5, 1772, -

100 0 0

of the College, an ancient grant in perpetuity, -

16 13 4

of the College, do. -

42 0 0

of Macclesfield, for a preacher, by privy seal, 1761, -

50 0 0

of the Chapter of Litchfield, an ancient grant in perpetuity, -

10 0 0

of do. do. -

15 0 0

of the Tower, do. -

6 13 4

of the Savoy, do. -

60 0 0

of the Chapter of Southwell, do. -

10 0 0

of St. Botolph, do. -

7 0 0

of St. John the Baptist, do. -

7 13 4

Ditto

Ditto of St. Michael, do.	-	12
Ditto of St. Magnus, do.	-	21
Christ's Hospital, do.	-	370
Corporation of Dartmouth, do.	-	40
Corporation of Lyme Regis, an ancient grant in perpetuity,	-	100
Ditto of Berwick, do.	-	100
Sir John Hynd Cotton, bart. do.	-	5
The heirs of Colonel Fairfax, do.	-	100
Ditto of Nicholas Yates, do.	-	100
Richard Dickson Lyllington, preacher at Hampton-Court, stipend commenced June 16, 1767,	-	40
Thomas Thurlow, B. D. master of the Temple, by patent, May 22, 1773, stipend commenced May 12, 1773,	-	37
John, Lord Bishop of Sarum, Chancellor of the Garter, by privy seal, May 7, 1761, commenced Oct. 25, 1760,	-	570
Total of stipends and perpetuities,	-	3458

Real payments for pensions.

Thomas, Duke of Leeds, by patent, Aug. 20, 1774, pension commenced from March 15, 1774,	-	4000
William Henry, Earl of Rochford, by patent, December 29, 1775, to commence Nov. 10, 1775,	-	3720
Thomas Hutchinson, esq. by privy seal, Jan. 28, 1775, to commence May 17, 1774,	-	2000
George, Duke of St. Alban, granted by King Charles the Second, in lieu of the duty on logwood,	-	1000
Ditto, by patent, Nov. 18, 1778, to commence from Oct. 10, 1778,	-	909
Sir Richard Sutton, bart. by patent, Jan. 5, 1769, commenced Oct. 1, 1773,	-	564
Lovel Stanhope, esq. by patent, April 18, 1771, commenced Jan. 22, 1771,	-	564
Lord Raey, by privy seal, April 18, 1769, commenced March 9, 1768,	-	200
Lord Gray, by privy seal, July 8, 1761, commenced Oct. 25, 1765,	-	200
Lord Forbes, by privy seal, as above,	-	200
Lady Mary Campbell, by privy seal, July 8, 1761, 50l. a year; by privy seal, July 8, 1766, 50l. a year, by privy seal, June 3, 1768, 50l. a year,	-	150

1780.

D E B A T E S.

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	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
ge, Earl of Crawford, by privy seal, July 8, 1761, commenced Oct. 25, 1760, - -	350	0	0
Total of real pensions, -	13857	0	0

Other pensions paid at the Exchequer.

Out of the revenue of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent

of Gloucester, by privy seal, June 30, 1767, commence April 5, 1767, -	9000	0	0
of Kinnoul, an ancient grant in perpetuity, -	1000	0	0
of Chatham, by patent, Nov. 25, 1761, to com- mence Oct. 10, 1761, - -	3000	0	0
ry Ellis, late governor of Nova-Scotia, sign manual, June 23, 1764, to commence from Michaelmas, 1763, John Wier, sign manual, Feb. 5, 1766, to com- mence Jan. 5, 1766, - -	300	0	0
	200	0	0
	13500	0	0

Out of the aggregate fund.

of Gloucester, by act, 7 Geo. III. -	8000	0	0
of Cumberland, do. - -	8000	0	0
representatives of Arthur Onslow, Esq. by act, Geo. III. - -	3000	0	0
, Earl of Chatham, by act, 18 Geo. III. -	4000	0	0
	23000	0	0

Exchequer, *March* 2, 1780.

ROB. JENNINGS.

An Account of the Pensions, Deductions for Taxes, Fees, Charges, &c. in the Office of the Right Honourable William Hall Lord Viscount Gage, Paymaster, from the 5th of January, 1770, inclusive, to the 5th of January, 1780.

		Payments for pensions.			Deductions for taxes, fees, &c.			Charges for receiving the money at the Exchequer, and passing the accounts &c.			Permanent charges and stipends.			Totals.		
		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	d.	s.	l.	d.	s.
On the 5th Jan. 1770.		36426	15	8	9009	9	1	1977	3	6	11486	10	4	59599	18	7
5th Jan. 1771.		38110	7	4	10006	5	5	1460	15	6	11486	10	4	61063	18	7
5th Jan. 1772.		35102	17	0	10870	1	0	1271	11	0	11486	10	4	58730	19	4
5th Jan. 1773.		34188	17	11	9314	16	1	1429	17	0	11486	10	4	56420	1	4
5th Jan. 1774.		32800	18	0	8442	13	0	1245	19	6	11486	10	4	53976	0	10
5th Jan. 1775.		32959	13	4	8469	2	8	1222	13	0	11486	10	4	54137	19	4
5th Jan. 1776.		32583	15	6	8408	0	10	1400	0	0	11486	10	4	53878	6	8
5th Jan. 1777.		32003	13	0	10211	8	8	1400	0	0	11486	10	4	55101	12	0
5th Jan. 1778.		33337	8	3	10494	7	1	1400	0	0	11486	10	4	56718	5	8
5th Jan. 1779.		36097	0	0	11326	4	9	1290	16	6	11486	10	4	60200	11	7
5th Jan. 1780.		35776	8	4	11256	5	8	1456	1	0	11486	10	4	59975	5	4

March 2, 1780.

T. HOPKINS, D. P. M.

March 7.

Mr. Buller moved, "That an account be laid before the House of Commons of the number of seamen and marines mustered on board the several ships of war on the 1st of January, to the 1st of December, 1779, on a medium each month, distinguishing the seamen from the marines." Mr. Buller.

Mr. T. Luttrell rose as soon as the Speaker had read the motion, and begged the attention of the House for a few moments, while he endeavoured to convince them, that the motion then read was fallacious, and like every other motion of a similar nature, which had from year to year, for many years past, been moved by the same honourable gentleman, neither more nor less than an attempt to deceive and mislead Parliament, and to deceive and mislead the public. He declared, that the motion would not bring before the House a sort of information, which was so particularly necessary at this time, and which it effected to call for. He desired the House to remember, that the matter then under consideration, was not a navy question, but a motion which was calculated, if properly worded, to bring forward an account of a very essential part of that enormous expenditure which had been voted in the committee of supply the preceding year; it therefore was particularly worthy the consideration of every gentleman who paid or wished to pay the least attention to the petitions then on the table, and who proposed himself ready at all times to listen to the voice of the people. He pointed out the distinction between the number of seamen and marines borne and victualled on board any ship, and the number borne and mustered as part of the ship's complement, shewing that soldiers on board his Majesty's ships, passengers, servants, or any accidental persons, were on the list of borne and victualled, but that those who were mustered were of a very different description. After dwelling for some time on this distinction, and repeatedly asserting that the account now moved for, would prove a mere piece of policy, Mr. Luttrell took occasion to attack the noble Lord of the blue ribbon for what he had said the preceding day in bringing the budget, relative to the state of the navy; when the noble Lord had declared that the navy was at present the strongest in the world; that in number of sail, size of ships, number of men, it exceeded all that had ever been read of. These Mr. Luttrell said were assertions which the noble Lord stood pledged, voluntarily pledged, to prove, but which he would find it extremely difficult to make out. It was

evident that the noble Lord himself knew very little of the matter, but pinned his faith entirely on the misrepresentation of others, who made it a rule to misinform and mislead as much as possible, when the navy was under consideration. Mr. Luttrell went into an investigation of the state of the state of the ships in the West Indies, and of those under Sir George Rodney, now on his voyage to that quarter of the globe. He said, if we had so fine a navy as the noble Lord had represented; if the number of our ships was so much greater than usual, why were not more sent with Sir George Rodney? Why were not more sent to replace the rotten ships now under Admiral Parker, and which were ordered home? Many of the ships in the West-Indies were out of repair, and almost, in their present condition, unfit for service. Those which were gone with Sir George Rodney were for the most part so bad, that some of them could scarcely swim the water! After descanting for a considerable time on these points, Mr. Luttrell declared, that he held in his hand a motion which he had framed for the purpose of producing a real and not a fictitious account, and which he would either move, as an amendment upon the motion, or as a motion of itself. He then read his motion, which was much fuller than the original one. He concluded with moving it as an amendment.

This gave rise to a conversation in which Mr. Buller, Mr. Brett, Mr. James Luttrell, Mr. Turner, Admiral Keppel, Mr. Penton, and several other gentlemen took part. Upon the whole the conversation was long and desultory, but there came out matter in the course of it, worthy of notice.

Mr. Buller. Mr. Buller, and Mr. Brett contended, that the original motion would answer the end of obtaining the necessary information, hinted at by the honourable gentleman, as fully as the amendment just proposed; each assigning reasons why the returns in question fully comprehended the entire complement of each ship.

Mr. Luttrell. Mr. Luttrell, and his brother, denied this, shewing that the list of borne and victualled was essentially distinct and different from the list of those mustered as actual seamen and marines, and as part of the complement of each ship's company.

Mr. Penton. Mr. Penton rose, to speak to the assertions of Mr. Luttrell, relative to the bad state of the ships gone out to the West-Indies under Sir George Rodney. He said, that the honourable gentleman frequently hazarded very round assertions

ions, but he was not so ready to support his assertions by giving his facts; it was therefore no easy matter to reply to him, because what was merely asserted without proof, never could not be contradicted, unless by establishing a negative, which surely ought not to be expected on such slight grounds, or was not worth answering. Thus much, however, he would say, that with respect to the honourable gentleman's round assertion, that there was not one of the ships Sir George Rodney had taken with him to the West-Indies, which could swim in the water, he knew that assertion to be founded.

Mr. Luttrell accused Mr. Penton of having grossly misrepresented him. He had never said that one of the ships taken by Sir George Rodney to the West-Indies could not swim; he had said, that some of them could scarcely swim. He knew, as well as the honourable gentleman, that one of the ships taken with Sir George Rodney was a new ship, and another in exceeding good condition, but this he would tell the Lord of the Admiralty who had so roundly contradicted him, that he never made any assertion relative to the navy in that House from ignorance, misinformation, or slight knowledge; he never brought any charge of neglect of the navy, or of deception of the public, against ministers, without being perfectly sure of his ground. In the case which the honourable gentleman alluded to, he spoke from the best information, and he defied the Lord of the Admiralty to disprove that he was then about to assert, and which should be a plain fact capable of proof, and capable of an immediate answer. Mr. Luttrell then asserted, that the Sandwich was in very bad condition, and so much the worse for wear, that she was by no means fit for the service she was now gone on.

Mr. Penton said, he could not positively disprove the honourable gentleman's assertion, but this answer he could give, that in all the letters from Sir George Rodney, and all the papers relative to the fleet that had come before him officially, he had not heard the smallest complaint of the Sandwich; and if the fact were as the honourable gentleman had asserted, he submitted it to the judgment of the House, whether it was not highly probable that Sir George Rodney would have himself complained, as it was his own ship. He added to this, he was aware that a great deal had been done for the Sandwich before she was put into commission, and he believed there was not a better ship in the navy. With regard

gard to the other ships, he was sure they were in excellent condition.

Admiral Keppel.

Admiral *Keppel* rose, and supported all that Mr. Luttrell had said relative to the distinction between the list of borne and victualled, and the list of borne and mustered. He then spoke to the condition of the ships under Sir George Rodney, and desired his honourable friend the Lord of the admiralty, not to be too sure that they were in the best condition in the world; with regard to the *Sandwich*, he would not assert, because he would not undertake to prove that she was not in a good condition, but this would tell his honourable friend, who sat at the admiralty board, that seamen who had been on board her, and were just arrived from Gibraltar, had told him that she was in very bad condition and so heavy a sailer, that Sir George Rodney was himself greatly dissatisfied with her, and would have shifted his flag and hoisted it on board the *Prince George*, had she been clean. The admiral said, he was perfectly aware that the *Sandwich* had been copper-bottomed, and done as much as was possible for the repair of so old a ship; he had only related what had been told him. He then mentioned the state of the ships in the West-Indies, and said, he did not think their being bad was any subject of complaint, because they had grown bad from having been in those seas, those the enemy's stood in the same predicament, and therefore one bad, might be put against the other; but it certainly was matter of blame to send out ships from home that were bad.

At length the question was put, and the original motion carried without the amendment.

Mr. Turner. A motion was then framed by Mr. *Turner*, for an account of the impress service. This gave rise to another

Mr. Penton. conversation, in which Mr. *Penton* assigned as a reason for not agreeing to the motion, that it would be impossible, in his opinion, to make out the sort of account desired. Mr.

Mr. James Luttrell. *James Luttrell* shewed the fallacy of this argument, by declaring, that each lieutenant of a gang, was obliged to render an account of the expenditure of such money as passed through his hands. Admiral *Keppel* corroborated this assertion, and said that there was no matter which demanded

Admiral Keppel.

enquiry and regulation more than the pressing service; that the sums of money lavished away in it were inconceivable and the manner in which it was performed, so liable to abuse, and in fact so much abused, that there was not an officer

cer in the service who did not know, that almost four of every five of the persons impressed, when examined, were obliged to be sent back to the hospitals and prisons whence they had been taken.

The question was negatived.

Mr. *Hussey* then moved, "That an account of the number of officers, and their rank, employed on the impress service, together with the expences attending the same, and number of men procured from the 1st of January, to the 1st of December, 1779, distinguishing the volunteers from the impressed men, be laid before the House."

Mr. *Hussey* said, he had so formed the motion, that it was no longer liable to the objections which had been taken against the motion just negatived; if therefore it were not agreed to, he would divide the House upon it.

After a short conversation, the motion was carried.

The order of the day was then read for the second reading of the contractors bill, which was read a second time and committed for Monday next.

The orders of the day were read in due course, and the several businesses they referred to, proceeded upon.

Mr. *Powis's* bill for regulating county elections, which was read for the third reading, took up a considerable time. Mr. *Powis.* Joseph Mawbey, Mr. Barrow, Mr. Powys, Sir William Gort, Mr. Mansfield, and many other gentlemen, spoke on it. At length the House divided on an amendment, and agreed, "That the bill be read a third time that day three months."

Ayes — 57 Noes — 81

The House proceeded to read it clause by clause, and agreed on a motion to amend one of them,

Ayes — 33. Noes — 75.

The bill was afterwards read and passed.

The order of the day for bringing up the report of the committee of supply was at length read.

Mr. *Johnstone* opposed it, on the principle that before the House agreed to ways and means for the payment of supplies, they ought to proceed to examine the petitions of the people, and comply with the requisitions they contained. Mr. *Johnstone.*

Mr. *D. Hartley* called upon ministers to define what they meant by declaring that the supplies were necessary in order to carry on the war: *the war* he said, was a very vague phrase, a complex idea which required explanation. He entered into a summary detail of the various heads of the public

public expenditure, going over the ground that he had often trod before on similar occasions, and asserting that if peace were to be made immediately, the public would have twenty-five more millions to pay, in addition to the twelve already voted for the service of the current year. He told the House he meant to move the question, whether the American war should be continued or not, on a future day, being conscious that though the people were unanimous in their wishes to prosecute the war against France and Spain, with all the vigour and exertions the country was capable of: there was not a man, in the House or out of the House, who dare avow his sentiments, that did not excrete the American war, and ardently desire a conclusion of it.

Sir Joseph Mawbey.

Sir Joseph Mawbey stated the difficulty he felt in agreeing that the report he brought up, though he did not choose to oppose it; declaring, that he imagined, when the taxes were proposed on Friday, it might be urged, that he was precluded from giving them his negative, because he had not opposed the ways and means. *Sir Joseph* said he would not vote for the taxes, and for this reason: the plan of information held out by the bill already brought in by an honourable gentleman, and the other bills that gentleman designed to bring in, would save near the sum of 300,000*l.* *per annum*; he therefore saw no reason why the noble Lord of the blue ribband should propose taxes to the amount of near 700,000*l.* in produce.

The question was put for the report to be brought up and agreed to.

Mr. D. Hartley.

As soon as *Mr. Ord* had delivered the report at the table and the clerk had read it, *Mr. D. Hartley* rose again, and said, he was in that stage of the business competent to object to their agreeing to the report on the ground of informality. He begged the House to recollect, that according to one of the established rules of that House no ways and means exceeding the supplies could be agreed to. The ways and means now brought up amounted to upwards of twenty millions; whereas, the supplies already voted by the House did not reach that amount by several millions.

Lord North.

Lord North in reply, said it was true there was an apparent informality in the case, but it certainly was not a substantial informality, because the House were perfectly aware, though the supplies already voted, did not amount to twenty millions, that other parts of the public service must be paid

ed for, and though he could not consistently with Parliamentary form say, they *would* be voted, yet every gentleman there would agree, that it was not very likely, the supplies would not be provided for, and these added to the supplies already voted, would make up the amount of the ways and means now reported. He declared he meant no formality, nor any breach of a standing rule of Parliament; there were any, he asked pardon of the House, and could assign as a reason, that he saw none in substance, and that it was necessary to vote the ways and means, because *he would not wait.*

Mr. *Johnstone* laid hold of these last two words, and said *Mr. Johnstone.* Staff was clearly wrested out of the hands of Parliament. The noble Lord had confessed that the business was already done; and the bargain was already made, and all they had to do was merely matter of form.

Lord *North*, in reply, said, most certainly the bargain *Lord North.* the loan was already made, but made as gentlemen well know, subject to the decision of Parliament either one way or the other.

Sir *George Savile* argued against the American war, and *Sir George Savile.* the House adopting some plan of œconomy, before the report was agreed to. In proof that the spirit of the war ought to be directed against France and Spain chiefly, and not against America, Sir George put the case, that if his country and he were obliged to fight, and his adversary had possessed himself of one of his weapons, which he wished to recover, he certainly would so aim his blows as not to wound with that weapon; if on the contrary, his enemy fought only with his own weapons, he would do him all the mischief in his power: this, he said, exactly applied to our present situation: every man hoped for a re-union with America, therefore an injury to her, was an injury to ourselves: the very reverse was the case respecting France and Spain. Sir George concluded, with declaring that he *demurred* to the report.

Major *Hartley* spoke a few words in favour of the petition, *Major Hartley.* and in support of the argument, that some of the advances they complained of should be done away by Parliament, before new and very heavy burthens were imposed on the people.

The report was read a first, second, and third time, and need to.

Debate on Mr. Rigby's motion, and in the committee on Mr. Burke's bill, March 8.

Mr. Scudamore.

Mr. Scudamore presented a petition from his constituents the mayor, aldermen and citizens of Hereford; said it had been agreed to almost unanimously, and offered to bring it up.

Sir Richard Symons.

Sir Richard Symons (the other representative) said, he did not rise to oppose it; but to acquaint the House, that some of the most respectable of his constituents, had protested against the petition, now opened by his honourable colleague, and in his apprehension, with great propriety; for he was clearly of opinion, that many of the facts therein stated, were not well-founded; and others, proceeded on gross misrepresentation; that the petition tended only to sow discontent, create domestic division, and cause national weakness. It seemed besides highly disrespectful to Parliament. After some further altercation the petition was brought up, and ordered to lie on the table. Among other things, Mr. Barrow observed, that the protest which the honourable Baronet now read, he perceived had been mostly signed, and he presumed set on foot, by the gentry at, and about the cathedral, with the bishop at their head. He thought, whatever their dispositions might be, they would have acted more prudently, had they endeavoured to conceal it. So long as they were permitted to batten in idleness, on the labour and industry of their fellow subjects, they would do well to conduct themselves with moderation and decency, lest the rage of reformation might reach them. The bishops, deans, prebendaries, canons, &c. throughout the kingdom, came very properly in his opinion within the spirit of the petitions. They enjoyed sinecure places, and were in the receipt of enormous profits, and exorbitant emoluments; and it was a matter of great surprize to him, that the useless places and exorbitant emoluments of the church were not brought within the letter, as well as the spirit of the petitions. He was, for one, against all partialities, and improper indulgences, in favour of one set of men, in preference to another, where the increase arose as a recompense for services, actually performed; or where necessary rank and distinction was to be kept up; he was ready to go as far as any man in giving a full and adequate reward, and making a proper provision, and no further; but a parcel of idle luxurious, proud, and overbearing fellows, sleeping in their stalls, and supported by the toil, sweat, and labour and industry of the middling and lower ranks of the people, who

repugnant to natural justice, and sound policy, as it was graceful and injurious to sound religion.

Mr. *Turner* followed up the idea very fully. He said, that the clergy in general, besides the injurious effects pointed out by the honourable gentleman, were the friends of arbitrary power, and the enemies of the free constitution of government under which they lived, and were even fed and protected. They were dangerous engines of state, in the hands of an ambitious prince, or wicked administration. The history of the last century, offered several instances of the truth of this observation, particularly, during the reigns of James I. and that obstinate and perverse tyrant, Charles his son. They reached the most scandalous and shameful doctrines from their pulpits; and were the cause more than any thing else, believed, of bringing the tyrant whom their successors affected to deify, to the block. They were at present propagating the same traitorous doctrines in their writings and discourses; and endeavouring all they could to suppress all discourse, and where they had the power, to silence the complaints of the people from reaching that House. He had heard in the next county to him, where the clergy had great weight, (Durham) that they prevented the people from petitioning. He not only heard it, but believed it to be true. He possessed some estates in that county. A curse attended the place in which the clergy had any influence; they harrassed the laity, wherever they had power, and he could speak from his knowledge, that his estates on one side of the river, in the bishopric, were not of more than a third in value of those he possessed on the other side, in the county of York, though of the same native value, the soil, markets, vicinity, &c. The present protest, the contents of which had been read by the honourable Baronet, was evidently of a clerical manufacture. It was the child of church influence, and he was firmly persuaded that there was no foundation on which arbitrary power could be supported, but that of a standing army, and a dependent church. The clergy look forward regularly to the next stage of preferment; to the possession of either a fat sinecure, or exorbitant emoluments, and the prospects of the busy, active and servile part of them was only terminated by Lambeth Palace.

Lord *George Gordon* said, that no body was more competent to speak to the conduct of the church than he was. Lord *George Gordon*. What was the conduct of the Gallican church in times of danger and difficulty? Loans, free gifts, and even the very

plate out of their churches. What again had the bishops and dignified clergy of Spain, and most of the religious fraternities in that kingdom done? Immediately after the present rupture with this country was publicly notified, an offer of a certain part of their incomes to enable the sovereign to prosecute the war against his enemies. What had the established clergy of the church of England offered their sovereign? Nothing at all, as yet, but protests. That cost them nothing, and what cost them nothing, they were always very generous in giving away. He presumed, that after the instances he had mentioned, and if any one doubted he would read an account of the sums given or promised by the Spanish clergy to carry on the war; he trusted, that the English clergy would take the hint; and instead of protesting, immediately begin to subscribe. He had an intention for some days past to produce the list, and to frame a motion on it: he thought better of it, an opportunity now presenting itself to him of giving a seasonable hint. The proposition would come with a better grace from themselves; but he presumed, that if they came with a voluntary offer, they would render up at least two or three years tythes to support that war which they had so warmly espoused from its earliest commencement, through every successive stage of increasing ruin.

The petition was at length brought up, and ordered to lie upon the table.

The order of the day being moved, for the House to resolve itself into a committee, on Mr. Burke's bill, Lord George Gordon observed, that the great drift and tendency of the petitions of the people was a recommendation to adopt an economical expenditure of the public money, and that it was the duty of every member, as far as his abilities might enable him, to offer some proposition framed or suggested from the subject matter of the petitions; he had thought of one which seemed to correspond with the general idea of economy held forth in them; or indeed with the very words of the petitions themselves. The abolition of sinecure places, and exorbitant emoluments was one of the principal objects of every thing which had been hitherto done without doors; he thought, therefore, that now was the proper time to propose his motion before the House went into committee on the civil list bill. He said, the places which he had immediately in contemplation were those of auditor and teller of the exchequer. If they were not sinecure places, they partook of the nature of sinecures; because the

Lord George
Gordon.

was performed by deputy ; if they were not pensions, they were nearly the same ; and as to the persons who held them, might be deemed unmerited ; and that the profits and perquisites were exorbitant, required no better proof, than, that they amounted to, he believed, upwards of fifty times much as the salary.

He thought it behoved the gentlemen, who supported the bill, now going into a committee, in which it was proposed, to new arrange and direct the whole of his Majesty's civil revenue ; which directed its attention to the King's very chamber, to his wardrobe, his stables, and table ; and which was to prevent him from eating, unless the very bread and meat he eat should be served by contract ; in such a case he thought it behoved those, who for the sake of economy had determined upon such a reform, to clear themselves of all grounds of suspicion, or a possibility of imputation, that they had a wish to retain their own places and securities, and only meant to extend the reform to the places held by such as differed with them in political opinion. The honourable gentleman, who proposed the bill, had indeed privately taken care of his friends. Their sinecures were to continue as long as the present possessors lived ; all others were to cease as soon as the present bill should pass into law.

His Lordship after passing some very strong censures on the conduct of the author of the bill and his friends, moved, that it be an instruction to the committee, on the present bill to consider how far the places of auditor, or tellers of the exchequer are necessary for the public service ; and to abolish, if possible, those places, or lessen their exorbitant perquisites, that the produce may be applied to the exigencies of the state, in a view to alleviate, in part, the heavy burdens of the people.

Mr. Jolliffe seconded the motion. He thought it contained matter well worthy the consideration of that House, and that it directly in conformity with the prayers of the petitioners : and could not be opposed with any degree of consequence by gentlemen on the other side of the House. There was little or no duty annexed to the office pointed at, when it was considered that the very first clause in the bill proposed the abolition of an officient office, that of secretary of state for the colonies ; and that the next clause proposed the abolition of an officient board, that of trade and plantations ; the friends of the bill, must, if they meant to

to act consistently, readily adopt the motion of the noble Lord.

Mr. Adam. Mr. *Adam* could not see the necessity of the motion by the noble Lord, and seconded by the honourable gentleman who spoke last. It would in his opinion be full enough to propose it by way of amendment; or otherwise in the committee.

Mr. Powys. Mr. *Powys* said, that he hoped the noble Lord would withdraw his motion as it might interrupt the proper business of the day, by causing a protracted debate.

Alderman Sawbridge. Alderman *Sawbridge* begged that the noble Lord would withdraw his motion. He believed the noble Lord had attended to the bill; otherwise he must have seen that there was a clause in it for abolishing the very places alluded to, and if the clause as now worded, did not come up to his own ideas, he might move an amendment which would take the sense of the committee on it.

Lord George Gordon. Lord *George Gordon* replied, and assured the honourable gentleman that he had carefully perused the bill, and acknowledged that he had read the clause; but he believed it was so far off, being in the 16th page, that it would not come under the consideration of the committee. The honourable gentleman who framed the bill took particular notice with the House, that it proceeded upon the idea of the petitioners; yet, how had he acted? He had passed the finest places, and without any authority from the petitions proposed to abolish the office of secretary of state for the colonies, which most clearly could not be deemed a finest place.

Lord North. Lord *North* was clearly of opinion, that the instruction moved to be given to the committee respecting the proposed clause was entirely unnecessary; for such a provision was ready in the bill, and the committee would be at liberty to retain or abolish the offices alluded to, as they might think fit; and if any places were to be abolished, most surely, those pointed out by the noble Lord came within that description. They were offices of great emolument, and which called for very little attendance; by the abolishing of which, a considerable saving would arise to the public, which might be applied to the exigencies of the state: and he could not but acknowledge the justice of the noble Lord's observation, that if we were to enter into his Majesty's retirements, to the most recesses of his palace; to make retrenchments in his private expences; there could be very little apology

rendering such offices, as those mentioned by the noble
too sacred to be touched : that is, we shall oblige our
crown to contract for the expences of his table, but there
some certain sinecures that must remain as they are, at
during the lives of the present possessors. If a reform
at all necessary, it should be general, and not a partial

His Majesty had a grant for life made to him, at his
cession, of the civil list revenue. He parted with what he
have held, had he not given it in lieu of a stated fixed
sum; namely, the duties appropriated for the service of
civil list; he thought, therefore, that there was an ap-
parent incongruity in the honourable gentleman's bill, where
not to take back that part of the revenue, which had been
granted upon his Majesty for life; and at the same time pro-
posed to continue the salaries and emoluments arising from
the same places to the present possessors during their lives.

Great stress had been laid, he observed, in the course of a
few days, on this circumstance; that he and those who agreed
with him were of opinion that the present bill ought to be
referred to a committee, and, therefore, that they could not
bring it there, as they had acceded to the principle. For
part, he was at a loss to say, what was the principle,
the result of the whole bill taken together. That was his
opinion on the bill's being presented; it was his opinion

How was it possible to enter into the consideration of
the bill but in the committee? There the parts would be
considered separate and distinct; then every gentleman could
express his sentiments distinctly and clearly, agreeing to this
or that, objecting to that, or altering or amending whatever
was presented to him to require it.

The *Speaker* observed, that it was entirely needless to in-
terpose the clause, or give the instruction moved by the *Speaker*.
The Lord.

Powys moved for the order of the day.

Mr. Powys.

Burrell confessed he was a friend to the motion, which
he met his support. Being on his legs and unwilling to
leave the House a second time, he begged leave to throw
a few general observations on the petitions. That the
people of England had a right to petition Parliament was a
principle, he said, which he trusted no member would dare to
deny within or without that House, for he held it as in-
alienable that the right was unlimited as to persons, and
on every subject had a right to speak his sentiments, un-
der any power, uncontrouled by any set of men, let their
rank

Mr. Burrell.

rank be ever so high, or abilities ever so great : yet he found very strange conclusions deduced from those premises, tending to intrench upon the inherent privileges of that House, while the privilege was maintained without doors, it was denied within, and a language of a very extraordinary nature had prevailed, that although the people had a right to petition, the members of that House were precluded from exercising any opinion of their own, or discussing freely whether the prayers of the petitions ought or ought not to be granted. He for one approved of petitions; he was himself a petitioner, but he totally disapproved of committees and associations. Would not the liberty of debate be at an end, if he was forbid to express his sentiments? He was however determined to deliver his sentiments untrammelled by power or great abilities. He would neither sacrifice his sentiments to this or that side of the House. If the people had a right to petition, he as a member of that House had a right to judge not only the measures recommended by the petitioners, but likewise to determine on the authority and weight which accompanied them; in short to determine what the petitioners were, and how far the petitions did or did not express the sense of those to whom they were imputed. He knew of no way to collect the voice of the majority of the people, but by the majority of freeholders; and he was bound to say, that in his conscience he believed that not above an eighth of that description of men had signed the petitions.

Sacred as he held the right of petitioning, he would not give his countenance to it, if exercised in a disrespectful manner. By what name then could he stile those petitions which under the mask of humility, bore all the fire of remonstrances and remonstrances? They plainly aimed at the destruction of the independency of Parliament, by tying down the members to certain measures; by taking away from them their own judgment, and their own will, and imposing on them the disgraceful and unconstitutional yoke of sanctimoniousness by their votes, those measures which their own understanding reprobated and condemned. The moment Parliament should submit to such a controul, to such a shameful slavery, that moment he would pronounce to be the last of English liberty.

It afforded him matter of astonishment that men could be found hardy enough to deny the right of the people to recommend to Parliament the strictest system of economy at a time when the nation was plunged into a most formidable

and expensive war with France, Spain, and America. He wished to know how far the petitioners had been right in advising their representatives to use all their endeavours to alleviate the public burdens. Could the most rigid economy lessen a single tax that now lay upon the shoulders of the people? Must not the interest of the national debt be considered? Was that to be done by an abolition of taxes? To recommend economy was right; but to say that the present taxes can be lightened by that economy, was absurd.

Many persons he knew had been induced to sign the petitions from views which it was absolutely impossible ever to satisfy. He knew that in many places, particularly in one (Kent) two petitions had been presented to the freeholders, the one moderate, proper, and respectful; the other absurd in its object, and impracticable in its operations. It had been a practice to say to the people, if you sign the latter, your taxes will be abolished in a fortnight; if you sign the former you will not have a bed to lie on in a month. An inexperienced ignorant man had not the least ground for hesitation; his choice was soon made. Thus by deception the numbers of subscribers to improper petitions had swelled. This he said not from a disapprobation of petitioning in general (for he had himself signed a petition the week before) but from a desire to check those who either designedly or ignorantly had mistaken the proper objects of petition.

General Conway made several pointed animadversions on what fell from the last speaker; observing the honourable gentleman said, that the petitioners had *no* right; and if the House listened to them, or granted the prayer of them, that the rights of Parliament were gone, and the constitution annihilated.—[Here he was interrupted by Mr. Burrell, as was three or four times successively, who denied the interpretation put on his words. He could not condemn petitions, he said, as he had acknowledged himself to be a petitioner; he could not disapprove of economy, as he had signed a petition (the Kent petition) recommending economy; nor could he mean to say, that the petitions ought to be rejected, for he declared they were entitled to attention and respect.]

The Speaker then interfered; observing, that it was extremely disorderly to interrupt a gentleman in this manner, while on his legs; if the honourable gentleman imagined that his words had been misconceived, or misquoted, he

would have it in his power to explain or re-state them in reply, as soon as the honourable generals should be down.

General
Conway.

General Conway then proceeded, without further interruption; he said, that there was no occasion for the clause moved by the noble Lord, relative to the auditor and Teller of the Exchequer, because there was already a particular provision in the bill itself for that purpose, which besides had a special reference to the present mode of accounting at the Exchequer; and what the noble Lord, and the two honourable gentlemen said, as to the *continuing* the places, during the lives of the present possessors, contrary to the general principle of the bill in every other respect, where the reform even in the case of an efficient officer was to take place immediately; he said, the *committee* was the *only* proper place to consider that. The House might, if it were thought necessary, *abolish* those places at *once*, or *lessen* the fees or salaries, &c. but the real principle of the bill was reform in general; in what manner, or to what extent that reform might be carried, was the proper business of that House when the clause alluded to came under its consideration. The first clause in the bill, which he presumed would make the subject of the present day's debate, made but a very small part of the bill, that of abolishing the office of one of the three Secretaries of State; and even the bill itself formed but a part of the general plan of reformation. An honourable gentleman, (Colonel Barré) for instance, had proposed a reformation in the whole course of receiving, issuing the public monies, and passing the public accounts of the kingdom, which had been snatched out of his hands, by the noble Lord below him in the blue ribbon, in what appeared to him, a very indecent manner. The noble Lord himself had proposed a commission of accounts, directed apparently to the *same* object. Another honourable gentleman (Sir Philip Jennings Clerke) brought in a bill, which had gone through a second reading, for correcting the abuse of contracts, entered into by the Treasury, with members holding seats in that House. Other propositions might be made by other gentlemen, so that, on the whole, it was no less unfair than unfounded, to suppose, that a *single* clause of a *single* bill was the *great* object, for which the friends of economy and the promoters of it, were contending; for the nation at large, and that House, nay, every friend of his country

under high obligations to the honourable gentleman who proposed the bill; his integrity, abilities, and indefatigable industry, shone forth on the present occasion; and whatever might be the fate of the bill, it would, it must be acknowledged, that he had, in a most commendable manner, endeavoured to discharge his duty. His bill formed but a part of one great whole, and so far as it went, was strictly supported by the petitions; and he made no doubt, but if any member came to the House with the *same* disposition, the great object the petitioners had in view, that of a general reform would be soon accomplished.

Mr. *Huffey* rose with great warmth to *reprobate* an expression which fell from an honourable gentleman who spoke of the voice of the people of England as only to be attended to, when it declared the will of a *majority* of the *freeholders*. This was a language which would never endure, nor suffer to pass unnoticed: what, said he, the people of England to be precluded all redress; excluded from all participation in the public interest, if a majority of the freeholders was not with them? He believed, in any possible sense the expression could be taken or received, it was founded in falsehood and error. Surely, the great body of electors of England were not to be bound by any partial opinion, of those who enjoyed in common with them, the constituents rights of freemen and Englishmen; and independent of this, were the people, on whom the tax was levied, in common with the rest of their fellow-subjects, to be debarred all means of redress? He took it to be a clear, indisputable right, vested in every Englishman, to petition, and most certainly, if intitled to it, they were likewise intitled to the consequence of it—relief; otherwise it would be to exercise a right they possessed, but to no purpose. He begged pardon of the House, but as an Englishman, he could never sit silent, while he saw the rights of Englishmen treated with so much disrespect and contempt.

Mr. *Burrell* rose to explain; said, he had the misfortune to be misunderstood throughout. It arose, probably, from a confused, indistinct manner in which he delivered his sentiments, but he could assure the honourable gentleman, that he could be farther from his intention, than to treat the petitioners with contempt; all he meant to say was, that the petitions did not contain the *voice* of the *majority* of the freeholders, in the several counties which had presented them;

that they were the sense only of *such* as subscribed the names, and of course, had no right to pass for the sentiments of any but the individual petitioners themselves. The sense of the people of England, in what manner soever it might be brought forward, would always have a due weight with him; but this he would say, that the House had a right, at the first instance, to be satisfied, and that the sense of the people was fully and unequivocally declared, and likewise to determine afterwards, on the propriety and expediency of adopting the matter so proposed to their consideration.

Mr. Byng. Mr. *Byng* adverted to the assertion of the noble Lord with respect to the offices of auditor and tellers of the Exchequer. He begged the noble Lord would not say that all the sinecure places held for life were in the hands of the opposition. Certainly the most lucrative office in this country, the auditorship of the Exchequer, was not held by a man who voted against the minister. He was happy to hear the noble Lord say that he had not any objection to the abolishing of places held for life, and in reversion, because, undoubtedly, after such a declaration, he could have no objection to the abolishing of places held during pleasure.

An honourable gentleman who had spoke last but one had said, that not an eighth part of the freeholders had signed the petitions. He could assure the House that a very great majority of those who had not signed the petitions were friendly to the measure of reform, and anxious to bring it about.

Lord George Gordon.

Lord *George Gordon* said a few words, intimating a readiness, if agreeable to the House, to withdraw his motion, and move it on some other day as a ground for a separate short bill. In the course of his speech he spoke of the reciprocal duty between the prince and the people; observing that

Oaths were but words, and words but wind,

Which oft are broken as we find;

he told the House he had a 160,000 men in Scotland at his command, and that if the king did not keep his coronation oath, they would do more than take away his civil life; if he refused, they were determined to cut off his head.

He was called to order.

A short desultory conversation arose, in which, among other things, it was recommended to the noble Lord (Lord *George Gordon*) to withdraw his motion. His Lordship was then informed from the chair, that there was a clause in the

which would answer the intended purpose of the instruction; consequently, to insist upon what had been done to his credit, would only tend to impede the public business of the House.

Lord George Gordon consented on that ground, though, he ^{Lord George Gordon.} meant to oppose the bill in every stage of its progress. He had continued hitherto to act consistently, and would, as long as he had the honour of a seat in that House.

Mr. Jolliffe said, he was ready to acquiesce in the sense of Mr. Jolliffe. House; but if the noble Lord should persist in dividing, he would look upon himself bound to go out with him.

Mr. Rigby then unexpectedly rose just as the Speaker was ^{Mr. Rigby.} preparing to discharge the motion made by the noble Lord (Lord George Gordon) in order to make room for the order of the day; and said, he had a motion in his hand, the contents of which had yet been confined solely to his own chest. He had consulted no person on either side of the House. Whether right or wrong, it was all his own. He informed the House, on a former day, that he had an opinion on the subject of the present bill; that he would bring it to the House in some one stage; and that he knew no time so proper as the present to make it known, when the House was just on the point of going into the committee.

He would now repeat what he said on a former occasion, that there were some parts of the bill of which he highly approved, and others which he could by no means give his assent to. An honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox) the last day, said, that those who voted that day for sending the bill to a committee, had bound themselves to the principle of it. The honourable gentleman meant that it bound those who approved of a part of the bill, and who for that reason voted for its going into a committee, to an approbation of the whole bill, he, as one who gave his vote for reading it a second time, and sending it to a committee, begged that the House would understand from him, that he did not look upon himself so bound. Indeed, the conclusion was a most extraordinary one; and he could not better shew the absurdity of it than by the following example: Suppose, for instance, that he approved of the part of the bill which related to the abolition of the sinecure places, and the mode of accounting at the Exchequer, and the regulation, &c. of the office he himself occupied, that of paymaster, which, under some restrictions and qualifications, was in a great measure

measure the case, and suppose likewise that he was against that part of the bill for controuling, directing, and regulating the expenditure of the civil list revenue, which was likewise the case; what conduct could he have adopted so as to answer his own wishes, and act agreeably to his own judgment, when the bill was read a second time? If he had opposed the bill in that stage, he must have opposed it in toto; for an opposition to the second reading must be an opposition to the whole bill, which would be acting precisely contradictory to his own sentiments, as he approved of the parts just alluded to. What then in reason, according to the course of parliamentary proceeding, could he have done? But to send the bill to a committee, in order to support and give success to the part he liked, with however fixed determination, with equal steadiness, to oppose the part of the bill which he disliked.

He then proceeded to assign his reasons pretty much at large, why he approved of that part of the bill which related to the reformation of receiving, auditing the accounts and issuing the monies at the exchequer; after which he spoke of his own particular office.

He was aware that his own office lay under a great deal of obloquy, which he could affirm was undeserved. That the accounts were not passed in his office so early as might be wished for, was certain. He knew it, and lamented it, but that was not his fault, nor the fault of those who acted under him. The delay was solely caused by the present method of accounting at the exchequer. His account, however prompt or ready, must be audited and passed before he could be relieved of the burthen; and a great burden it was on his mind, and a cause of much solicitude; for nothing was more painful than to lie under imputations, the ground of which it was not in his power to remedy. A very popular topic was, that the money lay in his hands, and the hands of others, by which means individuals were enriched, and the state was impoverished. The case was not so; a great part of the money which came into his hands was placed in the bank, nor did he derive any profit from what was not. His emoluments were sufficient, though far from being so great as reported; but when they should be all taken away the salary would be sufficient for him, whoever might succeed him; and so far as a reform might be supposed or intended to effect his office, he was ready and cheerfully to submit to it. Many things were said concerning it both before and since he came into it, which had

founda-

lation in truth. He instanced the case of a noble Lord, about the time he came into office, was called the old Defaulter of unaccounted millions (Lord Holland.) He made it his business to enquire into the cause of the generality; and after consulting two persons perfectly acquainted in the business, and of high integrity and abilities, (deputy paymasters) he found that the charge was totally undischarged, and that the fault was not his Lordship's, but solely from the delay of auditing and passing the accounts at the exchequer. He now stood in the same predicament as himself; and whether respecting himself, or whoever should succeed him, it gave him great satisfaction to find, that the noble Lord over the way (Lord North) had proposed to bring in a bill for constituting a commission of accounts, because he understood the great object of such a bill would be to discover the causes of such delay of the course of accounting at the exchequer, and the devising some measures which would in future expedite the passing of the accounts, the compelling the payment of the balances; in short, of a total reform, both in point of expence, facility, and dispatch.

It was the part of the proposed bill which he approved of, and what he disapproved of was the interference of Parliament in the expenditure of the civil list. In consequence of the notice given by him on a former day, he had drawn up a motion which expressed fully his own ideas on the subject, and meant to move it, if he had not been precluded by the noble Lord's motion on the floor (Lord George Gordon), and had not consulted the noble Lord over the way, nor any other person within or without that House. It was his own motion, and he was determined to avow it, without any solicitation or wish of support, further than what it might be entitled to on its own intrinsic merit. He feared it was too disorderly to propose it now, as there were two motions already stood precedent to it, before it could be admitted; he therefore proposed the proposition moved by the noble Lord near him, as the order of the day. For his part, he ever thought, that the civil list revenue was as much his own as any estate enjoyed by any person present, which was indefeasible and determinable. The civil list revenue was settled on his Majesty on his accession for life, which was an interest no man on earth could deprive him of without manifest injustice; consequently that part of the honourable gentleman's motion which went to the controul of the civil list, and to an appropriation of the supposed savings to arise from the reformation,

form, was an attempt no less unprecedented than from with injustice. His Majesty's table, his household, his robe, &c. were all to be new modelled; nay, it was intended to have his very table served by contract. This would not only degrade the sovereign, but reduce him to the state of a precarious pensioner, whose stipend was one lessened, and was the next liable to be still further reduced, and for what purpose? to lessen the influence of the crown. He heard a great deal of the influence of the crown, but he believed influence was never less known, or felt, than at the accession of his present Majesty; and he could learn from experience, that he never knew it to have less than since the present sovereign came to the throne.

As to his intended proposition which he meant to read as part of his speech, he said, he sincerely wished that the sense of the House would be taken upon it, and desired to know from the chair, what was proper to be done in compliance with the apparent sense of the House.

*The
Speaker.*

The *Speaker* said, a noble Lord [Lord George Gordon] early in the day moved an instruction to the committee on the civil list bill, since which, an honourable gentleman [Mr. Powys] had moved the order of the day.

*Lord George
Gordon.*

Lord George Gordon said, he had no objection to withdrawing his motion, having understood from several parts of the House, that it was unnecessary; if agreeable to the honourable gentleman who seconded it.

Mr. Jolliffe.

Mr. Jolliffe said, he was perfectly contented, as he trusted the sense of the House ought to be taken on the proposition suggested, by the right honourable gentleman, which if carried must clearly throw the presumed abuse of keeping useless places, upon the friends of the bill, for his part, was persuaded that the office proposed to be abolished in the first clause in the bill, was not an useless office; nor could it, not by any means, come within the reformation recommended in the petitions.

Lord Beauchamp.

The motion being withdrawn, Lord Beauchamp opposed the discharging the order of the day. He highly approved of the doctrine laid down in the proposition, suggested by the right honourable gentleman; and was much pleased at the manly and able manner in which he delivered his sentiments, but he must confess, that he was always averse to mixed abstract questions. The principle contained in the proposition clearly militated against the principle on which the several causes of the bill were supported: when we got, therefore, into the committee, which would be instantly, would

time enough : there the proposition, and the application of it, might be considered together ; and the true and just distinction taken, between abolishing an useful and unnecessary establishment ; for instance, if the office of secretary of state was necessary, the proposition proposed to be discussed by the right honourable gentleman, would be totally idle and nugatory ; if it should appear to be useless, which it could not, nor be deemed so by that House, without proof ; then it would be a point worthy of consideration, whether a bill would be the proper mode of proceeding. Upon the whole, he could never consent to give his vote for an abstract question, unless it could be shewn, that it immediately arose from the business then before the House. No person could say that that was the case in the present instance. When the House should go into a committee, gentlemen who disapproved of the clause, would oppose it on such grounds, as appeared to them the most sure and conclusive ; some on the ground, that the office proposed to be abolished, was not a useless one ; others, that proof of the allegations contained in the bill were necessary, and a third description perhaps, that Parliament had no right to interfere in the civil list expenditure, or any other cause, but that of notorious abuse.

Lord *John Cavendish* said, he could not sit silent, nor hear without indignation, the right honourable gentlemen on the floor, maintain, that Parliament had no controuling power over the civil list revenue. If that doctrine was true, then the people of this country, he would maintain, and undertake to prove, were all slaves. There was a very great and essential distinction between private property, and that species of interest, persons enjoying public emoluments, had in their stipends, salaries, or stated revenues. Men held private property, for themselves alone ; places of trust and profit, for the good of the state. The rule held throughout, from the smallest and meanest, to the most lucrative and great ; it was a condition, from which the tenure of the crown itself was not exempt. Besides, in proper Parliamentary language, it was not justifiable, to introduce the King's name. It was presumed according to the true idea of the constitution, that no abuse, was or could be imputable to the person of the King ; if any such abuse existed, it was decent and respectful not to presume, that his Majesty knew any thing of the matter. It must be solely imputed to the ministers, who advised him to create unnecessary places, in the instance, or to retain them in the other. Who then, when

when his Majesty's advisers neglected their duty, were his real constitutional advisers? Parliament in general; either that House, or the other, according to the occasion. But, say gentlemen, who maintain the other side of the argument; you not only want to reform, but you mean to apply or appropriate, the savings which may arise to the exigencies of the state. You want to resume, or strip the crown of what you have settled on it; and by so doing, you commit an act of injustice. Allowing this argument its full force; supposing that although it may be proper to reform the abuse, we ought not in justice apply the saving to any other service, but that for which the revenue was first granted, namely, the dignity of the crown, and the personal ease and convenience of the sovereign: to this, two answers equally conclusive and full may be given. If we have a right to reform the presumed abuse or abuses; Parliament is of course competent to enquire; for we cannot reform without previous enquiry; and if any saving should arise from the reformation of the abuse, I would desire to remind those who argue for the dignity of the crown, and the personal worth of him who wears it; in what light they represent, or rather misrepresent him; when they suppose him totally regardless of the condition of his people; and suppose he would wish to be the only person in his dominions, that ought not to feel, or be affected by the public misfortunes; or a partaker in the accumulated distresses caused by a foreign war, and increasing burdens. But without any reference even to the present exigencies of the times, I would desire to know from any one gentleman who hears me, whether though the civil list revenue was granted in the gross, it was not supposed to be granted for particular purposes, or specific services. If so, then, if any of those purposes are found to be of no further use, or if unnecessary offices have been created, where is the injury? How does it affect the dignity of the crown, or affect the person of the sovereign to resume that which was found to contribute to neither.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox said, he could not avoid testifying his fullest approbation, of the very open, direct and manly language, adopted by his right honourable friend on the floor. He had delivered his sentiments with that firmness and candour which so uniformly characterised his conduct in the House. He thanked him most cordially for the opportunity it afforded to both parties, to come to issue. It would spare much time, and infinite trouble. It militated directly against the bill

bill on the table; for certainly if that House was not competent to enquire into, or controul the civil list expenditure, the bill was founded in the most glaring injustice. But when he gave credit, for the direct open manner, the honourable gentleman who suggested the proposition, had supported his opinions, he must confess, that it involved doctrines of a most alarming nature, and appeared to him, to be utterly subversive of the first principles of the constitution, he sincerely hoped, that before the House proceeded further, they would consent to let in the proposition of the honourable gentleman; and proceed to discuss it; for it would be equally nugatory and ridiculous, to go into the committee on the bill, till the sense of the House were taken upon that question. It must be first got rid of, before any one clause in the bill could be taken into consideration. He could not help declaring, that if it should be resolved and determined in the affirmative, that Parliament had not a right to interfere, to reform, arrange, and if necessary, to resume the grants they had made to the crown for public purposes; in short, to see to the proper application of the monies they had granted; there was at once an end of the liberties of this country. Such a vote would in its consequences amount to a dissolution of the government as modelled at the revolution; and would prove a stab given to its very vitals; for though we might continue to assemble in that House as usual; though we might be called upon to vote supplies according to the prescribed forms of the constitution; the right to vote and deliberate without the right to super-intend, and controul the expenditure of the money so voted would avail nothing; and we should become as mere slaves in reality, as any in Europe. Give princes and their ministers the exclusive rights of disposing of any considerable part of the treasures of the nation without controul, or without account; and our liberties from that instant would be gone for ever.

If such a vote should be agreed to, by a majority of that House, he should look upon his toils and labours to be at an end; and the people would have recourse to other means of redress, when Parliament had precluded all possible expectations through the ordinary methods prescribed by the constitution; they would have recourse to other arguments, than what might be urged in the course of debates in that House, in order to rescue themselves and their posterity from the chains which were forging for them. He would not presume to point out the means the people in this last extremity would

resort to ; he was persuaded they would be wise, salutary, and adequate to the object proposed to be attained. Should such be the necessity, he never would again enter that House ; his presence there would be of very little consequence. He would unite himself with those out of that House, whose sentiments corresponded with his own. He hoped he should acquit himself like a man ; and he knew of nothing in his own disposition, which would prevent him from bearing him out with firmness and perseverance in the struggle. He was persuaded the measures adopted by the people would be peaceable ; but at the same time wisely suited to the exigencies of the occasion ; in such measures he was prepared to co-operate ; and he did not doubt but the friends of legal liberty, and the constitution would prevail in the contest !

He could not help taking notice of what had fallen from his noble friend [Lord Beauchamp]. His noble friend maintain the propriety of the proposition suggested by the right honourable gentleman on the floor ; but assigns two reasons for preferring the going into the order of the day. The first is, that he is against voting an abstract question, a matter totally improper and unnecessary ; the other, least if it should be voted in the affirmative, the people out of doors might be so far misled, to believe that such a resolution was meant, as putting a negative on the prayers of the several petitions. In answer to the first argument, it was sufficient to observe, that the proposition as connected with the bill, was no abstract question ; because it amounted to a direct and specific denial of its principle, which was a thorough reform in the whole of the civil list expenditure ; and as to his noble friend's caution for fear the people without doors might be misled ; surely it could mean nothing more than an exercise of the noble Lord's ingenuity. How in God's name, could the people or petitioners be misled ? Could the most factious person, within or without that House, add or diminish a single word, or put any interpretation upon the proposition, but what it evidently admitted ? The petitions on the table were not yet declared to be the sense of a majority of that House. He trusted they shortly would ; but they were the avowed sentiments of the petitions. What did the petitioners say ? That useless and sinecure places ought to be abolished ; that exorbitant salaries and perquisites ought to be reduced. Where did those evils originate in the expenditure of the civil list ? Where was the reform recommended to take place in ? Most clearly, where the evil existed : to
argue

therefore, that the propositions should not be resolved, the voting of it might afford an opportunity of misinterpretation, misinterpretation, or popular delusion, was a and the greatest of all delusion; because it was evident that if the proposition should appear to be the sense of that House, it would be a full answer to petitioners, and a decided opinion on the subject matter of the petitions themselves. It would comprehend other of these answers. We are of opinion that petitions are ill founded, or we think them well founded; but our hands are tied up. We voted the civil list for life. By that vote it is become the private property of the crown, as much as any part of your private property is your own. What you seek, is therefore impossible; no such reform is necessary, or if it be, it is beyond our power to give you any relief. Such being the opinion, it was those who fled from the question, who endeavoured to impose upon, and deceive the people by raising out hopes and expectations, which they never meant to perform; and which if complied with, would be fraught with injustice; and not those, who wanted to come to some point, which would tend to inform the people, whether they were to have any redress or not. However, the forms of the House would not admit propositions to be entered into then, the House might proceed in the usual course, and resolve itself into a committee postponing the consideration of the honourable gentleman's proposition to the next, or some future clause in the progress of the bill.

Beauchamp made a short reply, said that the proposition suggested by the right honourable gentleman, did not require length, which the honourable gentleman represented; without proof of some abuse, it would be unjust to insist on the expenditure of the civil list. That it did not imply a denial of the right to reform abuses; but it implied, that there ought to be a proof of the abuse previous to the interference. That, he contended, was supported by the constitution, taking the right in the strongest manner; and it would be expected from that side of the question, that the office of secretary of state should be shewn to be useless, before the House could consent to its abolition. Notwithstanding the very great abilities, and ingenuity of the honourable friend; he thought himself fully justified in saying, that the purport of the proposition would be misrepresented,

Lord Beauchamp.

represented, both within and without that House. It had been misconceived by the honourable gentleman himself, and there was little reason to doubt, but it would be still misconceived, and misrepresented out of doors. [A loud laugh from the opposite benches] He said, he did not know what he had said to give occasion for the disorder of this way; but this he would say, as in every other instance, the eagerness shewn to bring the right honourable gentleman's proposition under discussion, could proceed to nothing else, but that if the House should agree to it, it might furnish grounds for spreading false rumours, and creating popular delusion. [Another loud laugh.]

General
Conway.

General Conway said, he was much surprized at the principle of the honourable gentleman's bill converted in this stage, after notice and leave given, and at the second reading. The noble Lord below him [Lord North] had signified his Majesty's consent, not only to the bill at the table, but to bills apparently of much more consequence to bills for the sale of what might be fairly deemed His Majesty's own private exclusive property, the demesnes of the crown; his forests, &c. These were not Parliamentary grants, but came to his Majesty by succession; he could not help thinking, therefore, that the argument of the honourable gentleman was stretched much too far; who contended that it would be unjust to interfere in the expenditure of grants originating in that House, when the propriety of interfering not only in the sale of the property of the crown, but the appropriation of the proceeds of that property, was a principle admitted in that House, and approved of by the noble Lord in the blue ribbon.

Lord North.

Lord North with much seeming warmth, said, that the honourable gentleman had misrepresented his conduct, and had entirely misconceived him. He contended, that a message importing his Majesty's consent to the bringing in a bill did not amount to a previous approbation of the measure so consented to, in that manner; nor of the person who delivered the message. He thought it his duty to signify His Majesty's consent, and to advise the giving of it, in relation to the freedom of Parliamentary discussion, and no more; not that he ever approved of the principle of the bill, for he was ready to rise, whenever an opportunity offered to oppose the principle whenever it appeared, clause by clause. Besides, though the consent signified what the right honourable gentleman presumed it had, he begged the House to

st, that he had given no consent to the bringing in the
 w on the table, by way of message from his Ma-
 The consent he gave, was as an individual member of
 ouse, the message on which so much stress had been
 elated to the bills respecting the forests and crown lands.
 entirely approved of the right honourable gentleman's
 tion, and if the House should think proper to enter
 e discussion, which he thought at present unnecessary,
 old most certainly vote for it. He hoped however
 ent, the House would think with him, that it was
 ecessary. In his opinion, such a measure would be un-
 ented. The order of the day was now regularly
 ; and he believed, it would be found unusual, to
 a question to be debated, which was supposed to mili-
 ainst a bill, depending in the House. He was the
 verse to depart from the usual mode of Parliamentary
 ling, because the very question, which gentlemen on
 er side of the House, seemed so eager to press a de-
 ation upon, would then come properly before the
 and for his part he could not see, what reason those
 en could have for deciding it in the House, in prefe-
 o coming to a division upon it in the committee.

Rigby expressed his surprise at the inference drawn *Mr. Rigby.*
 ight honourable gentleman under the gallery, that
 ssage to that House from his Majesty, declaring his
 o the bringing in a bill, signified an approbation of
 ; most clearly it did not, nor could. It would a-
 to an assent given, at an improper state, and of
 could furnish no subject of discussion in that House
 ng the subject matter before it.

aid he was much surprised to hear his honourable
 (Mr. Fox) betray so much unnecessary warmth, on
 of any thing which might have fallen from him.
 son entertained a greater respect for the abilities of
 ousable gentleman, than he did. No man was more
 to have an opportunity to acknowledge them; but
 ed leave to assure the honourable gentleman, that he
 not readily resign the first place, to any man,
 ould profess, to entertain a more warm and steady
 r the liberties of his country, than himself: and it
 h no small degree of surprise and emotion, he heard
 ousable gentleman imputing sentiments to him, tend-
 the overthrow of the constitution. He appealed to
 heard him, whether he uttered a syllable which
 the

the most fertile imagination could so interpret. No one revered the rights of the constitution, or would go further in maintaining the rights of the people, in that House, than only in his opinion, they could be constitutionally defended so long as Parliament existed. He would repeat, that the people had a right to petition that House, and each of the other branches of the legislature; but it was in that House alone, the voice of the people could be fairly known, and acknowledged; and from whence it could be safely and safely collected.—He remembered a time, when the people, as now designed, under the names of the petitioners, addressed the throne to dissolve Parliament; he meant not ten years since. He would suppose that a similar petition had been then or now presented, to that House; would the House be obliged to comply with it? He presumed the honourable gentleman, would be so absurd as to maintain such a doctrine; whereas the language of the present petition went that length, or it meant nothing; for if the House had a right to reject any petition, as they most certainly had; the right of discretion could only be limited by the opinion they might entertain on the matter prayed for in such petitions, which fairly brought the argument to rest, and placed it on the only ground, where it could rest with propriety; namely, that the people had a right to petition, and that House the right to grant or reject, according to what they might judge fit or proper. But thought the argument not so strong, or would not bear him out, to the full extent in which he had urged it, he would ask one question.—Did the petitions convey the unanimous sense, or the sense of the majority of the people? He had heard the contrary asserted from several sides of the House; and by persons of respectable character, fully informed on the subject. He would not undertake to say, on which side the truth lay, having no personal knowledge of the truth of the facts either way; but this he could affirm, that in the county, where he resided (Essex) though a flaming petition had been presented, he was persuaded, that it did not contain the sentiments of the fifth part of the freeholders.

The honourable gentleman said, that if the question should be put on his motion, and that the motion should be carried, he would never more enter that House. He could hardly think for the reasons before assigned, that the honourable gentleman was serious; but should he persist in his resolution, he hoped the particular opinions of any individual

however high or respectable, would never controul or influence the deliberations of that House, contrary to the office of the cause, and the right of free discussion. For his own part, whether the honourable gentleman's final resolution might be if room was made for his proposition, he would move it.—He feared, that could not be permitted, without coming to a previous division. If not, he should quiesce in the sense of the House, either by moving it now, postponing it to some future day.

He could not sit down, without saying a word or two, on the very extraordinary predicament the noble Lord over the day stood in, in the character of minister; day after day coming down to that House, in majorities, which hardly deserved the name; for his own part he never would consent on any consideration, to give up his own sentiments, or undertake to carry on the business of government, unless he could be sure of a *proper and respectable support*. When government, was sunk and unsupported, the state was in danger; and he thought it full time for the noble Lord to speak out, and declare, what he was determined to grant; and what he had determined to refuse; by that means, a great deal of time, which was now unnecessarily wasted, to no manner of purpose, might be saved; and the attention of ministers be directed to the discharge of the functions, of executive government, which now demanded the most assiduous assiduities of those entrusted with the exercise of it. The noble Lord had talked of taking away all use of sine-cures. No man was more firmly of opinion, that they ought to be taken away, than he; but if such a reformation was to extend to persons enjoying offices for life, by which a freehold was legally vested in them, he would most certainly set his face against any such attempt; for as he had resolved to resist any plan, for paring down, weakening, lessening the prerogatives of the crown, or depriving it of revenue annexed to it for life; so he would be equallyacious of the rights of the subject. He had heard reports of extending the reform much further, of a resumption of all ancient grants from the crown, which was what he would never consent to. This had been pointed to the revenue, enjoyed by two noble Dukes; (Richmond and Grafton) he would fairly declare, that he would as soon give his sword, for cutting off their heads, without proof of any crime, as deprive them of an inheritance, derived to them through several generations; vested in them by the laws of

the land, and confirmed to them by several acts of Parliament.

General
Conway.

General Conway begged to say a word to two, in explanation of what had fallen from him when last up, which he perceived, had been most grossly misinterpreted or misconceived by the right honourable gentleman who had last got down, and by the noble Lord below him. He never meant to say, that because the noble Lord had signified his Majesty's consent to the bringing in the present bill, that such a consent concluded his Majesty, or the crown, as forming one of the branches of the legislature, from withholding his assent, in order to give the bill the sanction of the law. It would reverse the whole order and scheme of the constitution. It would in the first place, give the crown a negative in the originating all bills, in which his Majesty's interest might be concerned; and he did not know a single proposition for making a new law, or altering an old one, which by the ingenuity and subtilty of some men, might not be construed or interpreted, to affect his Majesty's rights either directly or collaterally. All he meant to say, was this; that when his Majesty's consent was signified by the chancellor of the Exchequer, in that House, it amounted merely to a declaration, that so far as his Majesty's private interest was concerned; he was willing, to submit that private right to public discussion, as an individual, whose property was likely to be effected, by the proposed law. Whereas his Majesty's consent, conceived to mean any thing else, it would, as he had observed before, cut off the first source of legislation. That could not be; and if it was a direct constitutional inference to say, that his Majesty's consent as a private person, by no means bound him, in his public or regal capacity.

The only use he intended to make in argument of his Majesty's consent, was, that it consented to a free discussion of the intended reform, and so far militated against the doctrine, laid down by the noble Lord, and the right honourable gentleman; that whatever private right or interest his Majesty had in the objects which the bill was directed to obtain in the way of reform, he was ready to submit to the discussion of that House; so far therefore, the principle of the bill was approved of by his Majesty's advisers, and more particularly by the noble Lord below him, the chancellor of the Exchequer, who delivered the message. When he was up, he would just beg leave to observe, that the

suggestion suggested by the right honourable gentleman, was of infinite consequence; and in his opinion, should precede further discussion either upon the principle, or provisions of the bill. It would clear the way, to the full and fair consideration of its several parts; otherwise it would stand in the way, like a locked door, or a bar of iron, to shut out and prevent every argument, but that of the principle of the bill itself, and would continue to present one of the most ridiculous and idle of all conceivable senses, a grave and respectable assembly, debating about the propriety of a measure, which they denied, or at least refused to acknowledge, that they were competent to consider or discuss.

The Attorney General conceived the right honourable gentleman's proposition, to amount to no more than a mere abstract question which no man was bound to resolve. If the case put in that proposition was such, as applied to the bill, the proper place to debate it would be in the committee; if it did not, if there was no abuse proved, the question would necessarily be to be denied, in the only manner, in which it could be fairly decided. If it should appear, that the possible abuse suggested in the proposition really did exist; then, the question which had been so earnestly pressed by gentlemen on the other side of the House, would amount to no more than resolving that, at an improper time, which it might be better to declare at a proper time. He assured the House, that he was averse to the discussion of the question, for he could fairly declare, that if it should be put, he did not know whether he could give it a negative, or an affirmative.

Mr. Burke begged it might be determined upon, before the House went into a committee upon the bill. The pre-
Mr. Burke,
dicted doctrine, should it be adopted, went equally to the merits of every part of the bill, as well as those provisions, which the noble Lord in the blue ribbon had avowed his public approbation of. If that was all, if only the fate of the bill were determined, by agreeing to the right honourable gentleman's proposition, it would give him but very little satisfaction, but it was a principle, which in his opinion, would overthrow the constitution, and annihilate the essential rights and privileges of Parliament.
He resolving however, that that House was incompetent, to require or controul the expenditure of the civil list revenue, would not, though it might be intended to effect it, destroy the liberties of Britain. Debate it is true would be

at an end, because it could answer no useful purpose. The duties of those, who had struggled for a long series of years against every disadvantage, that it was possible to conceive against large majorities, public obloquy, repeated defeat, and daily mortifications, would cease; their unavailing opposition would be terminated. The people must do, what Parliament had refused, or rather what they were resolved, not to do, or had declared themselves incompetent to effect; but he trusted, that health would follow. A fever purged of and purified the blood, gave it a more happy circulation, and renovated or corrected, a weak or disordered constitution. A fracture properly healed, acquired strength, superior to any other part of the bone. The crown held no public right, or public property but as a trust for, and under the people. It could gain or lose nothing in truth; because it enjoyed all it possessed, as a favour: and for the attainment of certain defined or implied purposes, which purposes were understood, to be good government, and the well-being of the state. The prerogatives of the crown, the highest and most transcendent part of its power, were created and ought of course to be exercised for the benefit of the people who created and conferred them. It was therefore to the last degree absurd to draw a line, or separate the private rights of an individual, or any description of man, as held for any other end but for the good of the whole community. Every right his Majesty enjoyed, as sovereign, was a delegated right and consequently subject to examination, correction, and controul. It was particularly of the very essence of that House, to enquire, to regulate, and controul; and whenever it waved, concealed, or suspended that right, when an occasion offered, then most clearly, every object of their meeting and deliberating, was at an end; from the representatives of the people, they were no longer the servants of the public, who had sent them there; but the corrupt, or servile tools of those, who paid and rewarded them, for their treachery and neglect of duty.

*Mr. T.
Townshend.*

Mr. T. Townshend declared himself of the same opinion. He said it would be at once insulting the House, and irritating the people, to meet and deliberate there, day by day, and night after night, to no manner of purpose; he therefore wished to discharge the order of the day, and let in of course the propositions suggested by the right honourable gentleman, for if carried in the affirmative, it would at once amount to a full and explicit answer to the petitions on the table, as well as to the people of England at large; on the contrary,

ld the proposition be negatived, that House would know ground they stood on, and their constituents might have reason to expect full satisfaction, and a redress of the wrongs they complained of.

Mr. T. Pitt after stating the necessity of coming to an immediate determination, on the subject, observed, that the Ministerial side of the House, were apparently afraid to meet the question, in the shape it then presented itself; though they were not ashamed to acknowledge that they approved of it; that they intended to support the principle, asserted in the proposition; when the House went into a committee. He would affirm however, before he sat down, that if the honourable gentleman's proposition should prove to be the sense of that House, the government of this country, would be as tyrannical and despotic as any in Europe.

Mr. Dunning considered the proposition, as involving in it a question of constitutional law. He denied, that the King possessed any part of his revenue, as a private or distinct property; because if he did, he might employ it to any purpose whatever. The uses to which it was employed, clearly showed out, that the disposal or expenditure of it was without the controul of Parliament. The reason was obvious; it had been given by Parliament. It was a Parliamentary grant, involving in it a trust; consequently, that grant involved a controul, incident to any other species of trust whatever, namely a power to see, that the trust was faithfully discharged, which it was impossible to determine, without enquiring into the expenditure; and equally impossible to direct it to any good purposes, if the power to enquire, was not accompanied by a power of controul. To talk therefore of the injustice of enquiry, without proving some abuse, was in his approbation, as ridiculous as to say, that a man should not be punished for the commission of a crime; but that he should be unjust to try him, till you had proved his guilt. He needed to doubt, whether the right honourable gentleman wished to have the sense of the House taken upon his word. If he was sincere, he had every reason to believe that he would find himself fully gratified; because in that case he was persuaded, that the minority of the House, in any single instance, would suddenly become the majority.

Mr. Rigby said, whatever doubts the learned gentleman, Mr. Rigby. the honourable gentleman who spoke before him, might entertain of his wish, to bring his proposition before the House, in the shape of a motion; he had none himself; for he could fairly declare, that as he would not be bullied by one

one side of the House; so he was resolved, not to be cajoled or flattered out of it, by the other.

Mr. Mansfield.

Mr. Mansfield concluded the debate on this question. His arguments were rather of a novel kind. He said, that the civil list revenue, belonged to the King, and was very properly appropriated to his private use; and that it belonged to the people, because every thing which was possessed by the crown, was held for their benefit. His Majesty held it for himself, for the people, and that House. [A loud and incessant laugh, for upwards of a minute, and a general cry hear him! hear him!] Notwithstanding the noise and tumult on the other side of the House, he would repeat his expression, that the civil list revenue, though applicable to the use and benefit of the sovereign, was nevertheless in another point of view, held for the benefit of the whole community at large. In short, he was clearly of opinion, that the civil list revenue, being an investment made for the good of the nation, and applicable in particular, to the maintenance of the dignity and splendour of the crown, no diminution could be made, which would not prove injurious to the people.

About nine o'clock, the question was put in the order of the day, as moved by Lord Beauchamp, and the House divided,

Ayes ————— 205. Noes ————— 199.

Mr. Rigby himself, was the *only* ministerial member, who voted in the minority; upwards of sixteen members, more or less nearly connected with him, having voted for the order of the day.

As soon as the members returned into the House, it resolved itself into a committee, on Mr. Burke's bill, and Mr. Elwes was called to the chair. The title was then read, "A bill for the better regulation of his Majesty's civil establishment, and of certain public affairs; for the limitation of pensions; and the suppression of sundry useless, expensive and inconvenient places; and for applying the monies saved thereby, to the public service."

When the chairman came to the words in the first clause for abolishing the office commonly called, or known by the name of third secretary of state, or secretary of state for the Colonies; Governor Pownall rose, and suggested an amendment; observing, that the words were not sufficiently descriptive, for the description should be simply that of the secretary of state.

Mr. Pownall.

Mr. Burke said he had no objection to omitting the words pointed out by the honourable gentleman. He had noted both descriptions, least one, or the other singly, might appear untechnical, or not descriptive of the office, proposed to be abolished.

Lord George Germain rose, and observed that the clause as worded, was not descriptive of the office, which he had the honour to fill, for it was neither that of third secretary of state, nor secretary of state for the Colonies; but "one of His Majesty's principal secretaries of state." He did assure the committee, he wished most sincerely, if it should determine to abolish any one of the three offices, it should be the one he had the honour to fill; but he thought it proper, never to state, what he thought was necessary, for the information of the committee.

Lord George
Germain.

The clause being amended greatly to this idea, Lord Beauchamp rose, and made a long speech, in favour of the office, against the clause.

Lord Beau-
champ.

He maintained very broadly and roundly, that that office had no right to interfere in the expenditure of the King's civil list revenue, upon any other ground, but that it was the special positive and vested rights, accruing from a legislative act, he doubted much, though it might be legal, whether it would be constitutionally legal, to take from the King by act of Parliament, what clearly belonged to it. Certainly if abuses were proved, it was competent to the House, to point out to their sovereign, the proper mode of removing, and correcting them; but in his opinion, that was not by passing of a law of resumption, which should never be resorted to, in any given instance, but in case of the last necessity, when every other means, had been tried, and had been unsuccessful.

But supposing that it was right and fit for Parliament to interfere upon motives of public œconomy, another question would arise, whether the object to be attained, namely the abolition of the office proposed, was that of sufficient magnitude to justify the House in suppressing an useful office? For in the constitution of the committee it must be deemed an useful office, till the contrary were proved. It was clearly an innovation; and though the particular office proposed to be abolished, might or might not be of sufficient consequence to excite an alarm, he wished gentlemen to consider what the bill went to. This clause formed but a part, and a small part; but if the propriety of the present clause should

should be determined, the same principle would spread through every other part of the bill, and be extended to the branches of the royal household, and into the domestic arrangements within the royal palace itself.

But to return to the clause as it now stood, and presuming the present bill to be formed on the sentiments contained in the petitions, he would wish to hear, if any one gentleman would venture to declare, that the office was a sinecure; that it was attended with exorbitant fees, perquisites or emoluments; that it was a heavy, expensive establishment; or, that it was the source of much influence in the House. He believed no man would assert it was. But gentlemen may say, it was useless and unnecessary. If that be their argument, let them shew to the committee that it is so; let not assertion pass for proof; and mere opinion pass for argument. When they have satisfied the committee of this; will it not be incumbent upon them to demonstrate the right, as well as expediency of interfering, and resuming the grant made to his Majesty, at his accession to the throne; and which he received as an equivalent for an ample revenue, which, as sovereign, he was entitled to enjoy, as soon as he was proclaimed King of this country: and still they will be called upon to shew, that the reform is not only just and necessary, but that the mode proposed is the one only which may be the best, and properly carried into execution. He had no doubt but that should hear it much insisted on, that should the office be abolished, it would be no innovation; that it was by no means modern date; not more than ten or twelve years standing. He begged leave to give two answers to the argument. First, that there was a third secretary of state, so early as the reign of Edward VI. that there was a third secretary, for several years, during the late reign; so that the office was not a new one, but an old one, recently revived; and though it was not; he was clearly of opinion, that it would give rise to the most dangerous and alarming precedent, as it would establish this maxim; that the legislature were the only proper judges of the detailed exercise of the executive power. The principle would effect every establishment already existing, or which might be hereafter made; in short, it would diminish the crown of one of its most valuable rights and prerogatives, that of discharging the duties vested in it by the constitution, the right of judgment, in what manner those duties, could most faithfully and effectually be discharged.

Mr. T.

Townshend.

Mr. T. Townshend observed, that the present bill, and course the clause before the committee, had two objects.

w, and both perfectly consonant to the prayers of the petitions. was of very little consequence, whether it was the petitions the honourable gentleman, the framer of the bill, first took out the idea; but no one would deny, that they both led to the same point, the reduction or the lessening the influence of the crown, through the means of abolishing sinecures, useless, and unnecessary places; exorbitant salaries, &c. at the same time, applying the savings to be made, to the necessities of the state.

It would be necessary, therefore, to consider the object of the bill, as to its proposed result, and the several considerations which collected together, constituted that result; for though they were connected in that light, they were not so comparably connected, but one object might be attained independent of another. The first great consideration was, the diminishing the influence of the crown, which in the opinion of the people, and he believed a majority of that House, had enormously increased of late years; and particularly so, since the accession of his present Majesty. Hence the great source of all our present evils was supposed to originate. Stop up or cut off that great source, and every part of the political machine would perform its wonted functions in its usual manner. This was the great object, as he observed before. How was this to be effected? By abolishing the means of influence; by abolishing the establishments that created it. The present circumstances of this country, made it likewise necessary to appropriate the annual sums thus lavished, in expending improper purposes, to very proper purposes, in his opinion; the relieving the people of part of their burdens, which that very influence complained of, had been instrumental in imposing. This in his opinion, contained an abstract of the whole subject, and with the permission of the committee, he should slightly touch on each of these heads.

His noble friend had laid great stress on the generosity of the crown, on his present Majesty's accession, in contributing to lighten the burdens of the people, by giving up the civil list revenues, or duties, and taking in lieu thereof the stated sum of 80,000*l. per annum*. This was a plausible argument, which might be easily refuted, combining all the circumstances existing at the time, and subsequent to that transaction; he should therefore beg the indulgence of a few moments on that subject. During the whole reign of the late king, he never came to Parliament for assistance, but once; and that immediately after a most dangerous and alarming rebellion, carried from the extremity of the island, into the bowels of the kingdom. It would be totally unnecessary, he

he presumed, to enter into arguments to prove, that such a season as that of rebellion, and a rebellion too which more immediately affected the sovereign on the throne, being directed to the expulsion of himself and family, in favour of a Pretender to the crown, that very great and uncommon expences must have arose; many of which, from the nature of the government, must have been drawn from the civil list. Yet under those peculiar circumstances, his Majesty after reigning twenty years, desired no more than 450,000*l.* not as a free grant or gratuity; but merely as a loan, which was to be repaid; and Mr. Pelham, the minister of the day or Chancellor of the exchequer, when he delivered the message to the House, assured it, that the civil list expences should be retrenched, and for what purpose? For repayment of the money then proposed to be drawn from the sinking fund and for which, as a further and positive confirmation of his intentions, he proposed that the civil list revenues should be mortgaged. There was a peculiar circumstance too, which attended this transaction, which was, that what was deemed a favour, might be well urged, as a rightful demand; for it was not a grant over and above the 800,000*l.* granted on his then Majesty's accession; but to make up the deficiency between the duties appropriated to the payment of the civil list. Such was the conduct of the ministers of the late King. His Majesty never afterwards came to Parliament to have his debts paid. The royal family daily encreased. There was the prince, and afterwards the princess of Wales's household. There were several other branches of the royal family then alive. His present Majesty's establishment, for the four or five last years, as prince of Wales; the whole amounting to an expence unknown before, or he believed since; and yet when the late King died, there was a sum of upwards of 170,000*l.* due to him from the public; and even including the whole of what he received, the average amount of his annual receipts did not exceed 815, or 813,000.

What was the state of the civil list revenue, since the commencement of the present reign? His Majesty agreed to take 800,000*l.* in lieu of the revenue appropriated to the maintenance and support of the civil list. He highly approved the conduct of those, who advised his Majesty to do so. They were wise and able counsellors. But what was given him? He believed, no more at the time, than about 30,000*l.* a year, the duties having so far encreased towards the conclusion of the late reign. This was an object of consequence, it was true; but it would be necessary to state the advantages which were derived to the nation; and he was sorry to say, that

ned out nothing, or worse than nothing. After a series of years war, and five years peace, the chancellor of the chequer, the noble Lord in the blue ribbon came to Parliament, to demand the sum of 513,000*l.* or an average sum of only 80,000*l.* *per annum.* And upon what pretence? A fallacious one; that the 800,000 settled by Parliament, was inadequate to the discharge of the necessary expences of government; and that the King's distress solely arose, from improvident generosity, that of giving up a sum equal to the amount of his income. Now the fact thus stated, he would maintain was founded in fallacy. It was true, that the ex-office act of the 5th of his present Majesty, and some commercial regulations, passed subsequent to the civil list of the 1st of his present Majesty, had augmented the sum to upwards of 870,000*l.* *per annum,* on an average of the preceding seven years. But then, he would recommend the gentleman to reflect, that those duties and taxes, were yearly parliamentary grants, applied, and to be appropriated to the public purposes, and could be deemed no more to belong to the crown, than any other duty, tax, or impost whatever laid on as a security to the public creditors. In fact, they had been regularly, and fully appropriated before this requisite was made.

So far for the claim of the crown in the first instance. In a few years after, the same noble Lord came again to Parliament for the sum of 618,000*l.* to discharge the debts of the civil list upon the same flimsy pretence, and upon the same occasion, had the modesty to ask for an additional sum of 100,000*l.* a year. In both cases then the Ministers of the crown had falsified their own words with the Parliament, and had broke the condition on which the sovereign's words were pledged to his people; and even had the effrontery on the latter, as well as the former occasion, to refuse to give any assurance, that it would not be necessary to come to Parliament for a further addition whenever the Prince of Wales should arrive at years proper to fix the establishment of his household. Thus in the course of fourteen years, or a period of two years foreign war, and two years civil war in America; the Majesty had received from Parliament, in addition and above his stated revenue, the enormous sum of 1,310,000*l.* while George II. in the course of a reign of thirty-two years, in which there was a most dangerous rebellion within the land for one year, and two foreign wars of thirteen years continuance, received not a single shilling more than his stated income, after allowing for the deficiency of the

the duties, and of course the funds which composed his revenue, and attended with this further additional circumstance, that the expence of the different branches of the royal family were upon an average, comparing the total of one reign with the period alluded to, greater during the former period, than the latter; besides he believed, it was well understood, that his Majesty contributed several very considerable sums, to support the first continental war made in support of the House of Austria.

If this plain undisguised state of facts, did not contain the most unquestionable presumptive evidence, of the influence of the crown, he meant the divesting its revenues to purposes which dared not be avowed, in corrupting and influencing the members of both Houses of Parliament, would be vain to resort to other arguments, for he knew none more relative or conclusive; nor indeed of any, that could be more so. If then this unnecessary increase of revenues was the true source of the increased influence of the crown; and if this influence ought to be reduced within bounds prescribed by the constitution, the necessity of public reform, and national œconomy, which was acknowledged by his noble friend, and every other person who spoke on the other side, would lay so immoveable a basis in support of the measure, and in compliance with the wishes of the people, as could not be shaken by any argument however plausibly, or artfully urged.

If the principle of the bill, and the objects as he had described them, that of reducing the influence of the crown, and promoting public œconomy were incontrovertibly proved, all that remained to be done in his opinion, was to apply the principle so established to the particular clause before the committee. What did the clause import? The abolishing a useless office, that of a third secretary of state. Here the matter lay within a very narrow compass. It was a matter and he would add an useless office. He did not mean to controvert the facts stated by the noble Lord, that such an office existed so early as the reign of Edward VI. or that it was revived during the reign of the late King; for both facts afforded sufficient proof that the office was discontinued, because it was discovered to be useless. The point before the committee related merely to the question of inutility. They might have been five or a dozen secretaries for ought he knew, or cared, in former times. There were a great number of great offices which had long ceased to exist, which the mode of arguing would justify the revival of. The com-

tee had nothing to do with that. What they had to consider was the utility of the office; the influence the abolishing it would take away; and the money it would save. All he could say was, that the country had raised itself to the most pitch of national glory, that our possessions had been extended to every quarter of the globe; that our colonies had rose to a degree of wealth, power, and population, unknown perhaps in the annals of any other mother country under the sun; and that, when he had no more than two secretaries of state. A third was however appointed, and in that instant the picture was completely reversed in all its features. We had lost those very colonies, and with them our trade; we had been disgraced in the eyes of all Europe, and now threatened with ruin on every side. He should be ashamed to tire the patience of the committee, to prove what was already sufficiently clear to every unprejudiced man in the House, that the office of third secretary, if not a mischievous office, was an useless office; for which reason he would give his vote for the clause moved by his honourable friend for abolishing it.

Several things had fallen out in the debate, in the early part of the day; one of which in particular, called for a single observation from him. The noble Lord in the blue gown, had said, that there were sinecure and patent offices in the exchequer, which stood exactly on the same ground with the civil list revenue; they were granted for life; and vested in the possessors; but says the noble Lord, if the rents made to the crown of the same nature be resumed; ought the salaries derived from sinecure places, as well as others of that kind. He had little reason to doubt of the source whence the various paragraphs that appeared in a certain morning paper originated; in which this doctrine was pronounced, and the propriety of carrying it into execution fully maintained. Those who paid for the insertion of these paragraphs, best knew whether they were the same persons who supported them in that House, who were likewise authors of them in print. He among others had not escaped the scurrilous attacks of those concealed calumniators; and those whom they hired to stab every person in that other House, that differed from them in opinions. These enemies to truth, for they knew better, and only promoted the falsehood to answer the purpose of a day, he said, he possessed a tellers place in the exchequer. The noble Lord, if that was a crime, could he believed, exculpate him from the charge. It was needless to say a syllable on that
part

part of the subject. But every person who knew any thing at all about the matter, knew that such a place was held by a near relation of his, (his father) but if he should rise to give an opinion whether it would or would not be proper to abolish the tellers places, he should expect to see himself misrepresented through the same vehicle of ministerial abuse, without a possibility of escaping censure. If he approved of the proposed abolition, it would be immediately imputed to him, that he was very ready to deprive his sovereign of an estate for life, in the civil list revenue; but he was alarmed, and had strongly opposed, when the same reform threatened his own interest in the place held by his near relation, which was his property, as much as if actually in his own possession. If on the other hand, he should declare his opinion, that the place of teller ought to be abolished, the cry would be equally strong; It would be said that either he had no interest at all, or if he had, it was very trifling or precarious; for it depended merely upon the life of an aged person, who in the common course of things could not long continue to enjoy it. In either point, therefore, he thought it more prudent to be silent; but this he would do whether it might or might not be proper to abolish the place of teller, he was clearly of opinion, that the interest held by the present possessors, by no means partook of that species of tenure, by which the crown held the revenues of the civil list.

The Secretary at war.

The *Secretary at War* contended, as the leading principle of his speech, that the influence of the crown, so far from being encreased, since the accession of his present Majesty had rather been on the decline; but whatever it might be, that it had not been exercised to effect the purposes on which the present bill was supposed to proceed. That allowing its existence to the extent in which it had been contended; that the House was incompetent to interfere, or controul its expenditure. That that House was not obliged to attend to the petitions of the people, further than the sentiments contained in them accorded with their own judgment. That supposing the petitions were right in praying for the abolishing of useless and unnecessary places, the office proposed to be abolished by this clause did not come within that description, and, consequently, it was not supported by any reason which could or ought to be presumed to operate within or without that House.

an answer to the honourable gentleman who spoke last, to shew in general that the influence of the crown had increased in point of revenue, or any collateral cause, he intended, that his present Majesty gained nothing by the extra grants made by Parliament, in the year 1768 and 7; for notwithstanding the ingenious distinction taken by the honourable gentleman, he was perfectly well founded in intending that the duties arising from the post-office, unless otherwise understood, at the time belonged to the crown as of its inalienable revenue. The post-office act, was become an act of regulation. If the crown possessed the post-office duties at the time, Parliament would not, nor could it interfere, unless upon the idea, that the crown was already in possession of a revenue fully adequate to its outgoings; consequently, that not being the case, it could hardly presume that Parliament would interfere, and take away, or resume what they must know it stood in need of.

He observed that Parliament immediately after the revolution settled a revenue of 700,000*l.* a year upon King William; and he believed there was not a gentleman who told him, who from his own experience was not fully persuaded that 700,000*l.* ninety years ago, was not much more valuable than 900,000*l.* a year at present. Indeed, he might say to many present, whether within the last thirty years or no, the price of all the necessaries of life was not increased nearly in that proportion?

It was become very customary with the gentlemen on the opposite side of the House, to represent the reign of that Prince, as the pattern or purest model of imitation to the present times, and to extol that Prince's private and political virtues. He believed with a good deal of justice. That was a Prince who possessed many great and useful private virtues. But when he said this, he begged gentlemen would take the whole of the reign together, and review the whole of that Prince's political conduct, and by comparing facts, judge fairly. He wished they would do so impartially, and declare whether they believed King William would submit to have that revenue resumed, which had been once settled upon him by act of Parliament? In the circumstance he was going to relate, he had every reason to believe he would not. In the early part of that Prince's reign, the civil list revenue was granted only from year to year. He found the great inconvenience of this deficient situation, in which he was in effect deprived of any of his own, as he must concede to whatever was asked in form

from him ; because those who chose to ask, had the power of compelling him to acquiesce, by withholding the grant of the civil list revenue till they had gained the point they wished to obtain. It was upon this occasion, that that Prince was heard to declare he was not King, or but an annual King, till his revenues were settled upon him for life, and threatened in case they were not, to abdicate the crown, and retire to Holland. The misfortunes which must have been the consequence of such a succession, induced the Parliament to make a grant of the civil list revenue on him for life. To apply that fact to the arguments used in support of the present bill, and the case was, if possible, much stronger. For here the grant was for life, but the resumption proposed went to leave his present Majesty nothing which he could safely call his own. This year such a reform was necessary ; the next year another reform might be deemed so : in short, no man could pretend to say, where this rage of public reformation might stop ; for plausible reasons would never be wanting, and to fine the King for the time being, instead of exercising his independent legislative power, as one of the three branches of the legislature, would probably be reduced to a precarious pittance. He would in truth be no more than the shadow of a King. He would be a pensioner indeed of the lower class, and of course, must at all times submit to whoever might hereafter lead the majorities of that House.

Much stress had been laid upon the presumed economy of the last reign ; upon the greatness and goodness of the late King, and among other virtues, his frugality had been much insisted upon. No man who heard him was more ready and willing to pay the just tribute of praise to the late King's memory. He was persuaded that he was a good and magnanimous Prince, but when he said this, it was his duty as a subject, as a member of that House, and a servant of his present Majesty, to affirm that he was second to none of his predecessors in all the virtues, all the amiable and great qualities which adorn a Prince ; and he believed his own knowledge would bear him out in the assertion, that the influence of the crown was not encreased since the accession of his present Majesty, or if it was really encreased, that its exercise had not corresponded with the means.

He knew not well what was meant by the loose, general description of the influence of the crown. It might mean any thing, or every thing, or nothing. He believed, in pecuniary light, that the means of influence according to the decreased value of money between the present times, and the revolution, were not encreased. He was persuaded in another

point of view, they were or could not, for he was satisfied dependent of other circumstances, that considering the very numerous family his Majesty must necessarily support, at 900,000*l.* now, was no more than equal to 800,000*l.* and upwards during the late reign. There was the constant household of the Queen. There was the Prince of Wales's household, and a suitable provision to be made for the young princes; and he left it to gentlemen to judge, whether under these circumstances, 900,000*l.* afforded any further sources pecuniary influence, in the year 1780, than 800,000*l.* did forty years ago.

But independent of mere matter of opinion, he would appeal to one of the branches of influence, and much the greatest vested in the crown by the constitution, that of creating peers. He would call it a constitutional influence, and he would acknowledge it to be very powerful in its effects. Yet, how had this been exercised since the accession of his present Majesty? That after six years, in 1766, the number of Peers were the same as in 1760, when his Majesty ascended the throne; and that since that period to the present time the number of Peers were less by three or four now than in 1766, and of course in 1760, at his Majesty's accession.

Mr. *Burke*, in answer to what had been said by the Attorney *Mr. Burke*.
 general, concerning the injustice of punishing the abuse of the expenditure of the civil list without proof, and to what had been said relative to the same subject by Lord Beauchamp, took a distinction between the judicial and legislative capacity of Parliament. In the former, they were without doubt to proceed in all cases upon legal evidence. In the latter, they had a right, and it was their duty to make whatever regulations they judged necessary for the preservation of the constitution. He reprobated, in the strongest terms of reprobation, the doctrine, that there was no difference between the King's property in the civil list, and private property. The King was only a trustee for the public. Property and subjects existed before Kings were elected, and endowed with a portion of the former for the protection of the latter. And all the servant, the creature of the people, be represented by reasonable subjects, by false and pretended friends, as claiming an inherent, self-created original, and divine right to the voluntary grants of that people for whose good he received it, and for whose good it may be resumed? This is the quintessence of jacobitism. It is not toryism, but jacobitism. Tories lean indeed towards monarchy; but still they

profess that the monarchy to which they lean, is a monarchy limited within certain bounds by the law, and controulable by the constitution. Jacobitism elevates Kings into the rank of Gods, and contends, that the people were made for them, not they for the people. But it is doing jacobitism injustice; that jacobitism, at least, the remains of which we have seen in this country, to compare it with the doctrines we have heard this day; for there is something generous in a steady attachment to the persons of a royal family in distress, and the compassion of the heart makes amends for the errors of the judgment. But in the present times, in this enlightened age, in this country, and on this occasion, to avow such theories of despotism, is something worse than jacobitism. It is jacobitism sublimated and refined into a detested system of the most humiliating slavery. He did not agree with the noble Lord, that work is always performed with greater expedition by many servants, than by few; for one trusts to another; he devolves the labour on the shoulders of his fellow-servants, and finds means of eluding censure for not doing his duty. A groom becomes the favourite of his sporting master; he gets an assistant for his convenience; the assistant becomes the groom, and he himself is straightway advanced into the sinecure place of master of the horses. The new groom gets Tom to clean the stable; Tom grows very handy, and then there is no doing without Tom. I wonder, says every body, how he could do so long without Tom! The thing happens, Sir, in higher departments; even in the highest office of state, there are useless supernumeraries. Sir, I might here call the late Earl of Suffolk from the dead; though I am convinced that even if one should rise from the dead, there are some who would not, on this subject, believe his testimony. Lord Suffolk was a man of honour; he would not have sat a year in his bed-chamber resting his legs, afflicted with the gout, on his green box containing the papers of his office, at the same time have held the place of Secretary of state, if he had not been convinced in his conscience that the business of the state would be very well managed without his assistance. Nay, after he was dead, his office remained with him. The third Secretaryship is already extinct; it was deposited with the corpse of Lord Suffolk, in a superb cemetery. Its funeral obsequies were performed on the occasion; it was laid aside with that pomp which became its pomp; ensigns, scutcheons, flambeaux, &c. A successor, after an interval of a year, was indeed appointed to him. But if you ask the reason, no other can be given than the Irish

an's; the other two secretaries were doing nothing, and a third was appointed to help them.

It had been urged with great seeming weight, and effectedausibility, that the office proposed to be abolished, by the present bill, would be productive but of very trifling saving, few thousand pounds. Granted; but every plan must have beginning, and every great plan must consist of several parts. If the whole of the bill was meant to consist but of this clause, the argument might have the appearance of an answer. Was that the case? He presumed not. It was but a single object, among many others, of great consequence. And he begged that gentlemen would look to the aggregate, the sum total, and not to the items of which it was composed; it trifling as the sum might appear to the gentlemen on the other side of the House, it would pay a regiment of cavalry; not, at least, it would a regiment of infantry, which one was an object of concern in our present state of national distress. But it was not even the expence, but the mischief that had arose from the establishment of that office, which had thrown the empire into all the miseries of a civil war; which had lost us America, and brought us into a contest with our powerful and inveterate enemies, which last circumstance threatened us with ruin, almost inevitable, this office was established, or raised, for he cared not which, in the year 1768, on purpose to introduce a noble Lord in the other House, the Earl of Hillsborough, into his Majesty's councils. What was the consequence of that appointment? In the very circumstances he had been alluding to. That noble Lord, as the very first act of official power, wrote his famous circular letter to the several colonies, assuring them that no taxes would be laid upon them. He had endeavoured to deceive them. The noble Lord in the blue ribbon, in a few years after, introduced a bill into that House for taxing them, or a conciliary proposition, as he called it, as the intended basis of a law for that purpose. The people of America saw by this, that they could have no reliance on ministerial promises, not even on the word of the King, whose name had been prostituted in so shameful a manner; even in one instance, so far as to assure the assembly of Virginia, that he no longer wished to govern them, than he should preserve his word inviolate with them as to the promise he then made. He then entered into a short view of the American war, and of the American secretary. Was extremely severe on the late appointment of Lord Carlisle, as he considered the office of first Lord of Trade, merely as a sinecure place, which

which he called the idle labour, or laborious idleness of modern office; and concluded by observing, that besides the actual saving to the public, and the lessening the influence of the crown, the business transacted in the respective offices of Secretary of State, united again, as it had formerly, be better executed by fewer hands.

Lord Advocate.

The *Lord Advocate* of Scotland said, that he would avoid all speculative arguments, and extraneous matter, and confine himself, on this question, to certain land-marks fixed in the constitution, and to the experience of near a century, during which period we had been a free and happy people. The constitution was settled and defined more precisely than it had been before at the Revolution. Before that period the civil list had been voted to the Kings of England, without any specification of what part of it should be applied to the maintenance of armies or navies, and what to the support of their household and civil government. At the Revolution, this evil was remedied, a certain sum was appropriated to the defence of the state, and a certain sum to the King, to which he had as good a right as any individual could have to his private property. For whether you call the King trustee, servant of the public, or Sovereign, he was an hereditary Monarch, and inherited the rights and property of his predecessors by as firm a right of inheritance as any, by which any gentleman in this House laid claim to the estate of his ancestors. If then the King had not violated the limitations fixed to the exercise of the royal prerogatives at the Revolution, it was not in the power of Parliament to deprive him of the just and constitutional rights and property. He said, the noble Lord near him was not a violent Minister; he had often heard him accused, without doors, of being too remiss in the exertion of ministerial influence. [A cry of hear him! hear him!] He said, that all history was full of vain clamour against the influence of the crown; asked why, if the influence of the crown was so excessive, the minister carried his questions by so small majorities? Advised Parliament to beware of establishing precedents that might endanger all private property; insisted that it was incumbent on those who wished to deprive the King of his civil list, to give some explanation or other, suitable to their designs, of that Act of Parliament, which conferred it on him; that if the King had saved an hundred thousand pounds, and laid it into the hands of his banker, they might with equal justice, nay, with greater justice, have seized it then on the plea they advanced now. If he laid it out in building, or other amusements,

would not have pretended that it was misapplied, much
ought they to find fault with him for employing it in the
of the state. He recommended to gentlemen to re-
feriously on the consequence; and how far such a wild,
icious rage for innovation might be extended, if all par-
ntary grants would be resumed; particularly in the case
o noble Dukes alluded to early in the debate, (Dukes of
mond and Grafton) for in his opinion the doctrine was
five to all grants of every kind. If gentlemen were pre-
to say so, let them directly come to a vote upon it; though
mself, he must say, as he was against voting any part
Majesty's revenue away, he would be equally averse to
uching private property, legally and equitably enjoyed,
many generations.

Lord G.
Germaine.
d George Germaine gave the history of the office of third
ary of State; shewed that the abolition of it would only
aving of five thousand pounds at most; said that King
am, the guardian of the liberties of mankind, had com-
d that he was not an independent King, before he was
ed with an independent revenue; asked why Parlia-
if they thought the King should be dependent, had
a settlement on him for life? Why did you not feed
om hand to mouth? &c. With regard to the offices of
ary of State, if one of them must be abolished, he with-
might be that one which was held by himself. He added,
e King's revenue was his private and exclusive property;
much his as any property held or enjoyed by those
eard him; and believed, it would sound extremely odd
ears of any gentleman present, if told by a person, you
eat by contract; ride by contract; you spend too much :
ue, you are not in debt, but that signifies nothing.
an live upon such a sum, by retrenching such and such
es; and the residue of your income shall be applied to
vice of the state. The present bill, in his opinion,
ully to that length; and if applicable to the civil list ex-
are, was equally applicable to every single individual
House, and out of it.

Fox said, he should not be deterred by the lateness of Mr. Fox.
our (near one o'clock) from going fully into the de-
it was on a subject the most important and interesting;
he should detain the House ever so late upon it, he
not think that he stood in need of making an apology;
the first place, he could not but be surprised and asto-
to hear so much as had been said against the abstract pro-
suggested by a right honourable gentleman, who had
so

so frequently been alluded to in the course of the evening. There was nothing he wished for more than for the House to come to a determination upon that very great constitutional question, whether they were competent or not to interfere in matters that respected the King's civil list. It was a point upon which men's minds seemed to dwell; and in the midst of which the whole nation was so essentially concerned; he could not for one, but wish most heartily to have it before the House in a debateable shape, and decided upon as soon as possible; and, indeed, he should have liked the right honourable gentleman [Mr. Rigby] better than he did; he should have thought him more fair, and the justice of the people better dealt with, had he taken a proper opportunity, which he surely might have done, of submitting the question, which he professed himself so warm an advocate, and not have started it to the House, at a time he knew it could not be moved regularly, and decided one way or the other.

But the Right Honourable gentleman impressed the principle of the resolution he had broached, and the principle to pervade the whole bill; so that when any clause came under discussion, it was to operate against it, as if the principle really had been accepted of by the House. Gentlemen did not like abstract propositions, and a noble Lord [Lord Brougham] reprobated speculative questions, because they were not like unparliamentary proceedings, and that they were made for the purpose of being spread abroad to let the public know what the House was doing. Was it possible to conceive any thing more shameful and absurd? For his part, he declared, and he took a sort of oath in declaring it, that he wished to have those very abstract propositions decided, and that for the purpose of letting the people of England know what they had to expect; and he was resolved to use every means in his power that the people might know what the House did, and what the members individually did, in order that the people might understand properly, as they ought to do, who were to be trusted and who were not. But gentlemen shrunk from the proposition respecting the King's civil list; they were afraid to touch it; and even the boldest of the ministerial phalanx were afraid to hazard it, though some of them had not scrupled to touch the principle, and to support, in their speeches, that the House had no right to interfere in it. Good God! had he been asleep! how had he been lost to himself! to what little purpose had all his education, his knowledge and experience been gained, if that was really the fact! But, surely, it would

doctrine established in that House, that the King was uncontrouled in his civil list. Did men know what they asserting when they held any such language? Did men see no danger in it? Or were men so truly ignorant, or to the will of others, as not to know, or knowing, to stand up, and fairly tell the House, that they were content to the purpose, and that the King was only a trustee for the people, and liable to have his accounts inspected in Parliament. Had not such a practice been the uniform usage of Parliament? How was it with James II.? Had that unhappy King, who preferred a wretched miserable condition from the Court of France, in preference to the law of subjects on constitutional grounds, his whole revenue from him?

He was amazed to hear any opposition made to so plain an assertion, a power so rooted in Parliament? For had the King any hereditary right? Parliament, indeed, had made him the successor to the throne, but hereditary right he had none. He was, as an honourable friend near him (Mr. [?]) had declared, the mere creature of the people's institution, and held nothing but what he held in trust for the people for their use and benefit. Could gentlemen then think it absurd as to conclude, that the King's civil list revenue was given to his Majesty to expend just as he should think fit? No, it was given him for the service of the public, and the people's representatives had at all times a constitutional right to enquire into the expenditure of that allowance, to reduce it, and, indeed, to take the whole of it, or in other words, to resume the whole of it into their hands again, whenever the abuse of it, or the exigencies of the times should require it. The King, it was true, was the Sovereign of the nation, but the King was to hold the crown only as long as the people should chuse. This, he trusted, he might admit without offence. He felt himself warm, and he knew that he trusted he was neither unparliamentary, nor disrespectful. He again asserted, that the King was no longer than while he should be found to wear the crown for the good of his people, for that all power lodged in the crown, wherever, could only center in that one great and fundamental point.

It was a certain maxim, however, laid down, and there were those preposterous enough to support it, that touching the King's civil list, would be meddling with private property, he absolutely denied. But admitting for a moment that it was; was that not often done, when the good of the public

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lie called for such a sacrifice? In making turnpikes and roads, was not private property meddled with? and did Parliament do it every week in the course of the session? why was not the private property of Majesty, if the King's civil list really was private property, to be curtailed, when the necessities of the state called upon Parliament to do it?

The influence of the crown had been said to have arisen not from any encrease of the civil list, or an improper use of it, but from the large augmentation of the navy and army, and gentlemen were not, with a candour he did not wish to imitate, to ask the side of the House on which he ranked, whether they would attack the civil to reduce the influence there complained of? He was aware of the subtilty of the reasoning, and was ready to meet it. The naval and military armaments, however extensive, were insisted upon as necessary. They naturally brought a prodigious influence with them, and establishments, and yet they were not to be lessened. It then was Parliament to check the influence of the crown. Not by reducing the navy, or the army, for they were requisite and natural influences. What way then was there to narrow that influence but by striking off part of the civil list? Parliament had no other way of doing it, they had no alternative; they were to reduce the influence in a manner consistent in their power, and they had no other mode of getting it but through the civil list.

An honourable and learned gentleman [the Lord Advocate] had denied the influence of the minister to be greater than heretofore, because his majorities in Parliament were larger than the majorities of other ministers. The majorities of the present minister were become very small indeed, but the learned gentleman did not see the true cause. It was not because the minister used less influence than he had used, but because gentlemen saw better than they used to see. If he was to estimate the degree of corruption and influence of the minister, by the size of his majorities, he was inclined to believe that he would soon have reason to think him virtuous and poor indeed. If, however, the learned gentleman meant, when he said the minister used no influence, to confine it to his conduct of the present day, he would have been, and cordially agree with him, for he had, indeed, used none. When the right honourable gentleman near him [Mr. Rigby] threw out his favourite resolution, that the House had no power, nor could interfere with the King's civil list, the noble Lord used no influence to make the House agree. No, the minister shrunk back to his native modesty, and

the House to their own choice. Nay, the right honourable gentleman himself, who wishes so ardently to put the question, had exercised as little of his power. Though he wanted the question put, he had used none of his influence: he had left his friends and relations to themselves, and to vote for the order of the day, by which the possibility of putting his resolution was all at once done away. Even the Right Honourable Gentleman's deputy, the Deputy Paymaster, Sir J. Caswall, had at length voted against him, and yet so little disposed was he for using any influence, he dared to swear he would readily forgive him. He trusted he should not find him turned out of office for it, but that the thing would be considered with all that perfect candour, liberal sentiments, and ready reconciliation, so congenial to the right honourable gentleman's mind.

But to speak seriously——was there really no undue or unconstitutional influence? Was there not a monstrous influence that pervaded every department of state? How happened it, that such a shameful and scandalous dismissal had taken place of the Lords Lieutenants? Had not the influence of the Crown been harshly used in that respect? The Marquis of Carmarthen and the Earl of Pembroke had their Lord Lieutenancies taken from them, and for what? Why, because the noble Marquis had written his sentiments on the York petition, and the other noble Peer had presumed to vote agreeable to his conscience in Parliament. In time of peace some reason might be offered, or some pretext set up, for the removal of Lords Lieutenants, but to make such dismissions when we were at war, and the militia might every day be wanted for service, and to make noblemen of the first and oldest families in the kingdom the objects of such dismissal, was, in his opinion, a plain and open indication, that the army was to be employed in a way it ought not to be employed.

Some gentlemen had asked, was there any proof to be adduced that there really existed any undue influence of the Crown? As to proving an undue influence of that kind, were gentlemen in earnest when they called for proof? How was the influence of the crown to be proved? He had almost made a blunder, for he was going to say, that the influence of the crown shewed itself only in the dark, or it appeared so cleared in the light, that it was not one of these things so capable of proving any otherwise than the notoriety of the fact.

He would now apply himself more closely to the question under consideration, and he wondered much that some gentle-

men should make it a ground of objection to it, that it was unfair, taking it for granted that a reform was necessary, that the King's civil list should be attacked in the first instance. Good God! how could such assertions escape men who valued all their candour and understanding? Had not opposition endeavoured by every means in their power to retrench the public expence? Had they not attempted over and over to stop the present unnatural war against America, or, if it was to be continued, to withdraw our troops from thence, so that they might be employed where they were really wanted, and an immense load of debt thereby avoided? It had been said, too, what new oppression or injuries do you feel? Was it possible for such a question to be coolly stated? Was the loss of America nothing new? Was the loss of our West-India islands nothing new? Had we no new taxes? And were not all these things new injuries and oppressions?

With respect to the office of third Secretary of State, it surely ought to be abolished. Not one single argument had even been attempted to prove there was any utility to arise in continuing it. If, indeed, there was occasion for it, and the noble Lord at the head of it no had more than 0,100l. as he had said, it was by much too small a sum, but only 4,500l. would be saved to the public by taking away the office, was, in his opinion, no reason why it should not be done. The same objection might be brought against every clause in the bill, if it was to be admitted as an argument against it, that it was only to save such a specific sum of money: 4,500l. taken by itself, was, perhaps, not so great a sum; but when a number of those sums were added together, they would amount to a very great sum total, and it was in the aggregate, the reform in the public expenditure was proposed in the bill before the House: besides, it was to check the influence of the crown the opposition had in view. It was not by abolishing the third office of Secretary of State that they should save so much money, but strike off so much of the influence of the crown, which was, and ought to be, the great and primary object before them. And now he would ask the House, if the King's civil list allowance was not to be proportioned to the situation of the times?

If the House had now to fix the amount, would they give his Majesty so enormous a sum as 900,000l. a year? Would any gentleman, even for the sake of argument, for it could be used for no other end, venture to contend, that the civil list should be disproportioned to the ability of the public? Indeed, it had been pretended, that 900,000l. was now no more than
equal

equal to 700,000 l. in the reign of King William, but he reprobated the computation as idle and fallacious. The price of provisions, it was true, was higher now than then; but did the price of provisions affect the royal household so materially? He wondered it should be touched upon; but admitted the fact, namely, that 600,000 l. was now no more than what 100,000 l. was; was this reign like William's? Parliament, indeed, allowed that glorious Prince an ample income; but did he not occasion for their liberality? Good God, was this reign to be compared with the reign of that glorious and puissant Prince, who had such just and extensive wars upon his hands; he was engaged in great and noble undertakings, and while he had the state at home to settle and adjust, was forming the most capital and valuable alliances with foreign powers.

The civil establishment for the present King was, indeed, most liberally considered by Parliament upon his accession to the throne. They held him, as he professed himself, a free-born Briton, and made him a settlement equal to the predilection they formed in his favour. They took for granted every thing he promised, and did not know what he really meant. They had not the least suspicion of the system by which his government was to be regulated, and did not know those calamities and miseries they were to experience from an American war. Parliament little expected what they have so badly relished. But great as the sum of 900,000 l. with what sort of face is it that even that is the King's civil list? Does he not come to Parliament time after time begging them to pay off what he is in arrears? Are not the debts of the crown, even in this gigantic, overgrown allowance, as regularly voted as new taxes? Even at present, the civil list, he understood, to be behind hand no less than three quarters, so that another application for paying off the debts of the crown might soon be expected; nay, a noble Lord (George Germaine) had openly said, that the King's establishment would want a still further increase as the expenses of the royal family grew up.

In order to shew that the House had no right to interfere with the civil list, the same noble Lord had asked him, what he had to question him about his style of living? As the case stood at present, he would readily allow him, that it was none. But if he was living beyond his income, and was to pay his debts contracted thereby, he should think it a just right to enquire into his conduct, and to say surely might lop off this, or that article of extravagance.

And how, otherwise, did the opposition mean to deal with the King? And yet any strangers present, to hear the arguments used by the ministerial side, would conclude, that the House was moved to take away the King's private purse, and not reduce the civil list, the allowance of which was only granted to him by Parliament, in trust for the people, for their use, and not for his own private occasions, to do with it just as we might chuse.

That the motion before the committee was perfectly agreeable to, and in support of the petitions of the people of England, he strongly contended for. They prayed for a diminution of the influence of the crown, and the abolishing of one of the secretaries of state, tended directly to that point. In support of the motion itself, he thought every thing might be said, that need be said. Experience was better than theory, and it had been proved, that two secretaries of state were sufficient, for Lord Suffolk was dead nearly twelve months, before a person was appointed to succeed him.

He was sorry the minister and his friends were afraid to meet the question, whether the House had a power to controul the civil list or not? Though, should they put it, he should not think himself bound to acquiesce in it. He would resist it to the utmost of his power, and by every means in his power. He trusted he did not speak disorderly, for Parliament had not said any thing like it. If they should at any time, he should conceive the compact between the King and the people totally broken, and this country reduced to the most downright despotism that could be brought to practice. In such a case, he would not say which he would do, but he should not think Parliament a place in which he should be able to serve the people, who knew, he trusted, *that they were not born to be slaves.*

He alluded, in very strong terms, to an honourable and learned gentleman (Mr. Mansfield) amongst others, who were sometimes standing forth as advocates for the crown and sometimes for the rights of the people. He exclaimed in the genuine warmth of patriotism, against the pretence that Parliament were bound at the revolution, not to interfere in the expenditure of the King's civil list, which he called a new and damnable doctrine, and infamous in degree; he meant as far as it argued, and not personally against the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Rigby) who had that day ventured to advance it. He plainly saw it was the

tion of ministry to treat the petitions with contempt, and to irritate the people of England to acts of violence; that he trusted they would avoid them, for he hoped and flattered himself, there were sure and certain constitutional means by which they could relieve themselves, and punish the authors of their calamities and ruin.

Could he possibly be brought to think, that the Revolution had established so vile a maxim, as the King's civil list was to be used independant of Parliament, or that Parliament were to be precluded from controuling the power of the crown in all cases whatsoever, he should think he, and all the people of England, were bound to curse and execrate the Revolution.—But did he think so absurdly of the Revolution? Could any one think so absurdly of it? How shamefully was the Revolution libelled and traduced?

He had sometimes heard; that a rebellion tended to strengthen the hands of government. He was now convinced, it was a very possible case: for if the maxim, that the House really had no power of the civil list, should be established, a rebellion, and nothing but a rebellion, could possibly save the constitution, and restore it to that state, from which the establishment of so vile a doctrine would inevitably deduce it. But why would not ministry stand forth, and manly try the question.

The friends of the constitution were ready, were waiting anxiously to combat it. But the minister, though he would persist in prejudicing the House with the principle of it, crunk back, in a dastardly manner, and loathed the question in a debateable shape. For his part, he liked that kind of conduct worse than the right honourable gentleman's, for he did not sculk behind his partizans, but came boldly forth, in an open, manly manner, and he liked the person that was honest enough to come out in the day-light, and attack him at once unmasked.

He declared, however, that should the question be ever put and carried, he would alone contest it, and seek some other place in which he would endeavour and hope to serve his country.

Mr. Mansfield spoke chiefly in reply to something that had been said by an honourable gentleman [Mr. Fox] respecting the crown, sometimes leaning towards the prerogative of the crown, and sometimes towards the liberties of the people. He declared he no more regarded the rights of the crown, than the freedom of the people.

freedom of the subject. But he would not be menaced, or intimidated by the honourable gentleman.

Lord Ongley spoke in very strong terms against the motion.

Mr. Viner. Mr. Viner spoke a few words on the same side.

Lord George Gordon. Lord George Gordon concluded this debate in favour of the question, and was very severe in his strictures on the conduct of the Lord Advocate, and the new member for Cambridge University [Mr. Mansfield.]

Mr. Dunning likewise spoke in the above debate.

At a quarter before three o'clock, the committee divided.

For the question ————— 201.

Against it ————— 208.

Mr. Elwes. Mr. Elwes reported, that the committee had made some progress, and had directed him to move for leave to sit again. And it was ordered that the committee sit again on Monday.

March 9.

Lord Mulgrave. As soon as the private business was over, Lord Mulgrave moved for the House to go into a committee on the bill for preventing desertion, from aboard his Majesty's ships and vessels of war, and for the better manning his Majesty's navy.

Admiral Keppel. Admiral Keppel rose to oppose it, as if passed into a law it would render the condition of the seamen little better than that of a galley slave. He had spent his whole life in the naval service, and of course had constant opportunities of knowing the uncommon hardships the seamen were necessarily compelled to undergo. He would not therefore, have that state still rendered more discouraging, irksome, and intolerable, by means no less destructive to the well being of the navy, and the advancement of the service, than repugnant to the constitution and the protection of the subject. He meant those persons who were not seamen, but were pointed out as proper objects of punishment by the bill. He liked the title of the bill extremely well, because it imported regulations, which if judiciously made and properly carried into execution, might prove extremely beneficial to the service; he meant the disposition of seamen, to run into the merchants service, on account of the high wages; but the present bill was not a bill of regulation and prevention, but was fraught with manifest oppression and injustice; and considered in every possible light he was able to consider it, was big with mischief.

T. Luttrell reprobated the bill, and said, the title of *Mr. T.* could be for the better and more effectual unmanning, *Luttrell.* of manning his Majesty's navy. He recapitulated various hardships the seamen were now subject to. That being pressed and compelled to take low wages; his dragged from his family and connections, who were in all thrown upon their prespective parishes, for a livelihood, and above all the withholding of his pay for years together, by which he was totally disabled from giving any to his wife and children, out of his hard earned wages. He pointed out one of the provisions in particular, as destructive of the priviledges of an Englishman, as it authorize the greatest outrages not only on those who suspected of being seamen, but even those, whom those want the press gangs might chuse to suspect of harbourmen, such as entering the dwellings of publicans and at all times of the day and night; and in case the doors not be instantly thrown open, the forcing into them in the same manner, &c.

Dempster expressed himself in nearly similar terms. *Mr. Dempster.* He was astonished, he said, how the House could entertain a bill, even for an instant, or permit it to go to a first reading, without expressing their highest indignation, at so bold an attempt to make a mortal breach into the constitution which he trusted every gentleman present held as sacred as he did. He hoped he should hear no more of such a dangerous bill; or if he did, that it would be only to give an opportunity, to the House to declare, their fullest sense of so dangerous and unconstitutional an attempt to violate the most sacred priviledge of the people; that of the security and protection of their persons, against the violence of a ruffian or assassin at a midnight hour.

Mulgrave said, that gentleman who had bestowed such Lord *Mulgrave.* names proceeded upon misapprehension. The law as it now stood, subjected persons who should secret seamen to severe penalties and punishment, and the present bill was only to give the law as it now stood the limited operation of a law: the object of both laws would be the same, for the law now intended by that now on the table, was to purport the principle of the former law to some effectual purpose. As the House was, however, badly attended, he would postpone the order of the day till tomorrow, in hopes that there would be then a better attendance. The House adjourned at twelve o'clock till the next day.

Mr.

Mr. Robinson.

Mr. Robinson, as soon as the House was made, informed it, that Lord North was indisposed, and that consequently the consideration of the new taxes would be put off till Monday, and moved the taxes as the first order of that day.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox opposed this very warmly. He said an honourable friend of his, whom he did not see in his place, [Mr. Burke] had already fixed on that day for proceeding in committee on the second clause of his bill respecting the dissolution of the Board of Trade; that he had besides another reason, which was, that until the people out doors, the petitioners, had some satisfaction, as to the grievances they complained of, he should oppose the voting of a single tax, he would openly, and without the least reserve, assign reasons. It was generally believed that we should have an early prorogation, if not dissolution of Parliament. The only means, in his opinion, which that House had for preventing, was with-holding the taxes, till redress should be given on the subject of the complaints stated in the petitions.—If the money was once granted, the minister, as he could get them through the House, would be at liberty to deal with Parliament just as he might think proper. On this ground, though the point of order was not in favour of his honourable friend's bill, he should most certainly oppose upon giving it a preference to the Committee of ways and means on the taxes.

Mr. Marsham.

Mr. Marsham expressed himself nearly in the same manner. He said the taxes were to be sure the consequence of the supplies already voted, and must of course be provided for at the time of voting them entirely rested in the judgment of the House, and for one, he thought the honourable gentleman's bill was a preliminary measure very necessary to be taken, for the reception that bill should meet with from the ministry, would in a great measure direct his vote on the taxes:—the latter could not well be refused, as the House of Parliament was pledged to the public creditors; but it was clearly what it would not be proper to put a direct vote upon upon might well be postponed.

Col. Barré.

Colonel Barré said a few words. He observed, that a delay of a day or two would occasion no inconvenience whatever.—That nothing stood in the way of the taxes on Monday day, had the minister been able to attend, consequently he had no right to complain, if in a matter merely personal to himself the noble Lord's order was necessarily to give way to that of his honourable friend's bill. But a motion

ordinary, he would call it, an insulting language prevailed in that House. If any thing relative to reformation, any thing relative to the petitions on the table happened to be mentioned, taxes was the word.—If any enquiry was proposed; says the Minister and his friends,—stay till the taxes be settled. In short there was one general answer to every thing suggested from that side of the House; the taxes must be first voted. He foresaw plainly to what this tended. When the taxes were in a train of passing through that House, the petitions and every measure depending upon them could be then treated with contempt.

Mr. *Robinson* disavowed any intention of wishing to give Mr. *Robinson* precedence to the taxes to the other order of the day, all he meant was to give notice, if the order of the day should be disposed of early, it was the noble Lord's intention to proceed on the taxes.

The *Secretary at War* gave notice that he meant to propose *Secretary at War* going into the extraordinaries of the army on that day se'night, the 17th instant. The House rose early and adjourned to the 13th.

March 13th.

As soon as the private business was over, Lord *North* rose *Lord North*, and moved for leave to bring in a bill to appoint and enable commissioners to take, state, and make up the public accounts, to ascertain what balances were in the hands of public officers; to discover what defects existed in the mode of making up accounts in the Exchequer, and to report to the House what they should deem the best method to remove them. His lordship pointed out the bill as meant to be directed to three different objects. He observed that the first was to inform that House and the public, the real state of the accounts of the kingdom, that the nation might be informed how and in what manner the enormous sums which had been granted by Parliament have been disposed of; the second was ascertaining the outstanding balances, to enable government to compel payment; and the last by discovering the defects, to prevent such inconveniences in time to come. He confessed that the course of accounting at the Exchequer was in his opinion from being applicable to the increased state of the national expenditure. If on no other account the inconvenience that arises from delay was obvious; it gave rise to suspicions where there was no ground for the cause being incidental to the manner of passing accounts. It was therefore a desirable object to do every thing possible to remove those

those suspicions, while on the other hand it was equally to be wished that the public should at all times and upon all occasions have full credit for the monies voted for public services. However earnest he was to promote those several objects, he wished nevertheless to proceed with all public caution and circumspection, and recommended to gentlemen on every side of the House to think seriously on the consequences of abolishing an old system, without being first thoroughly satisfied that the one meant to be introduced in its place was at least substantially less exceptionable. The defects in the old mode of accounting arose chiefly from delay, in every other respect it was allowed to be hitherto unequalled, it would therefore behove Parliament, when they were going to adopt a plan of expediting the passing of the public accounts, in future to see that no opportunities for introducing fraud might be introduced. He had reconsidered what had been thrown out upon a former day, respecting the fittest persons to be appointed to fill the commission, and was still of opinion that they ought not to be members of that House. First, because it would take up their whole time, and of course draw their attention from the business going on in Parliament; secondly, that the Commissioners who they may, no matter from which side of the House selected, it would be deemed a party appointment. If named, or a majority of them named, from among his friends, much might and would in that event be thrown out against the propriety of such an appointment. If from the other side, he was persuaded that similar objections would arise. On this idea he was determined that the persons he should have the honour to submit to the consideration of the House, should not be members of it; and to remove every shadow of suspicion, he meant that they should be such as enjoyed no place or profit or emolument under the Crown. This was all he had to offer at present. He should therefore move for leave, &c.

Mr. J. Johnstone.

Mr. J. Johnstone said, that the plan of the bill was in his opinion objectionable on several accounts, which it was not then the proper time to point out. One in particular, of the mode of collecting the taxes and duties, and afterwards of the disbursements made from the first issue, till it reached the hand of the person for whose use it was voted. He therefore wished that a clause was inserted in the bill for that purpose.

Lord North.

Lord North declared he had no objection, if such a matter were practicable; he could not then pretend to say what

her it was or was not.—One thing struck him very forcibly on the subject, which was, that it would swell the business of the commission greatly, if extended in the manner proposed by the honourable gentleman.

Sir *George Yonge* said that he did not rise to debate upon the principle of a bill not yet framed, nor of course before the House; but there were parts of the noble Lord's outline, which he observed called for explanation, and others of which he most highly and sincerely disapproved. He should be glad, for instance, to know whether the commission was to be perpetual, how many Commissioners were to be appointed, and in what manner they were to proceed? He reprobated in very strong terms the innovation proposed by the noble Lord, that of excluding members of that House. Many such bills had been passed, he believed, almost annually, during the two first reigns succeeding the Revolution; not one of which were composed of any but members of that House. He did not perceive that the noble Lord said any thing about an oath to be administered to the Commissioners, which he thought would be a very necessary precaution.

Col. *Barré* rose, he said, with pleasure, to discredit a report that had spread itself abroad, much to the prejudice of the noble Lord's reputation. It has been said [observed the Colonel] that his Lordship has stolen my bill from me; I will do him the justice to declare, that he has not; the bill he has moved for is his own, and such as it is, he is entitled to the noble honour that will arise from it. The idea indeed, upon which it is founded, was originally mine; but the noble Lord has taken it upon himself: how far he has improved upon the idea, the public shall most certainly know, for I will move for the printing the bill after it shall be once read, and then will contrast it with that which I intended to have brought in myself. That the public at large may be able to judge, which of the two bills is best calculated to give the people that satisfaction they require, and are entitled to have; and which, I prophecy, they will at last obtain. The noble Lord, however, ought not to have delayed his motion so long; and it is not a little extraordinary, that he should have made it the very first opportunity that occurred, after a right honourable gentleman [Mr. Rigby] had, on a former day, authoritatively called out for a commission of accounts. From the very great readiness which the noble Lord shews to oblige the right honourable gentleman, it is not unfair to suppose, that the commission was thought of only for the purpose

purpose of giving that gentleman a *quietus*, by passing his accounts for him; and that its institution is a mockery of the petitions presented from the people.

Mr. T. Townshend.

Mr. T. Townshend on the same side contended, that the noble Lord's bill carried on the face of it, the strongest marks of ministerial deceit and imposition. It was not only defective, but it contained a direct insult on the House. It impeached, at once, their integrity and abilities, and implied either one or the other of these two things, that half a dozen gentlemen could not be selected out of 558, of which that House was composed, equal to the task; or that being equal to it, they were not to be trusted. Besides the pretence of party predilection, was a mere farce, a mere trick. Were there no party men out of that House? Was faction and party confined within those walls? No; the same hopes, the same fears, and the same sentiments, according to circumstance and situation pervaded every breast in the kingdom, of a station in life, at least, fit to be nominated in such a commission. The noble Lord in one instance, as well as the other, would have the nomination; and if any influence arose on that account, it availed very little, whether his Lordship selected his friends from the opposite benches, or picked them up in the street, or the next assembly he went to: besides, if members of that House were appointed, they would be doubly responsible; both in their places there, and as commissioners; whereas the persons to be appointed by this bill, would only be amenable like any other set of individuals, to the courts of justice under the provisions of the bill.

Mr. Burke.

Mr. Burke said, he gave his most hearty negative to the present propositions; so far, in particular, as it went to exclude members of that House. He could not but think it a scandalous reflection upon, and disparaging them in the eyes of their constituents, who would by this open stigma be told what kind of persons they were looking up to for a redress of their grievances; for though the grievances chiefly complained of were abuses in the expenditure of the public money, the principle of the present proposed bill amounted to an acknowledgment, that their representatives in Parliament, had neither honour, honesty, or ability to discharge the most essential part of their duty, almost indeed the main purposes for which they were sent there.

Lord Irnham.

Lord Irnham said, that what the noble Lord had first thrown out, when he gave notice of the motion, had raised some doubts in his mind. His Lordship proposed to have the commission

mission filled up by persons out of Parliament. To inquire into the public accounts was the peculiar province of the House of Commons; and to delegate that power to persons who had not received it from the people, was, he thought, improper, and what he would by no means consent to.

The *Attorney General* defended Lord North for proposing, that no member of Parliament should become a commissioner. The *Attorney General* said, that the former commission which had been formed of members of Parliament, had failed to produce the effect; and the one that had produced any good, was that of which Mr. Charles Townshend used to boast; and which that gentleman held to have been successful, merely because members of Parliament had not been concerned in it. Commission appointed to inspect into the German demands, and to liquidate them, was the administration of Mr. George Grenville. Mr. Cornhill was connected in this commission, and it was the first circumstance which brought him into public notice. He was indebted for this appointment, to his brother-in-law, Mr. Charles Jenkinson. If the noble Lord had had in view to appoint a *quietus* to a certain accountant, as had been insinuated of an honourable gentleman, he must have worded his motion in a very different manner: for in its present form it could not answer that end: the title of the bill recited in the preamble, gave no power to discharge or give receipts; the commissioners were solely to take and settle accounts. Therefore the gentleman's insinuations were totally void of foundation.

Mr. Dempster was disinclined to have members of Parliament excluded from the commission; he was of too little consequence to be a commissioner, but so great was his desire to see the national accounts put in a way of examination, he was ready to become door keeper to the commissioners and their pens, ink and paper, and to act as their messenger, without either fee or reward. He felt himself much honoured as an individual, that the members of that House were esteemed worthy of being intrusted with the concerns of their constituents. He trusted, that was not the case, though the noble Lord's proposition clearly implied it; for he was convinced, that there were many persons, who now heard of as great abilities as uncorrupt principles, and who were valued as great a regard for them, as ever sat in that, or in any other popular assembly.

Mr. James Luttrell spoke warmly against the question. He said, that he did not sufficiently express his disapprobation of the intention to appoint a commission of gentlemen out of Parliament.

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of Parliament, and desired the House to look well to the danger it threatened, for if the Minister could refer an inquiry into the public expenditure to persons out of the House, he might with equal propriety make the like reference of any other matter, by which the very nature and power of Parliament would be totally done away.

Sir William Meredith.

Sir William Meredith delivered his sentiments at large on the same side, and was of opinion, that there could not be a character more despicable and wretched, than the man who could sit in the House, and patiently see the rights of Parliament trampled on in the manner the noble Lord attempted to trample on them.

Lord Newhaven.

Lord Newhaven very much disapproved of the motion, confident there were many gentlemen in Parliament, who would act up to the intention and end of the commission of accounts, and for his part, was ready to give up his time and labour to it without any views of interest, or any thing like that.

Mr. Alderman Harley.

Mr. Alderman Harley said he had for several years heard the same subject touched upon. Gentlemen were constantly wishing for an inquiry into the public accounts, never wished it, without throwing out the severest censure against certain persons, whose description he answered. To an inquiry, he sincerely wished it. There was no man more ready than he was to meet it. He knew the character that had gone abroad of the present contractors, and he knew that they were traduced and vilified. He himself was accused of being a public defrauder, but there was nothing more false and unjust. The contractors were greatly misrepresented, and the people of England grossly deceived and imposed upon.

Conscious how little he had deserved the epithets applied to him, he had long thought of complaining to the House of it; for he conceived the House were in a manner bound to vindicate the honour of their members when injured and attacked. His character had been unjustly traduced and vilified in the Upper House. A noble Lord, [*Lord Shelburne*], in a public speech, spoken of the contractors, as the most infamous contractors, for that they had practised things that made humanity to shudder.

The noble Earl had alluded to him in a very particular manner, and thrown out, that in Canada he had acted as bad a thing as some particular gentlemen in India; that they made a purchase of all the rice in the country; that they had endeavoured to get all the corn into their own hands. Nothing, he said, could have been uttered more false

it was a most diabolical falsehood, not that he should regard it so much, but that the noble person had not asserted what he had asserted in the warmth of temper, or heat of debate, but coolly and deliberately upon a motion on which the Lords had been summoned.

As to the state of his accounts with government, he was far from his soul that they were to be inspected into. The more closely, the more agreeable to him, for there was nothing he wished for so much. His accounts were so well settled, and so completely compared, they might at any time be looked into in the space of two hours, and he challenged the strictest examination into them, for he was well satisfied there was nothing more required to prove how ill he deserved the assertions thrown upon him. He had been busy with making usurious contracts, than which none could be worse founded. He had no more than the usual in the course of business, and so far from being under an obligation to government, government on the contrary was obliged to him, as he gave the nation credit, freely accepting and paying bills, and making investments when he was in cash or credit for government account.

He entered very minutely into the nature of his dealings with government, and said he was obliged to give great credit; his contract was to serve for Portugal coin; but as that was not at present to be had, English guineas were now exchanged in lieu of it. He again declared the suspicion he was under to lie under for the want of an examination of his accounts, and that at the late election for the county which his ancestors had represented, he was chosen with all the votes of the gold contractor, and the public defaulter, upon which he valued himself, he said, upon the noble blood of his family, it was an ancient family, and he was proud of bringing the honour of it, by being its representative in that House, for which reason he hoped the House would direct an inquiry into his accounts, as they might be prepared in two days, and he thereby proved to be as deserving of their esteem and good opinion as his ancestors before him had ever been.

Mr. Burke said, it did not signify from what family the honourable gentleman had descended. It might, no doubt, be very ancient, and very honourable, but the House of Commons was not a court of heraldry. His birth and family had nothing to do with the question. They were not to enquire at the malversations of a man because he was poor, nor to punish him for being poor. He was sure what the honourable gentleman said would have great weight, but

but the paper he then held in his hand proved the necessity of an enquiry into the public accounts, for it proved the existence of the grossest abuse. The title of the paper was charge for the purchase and exportation of Portugal gold, and now that the fact was enquired into, no Portugal gold had been bought or exported. The Portugal gold turned out to be English guineas, or remittances or acceptances in the course of negotiation of bills of exchange. This he observed, amounted to ingrafting one contradiction upon the stock of another. The account stated Spanish or Portuguese coin, then the remittances were in English guineas, and lastly in paper.

He was very glad to hear that the right honourable gentleman could prepare his accounts in the space of a couple of hours, and wished, as that was the case, they were examined into without delay. He then adverted to the resolution leaving members of Parliament out of the commission, and insisted upon it, that it was nothing less than disfranchising Parliament of their just rights at all times to enquire into the expenditure of public money.

As to the case mentioned by an honourable and learned gentleman [Mr. Attorney General] of a commission to enquire into the accounts upon the plan at present proposed, he denied it to be a case in point, for that the commission alluded to was not to examine generally into the expenditure of public money, but merely to liquidate some demands made upon us in the consequence of the German war.

*Alderman
Harley.*

Mr. Alderman *Harley* said that the title of the paper was the same as it had been for twenty years past. Portugal gold was said to have been purchased, but only English guineas were actually bought. This he allowed to be somewhat improper, but that it was at present as it had been for twenty years past. It had been precisely so during the late administration of the late Earl of Chatham, and Mr. Pitt, and it was necessarily the case, because it was against law to export the current coin of the kingdom. The wording of the account was agreeable to the ancient practice of office. He acknowledged, however, that it was the contractor or the committee's duty to prefer foreign coin if it could be procured; but unfortunately the balance of trade having been for some years past against us, in our commercial intercourse with Spain and Portugal, the gold and silver coin of those countries were become so scarce, that we were under the necessity of exporting the current coin of the kingdom. Means, however, had been adopted to prevent

arising from this necessity as much as possible. The use of exchange to and from America favoured us; and it happened, that we either remitted bills or accepted them, to keep the current coin within the kingdom.

Mr. *W. Ellis* was of opinion, that it would be more proper to appoint persons who were not members, to the commission; because, if none but members should be named, the commission might be vacated; for who could tell that the members so appointed would be re-elected at the ensuing general election. Whatever difficulties might arise on one side or the other, whether or not members should be named under the intended act, there was one point on which he had firmly made up his mind, that such a bill had become absolutely necessary. He spoke in a double capacity, both as a member of that House, and a person enjoying a place of considerable trust under the Crown. Under the former description he thought the trial was worth making; under the latter person wished more sincerely to be relieved from the anxiety every honest and prudent man must feel in his situation, where he was supposed to hold public money in his hands, which never reached them. He was an admirer of short and clear accounts, and as such the bill was entitled, as tending to that end, to his warmest support.

Colonel *Barré* was very severe in his animadversions upon the fallacy of the paper spoken of. A charge of 1,600,000*l.* was made for the purchase of Portugal gold, but upon examining into the matter, no Portugal gold had been bought. Portugal gold was another word for English guineas, when an explanation is called for, the same thing has been done for twenty years past. He was glad to hear that the right honourable gentleman's accounts could be prepared under inspection in two hours, but he was surprised he did not inform him that very acceptable piece of news the last year, when it might have been made a proper use of.

With respect to the right honourable gentleman's comments against a noble peer for having reflected upon him in a public speech spoken in the Upper House, he could say nothing. He was not present at the time, nor could he tell what the noble Lord alluded to was. This, however, he would say and abide by. He had letters from Canada, speaking of the fact made use of by the noble Lord, namely, that the old contractors had endeavoured to buy up all the corn, and he must say, that those letters were couched in terms which made him believe the contents of them to be true. When he advanced thus much, he did not mean to say, that

the gold contractors themselves had done this; but their agents or deputies, or other persons employed by or for them, he believed, had.

He went pretty much into the nature of the contracts made by Government, and amongst others of an iniquitous kind, instanced that for rum given to Mr. Atkinson. He said the minister, in that particular case, had made a *fraudulent contract*, had been convicted of it, and that the conviction then lay on the table, and nothing was wanted to bring it home completely to the noble Lord but the fair, impartial, and independent judgment of that House. He observed, that besides the 1,600,000*l.* for which no account had appeared, but 40,000*l.* by one requisition, 30,000*l.* by another, and 20,000*l.* by a third; there were two millions in the course of last year for which a single scrap of paper did not appear, the former, over and above all the expences which usually pass under the name of extraordinaries; the latter, of sums said to be expended on that account. The colonel then entered into the particulars of the noble Lord's contract with Atkinson; and appealed to the House, if paying four shillings and fourpence per gallon for rum at the place of growth, which could be had at two shillings and twopence, might not fairly be deemed a most corrupt and fraudulent contract.

Lord North.

Lord North rose with great warmth. He begged leave to contradict the Right Honourable Gentleman and as far as the decorum of the House would permit him to go, to tell him every thing he had said was *false*. He had made no *fraudulent contract*. He was incapable of any such thing. He had taken the contract for rum at the lowest price. [Col. Barrington interrupted his Lordship, by calling out, *No, no!* while his Lordship most vehemently exclaimed, but I say, *Yes yes!*]

He challenged the Right Hon. Gentleman to refute him when he said he had taken the lowest price, for he had taken the price of the rum contract at the victualling office, though he found afterwards it was a mixed contract, but he did not know that, nor was he obliged to know it. He wondered any one should charge him with having made a fraudulent contract, and to say that he stood convicted of it. If it was really true, why did not the Right Hon. Gentleman call upon him in a proper way? But he was sure he could not and that the charge was false and groundless. He was ready to meet the Right Hon. Gentleman's charge, whenever he thought proper to bring it forward, and to stake his honour, his reputation and life, upon the issue.

His Lordship declared, that in the proposing to appoint commissioners of accounts, he meant nothing but the good of the country, and the only reason he had for leaving out all members of Parliament was, that it would perhaps be more agreeable to all parties than if ordered otherwise. Strong objections had been made against it, but this was to him no matter of surprise; for it was a practice with some gentlemen to condemn every measure which he proposed, right or wrong. They had their views in so doing, no doubt; he was however perfectly satisfied that they would be disappointed; for he was to have the public for his judges, he was sure that such a tribunal it would be pronounced, that he had acted justly, honestly, and uncorrupt, however he might have been exposed upon, and with the most sincere intention to promote economical expenditure of the public money.

He meant no reflection on the ability of the House, either in its aggregate or individual capacity, when he proposed, that none of its members should be of the commission. He had said before, when the matter was first mentioned, and when he rose the first day, that there were very many members in that House who were fully equal to the office; but to avoid party suspicions, and as he meant to propose no person to the consideration of the House who had not a reputation to lose, he could not see the possibility of any detriment arising to the state in the present proposed appointment, or the slightest shadow of a charge, that he meant to make a mockery of the enquiry, or put an insult on the House.

Colonel *Barré* replied, that he did not mean the 5s. 3d. Col. *Barré*. in contract, but the contract for that article which his Lordship made in the dark, for no other persons than he and Atkinson, his favourite contractor were present. He then particularly stated the nature of that contract, and shewed to the House, that his Lordship had given the said Atkinson sums more and more extravagant in proportion as the abuses of the contract were pointed out and made known.—As to the charge, that the noble Lord stood convicted of the fraudulent contract, he did not mean to retract it, he certainly did stand convicted of it. His own secretaries had established the fact, that the noble Lord had never attempted to disprove it, and if it was not convicting him of the charge, he was at a loss to know what could be called convicting.

Lord *North* rose again, and in still greater warmth, said, Lord *North*, the charge was false, and that the matter was not to end in a discussion in that House.

Col. Barré. Colonel *Barré* appealed to the chair, if the language used to him, was defenceable or not.

Lord North. Lord *North* said, if he had used any language that was unparliamentary, he was sorry for it. When he said the charge was false, he did not mean to apply it personally, but only meant to say, that the charge was a false one, and in that light desired he might be understood.

Col. Barré. Colonel *Barré* expressed himself satisfied.

The motion was then put, and unanimously agreed to, and a committee appointed to bring in a bill for appointing a commission of accounts.

Mr. Fox. Mr. *Fox* then read a petition from the city of Westminster, similar to that received from York, and leave was given to bring it up.

The petition was then brought up, and read by the clerk of the House.

Mr. Fox. Mr. *Fox* said the petition was from the gentlemen, clergy, and inhabitants of the city of Westminster, paying taxes. The persons who had subscribed it, had set their names to it voluntarily, and from a full conviction of the necessity of a general reform in the expenditure of public money. He had an opportunity of going amongst the petitioners, and though the taxes were in particular burthensome to the citizens of London and Westminster, yet he knew that they would bear them without murmuring, could they think the amount of them were properly applied. He trusted no gentleman would think the petitioners factious, for the House had not thought them so.

They had already produced some good effect, and he believed the House would not dare to reject their prayer. When he used the word dare, he did not mean to threaten the House, but only said they would not dare, because he knew they saw that they ought not to refuse giving the petitioners satisfaction. He said the different committees had held a general meeting, and had laid down a grand plan of association. The great object of redress, he said, would be pursued peaceably but firmly. The members were determined to act agreeable to the constitution, but with proper spirit.

He ridiculed the minister's appointing a commission of account, and pronounced it a farce. The noble Lord would in a commission so constituted, be his own judge; for he was to nominate the commissioners, and to pay them. The noble Lord only having the idea of pension or place, could not

think of filling up the commission with a placeman or a pensioner, though in fact the persons to be appointed under the present act, must be rewarded for their trouble. They would be placemen with large salaries, as soon as they entered upon their offices; they would be pensioners afterwards, till they were provided for; and he knew of more than one instance, where, after a pensioner had been provided for, by giving him a place, his pension was nevertheless continued to him.

He adverted to the rum contract, and that part of the noble Lord's speech, at which he challenged the House to give evidence upon him, and remarked that his lordship wished to be judge for himself. He had frequently been charged in the face of Parliament, with entering into a fraudulent contract with Mr. Atkinson, but does the noble Lord exculpate himself? He tells you, he was imposed upon by Atkinson. What means did the noble Lord take to bring the offender to justice? By entering into another contract, at an higher price. His first contract was the same as that made by the victualling office; his second is still nine-pence a gallon dearer. In the last instance, the noble Lord says, he mistook currency for sterling; but now at the end of two or three years, what step has the noble Lord taken to bring this public defaulter to public justice? No one step whatever. His answer is, a general evidence given by himself, of his integrity and innocence. He again stated to the House, the necessity of paying a proper attention to the petitions of the people of England; said, the one he had just now presented, was signed by upwards of five thousand electors. They were temperate, moderate and peaceable; but they were remarkably firm in their resolution of obtaining the redress. They called for reformation, and a full and satisfactory reformation; they were determined to have it. The noble Lord, in the blue ribbon might, through his influence in that quarter, flatter himself, that by throwing out his honourable friend's bill [Mr. Burke's] this year, he would be enabled to accomplish the great objects of the petitioners, a reform and reduction of the expenditure of the civil list, in order to diminish the influence of the crown; but he assured the noble Lord that his attempts to defeat the obtaining satisfaction of those two heads, would be in vain; he might procrastinate till day. He might eke out his wretched administration another year; but he was perfectly satisfied, that neither he nor any other minister who should be appointed to succeed him,

him, could stand long against the voice of the people. At the end, they must prevail, in their just, legitimate and nearest desires; because no Parliament dare refuse them. He did not mean to menace Parliament; but when he said he dare not but comply with the prayer of the petitions, he wished to be understood as saying, that they dare not, because it would be unjust to refuse it.

Mr. Grosvenor.

Mr. Grosvenor having been one of those appointed to prepare and bring in the commission of accounts bill, he had occasion to say a few words on the bill now going into committee for regulating his Majesty's civil list. It contained, he said, two principles; the one was to abolish useless places, the other to appropriate the money saved thereby to the public use. Ministers, perhaps, would oppose both. On his part, he intended to take a principle from both sides of the House: with one he would agree to the abolition of useless places; with the other he would oppose the appropriation of the savings to public uses. He did not see any reason why Parliament should proceed without any proof of previous abuse to deprive the crown of those grants which had been made in lieu of revenues, which the King formerly enjoyed, and which were given up in consideration of the present civil list establishment. Such a step ought not, in his opinion, to be taken, except where a gross abuse was proved. No such proof was exhibited; he could not therefore remove away the savings; and still less so, when he considered the great increase of the royal family.

The petition from the inhabitants of Westminster being brought up, was ordered to lie upon the table.

The order of the day was then read for the House to go into a committee on the contractors bill.

Lord North.

Lord North desired that the committee might be deferred to the next day. If a debate should arise, it would interrupt the business then just coming on, which had now been for so very long a time before the House.

Sir Philip Jennings Clerke.

Sir Philip Jennings Clerke observed, that his bill stood the first order of the day; and, if the noble Lord persisted, he should certainly take the sense of the House upon it.

Mr. Hussey.

Mr. Hussey being at length called to the chair of the committee, the bill went through without further opposition, and was ordered to be reported the next day.

The House being resumed, *Lord North* gave notice that he would move the taxes the following Wednesday, the 13th.

The other order of the day was then moved for the House to go into a committee on the bill for regulating the civil list.

which the Speaker left the chair, and Mr. Elwes was led to the chair of the committee.

Mr. Eden rose, and acquainted the committee, as he did Mr. Eden. mean to state objections to particular parts of the clause, to avoid unnecessary trouble, he trusted the House would instruct him for some time in stating his reasons in general against the clause in this stage of the business.

He began with observing, that though he should not object to particular parts of the clause, he meant, as soon as the clause was completed, by having the blanks filled up, to present to the committee some material facts, in which, before it proceeded, it would be necessary that they should be instructed; for he flattered himself, that if those facts were sufficiently known, the present clause would have never appeared in the bill. He gave this notice, lest the honourable gentleman who framed the bill should imagine he meant to take him unprepared, to meet the solid objections, which, in his opinion, he had to offer; and he had every reason to expect that the honourable gentleman would either prove the objections he intended to state in the course of his speech, or answer them with arguments sufficient to discredit what he had said in the opinion of the committee.

It was a constitutional and parliamentary principle, that no bill in a bill should ever be suffered to pass a committee, without being upon a case previously made, and upon evidence sufficient to induce the House to dispense with its usual and customary mode of proceeding. To step out of its ordinary course, the House should have full and relative proofs of an error in the executive government, before it ventured to interfere or controul its administration. He observed, that this principle had been proved in a very able manner, by the author of a pamphlet intitled, "The Cause of the present Dissensions;" and the opinions stated in that pamphlet, would, he trusted, have particular weight with the honourable gentleman, who was the author of the present bill, [the pamphlet was written by Mr. Burke.] On this clear ground he made no doubt but the honourable gentleman would acknowledge the propriety of adducing evidence in support of the clause. The honourable gentleman might have had, for he himself had shown him written evidence from the most authentic documents of the board, from its first establishment to the present time, a period of one hundred and eight years.

He informed the committee, that the records consisted of upwards of 2,300 volumes in folio, which he would be bold to say contained much important and interesting information.

tion. It was now, indeed, proposed to throw them into flames, because the honourable gentleman, who knew nothing of their contents, and declined to be informed of them, presumed that they were no more than monuments of unprofitable labour.

The honourable gentleman had chosen, upon a recent occasion, to call his witnesses from the dead, [alluding to what Mr. Burke had said relative to the late Lord Suffolk 8th instant.] It was a species of proof he could not have objected to. If so, he might in those volumes have read the names of Mr. Locke, Mr. Addison, Mr. Prior, Lord Melbourn, and the late Mr. Charles Townshend, and many others of the first rank and first rate abilities, who at different times enjoyed seats at the board of trade. That respectable statesman, and most excellent man, the late Earl of Suffolk, could not be summoned in this case, but the honourable gentleman might indulge his sportive imagination round the tombs of Locke and Addison. He might engrave epigrams on their escutcheons, he might paint their last agonies, without bringing the painful recollection of a departed friend, or the agonies of grief from widows, mothers, sisters; or disgust or uneasiness to the relations of the deceased. He regretted that he found himself under the necessity of recalling to the memory of the committee so disagreeable a subject; but as sensibility and good nature were the leading features of the honourable gentleman's character, he only referred to that part of the honourable gentleman's speech, in order to remind him, that he could not bear to see them sacrificed to the wantonness of eloquence.

He said, besides the documents he alluded to, he wished for living testimony; for plain sense and solid information which might be had from a reputable friend of his, who had passed thirty years of his life at the board, and twenty-four in the capacity of secretary. [Mr. J. Pownall, now one of the commissioners of excise.] That person had now no longer an interest in the board; and was known, though he had, to be above being an advocate in any other cause than that of truth.

Mr. Burke. Mr. Burke said, he was not a little amazed at hearing himself charged with having sported with the feelings of either the widows, mothers, or sisters of the deceased, if any thing improper had been said in the wantonness of eloquence, as the honourable gentleman had called it. He ought to be corrected in the coolness of recollection.

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king of the late Lord Suffolk, he had neither intended insult his memory, nor afflict his family. God forbid should have done either the one or the other! He had declared the late Lord Suffolk to be a man of honour, and directed his ridicule at his office, not at his person. When came to that part of his argument which called for some notice of the inutility of there being more than two secretaries of state, he had been naturally induced to instance the remarkable facts of the late Lord Suffolk's being incapable to discharge the duties of his office, for a long time before he died, and of the office remaining vacant for near twelve months after the Earl's decease; thence he had been induced to call it the widowed secretaryship, and the barren office. An office first made an infirmary, and then converted into a grand cemetery, in which the bones of a secretary lay in state and in grand funeral pomp, as in a kind of Jerusalem Chamber, with a hatchment over the door, and tapers and lights round the corpse for a whole twelvemonth together. But surely there could not be one man simple enough to conceive, that when he used this strong figure, he meant to be understood literally, or designed to insinuate that the corpse of the late Lord Suffolk did actually and *bona fide* remain in the office for a twelvemonth after that nobleman's death. No such thing was in his intention—not but if the matter had seriously been, as he had ludicrously stated it, he did not think but the office would have been made as good use of, as any use it was fit to for the time mentioned.

He thanked the honourable gentleman for his historical account of the origin and utility of the board of trade; he was ready to accept that, but not his 2300 volumes, which he begged to be excused from taking; he would not look into one of them. They would serve, however, as a monument, under which both he and his clause might be buried, and form a funeral pile for them as large as any of the pyramids of Egypt.

Alas, poor clause! (exclaimed he) if it be thy fate to be brought to death, thou shalt be gloriously entombed; thou shalt lie under a splendid mausoleum! The corners of thy epitaph shall be supported by Locke, by Addison, by Burke and by Moleworth!

After having indulged himself for some time, in a succession of images full of wit and abounding in ridicule, in which the dull, senseless, sluggish contents of 2300 volumes

in folio, large enough to fill the room he was now speaking in, were contrasted with the transcendent talents, solid knowledge, and exalted characters of those great and wise men who were called in as witnesses, to stamp authority upon folly, to give currency to dulness, and induce the committee to believe that what was laborious was useful. He grew more serious, and said, as a Board of Trade he detested that which his clause tended to abolish, because he regarded it as useless, idle, and expensive; considered as an academy of Belles Lettres, into which it was now converted, he was willing to bow his head in reverence to the great and shining talents of its several members. Every department of literature, the solid and the entertaining, the instructive and the amusing, has its separate professor. The public exercises of the academy did it honour, and rendered it an object of public admiration and public applause.—The historian's labours, the wise and salutary result of deep religious researches [Gibbons on the Causes of the Fall of the Roman Empire,] the essence of epistolary correspondence, [Mr. Eden's Letters, addressed to Lord Carlisle, and his Observations on the Criminal Law] and the great fund of political and legal knowledge, displayed most unanswerably the high abilities of four of its members, and entitled them to every mark of respect, whilst the poetical [Lord Carlisle's Poem] accomplishments of a fifth, which in an age of poetry would have given him rank among the best of our minor poets, in this age, which was of a more serious form, made him deservedly regarded as a great poet.—To the professors themselves he owed all possible deference, and from that deference it was that he wished to rescue them from the ignominy of being degraded to a Board of Trade. As an Academy of Belles Lettres, he should hold them hallowed; as a Board of Trade he wished to abolish them.

There was another honourable gentleman who sat at the Board, and had long sat there, [Mr. Soame Jennings] who was no less admired for his talents than high integrity. That gentleman, among other performances deservedly esteemed, had written on the origin of Evil. He could not say that it was the Board at which he sat which suggested the title of his book, but surely he might well say, that the honourable gentleman's long experience might have led him to know that the Board of Trade was one great political evil, as it was attended with considerable expence, and was continued to increase the undue and unconstitutional influence of the crown in that House, one of the greatest political evils

indeed the aggregate of them all. They reminded him of a book, which, although it was of a much humbler class than any they had themselves produced, unless indeed 2300 volumes were to be esteemed the effect of their labours, and against the dulness of which, he might, he trusted, be allowed to quote one little book, and that was Quarle's Emblems!—a book that afforded scope for the faculties to play themselves to a certain extent, and which at least possessed the merit of having some very pretty pictures in it.

In Quarle's Emblems he remembered to have seen a picture representing a man enclosed in a large human skeleton, designed as an emblem of death, and the man crying, "Oh! how shall I get out of this strong death?" In this very situation he considered the great writers who now sat at the board of trade; they were immured in a skeleton, which was death to the freedom of their genius, and the strong ribs of which barred them from all opportunity of making those soaring flights they were otherwise capable of. He meant to destroy the skeleton of death, and to give them liberty!

He afterwards ran into another allegory, and said, he would not but view the board of trade as a crow's nest, in which nightingales were kept prisoners; he designed to pull down the nest, and restore the nightingales to their freedom, that they might sing more delightfully.

The incomes of the commissioners, he declared, were too great for their good; Francis the first had been complained of, because he founded what he called his Parnassus, and endowed it most amply; in consequence of which, it was said, authors were too rich to write, and the reverse of the intention of the institution was the effect of it; literature declined, in proportion as the incomes of those capable of writing became liberal; this evil he meant to avoid, by lopping off the board of trade in time.

He took occasion to pay an elegant compliment to Mr. Burke, Mr. Addison, and Mr. Prior; but much as he admired the productions of those eminent writers, he said he would not undertake to study the two thousand three hundred names, nor consider them as any part of the productions of the great authors alluded to. He revered literature, but did not wish to be overwhelmed with it. A great book was to him a great evil, *mega biblon, mega kakon!* The small amount of common sense, the ideas already traced out, and suggested in the volume of his brain, were sufficient to guide

such a weak and insignificant individual as he was. He would not even look into the two thousand three hundred volumes, and as to the great dead authorities the honourable gentleman had cited, as having sat at the board, there was not a sinecure, nor an inefficient employment, the continuance of which he could not support, if quoting the name of some great and respectable living or dead character who had at one time or another held either, was admitted, as a sufficient argument of its being continued.

With regard to the offer the honourable gentleman had made of the oral testimony of Mr. John Pownall, he begged to decline profiting by it; he would neither act so uncanonically nor so cruelly, as to call on a man who had made a fortune by his continuance in an office for thirty years together, for the purposes of asking that man, whether he thought the office he had made his fortune by, of utility or not. He knew Mr. Pownall to be an able, intelligent, honest man, of remarkable probity; but when investigating truth, he would not seek the opinions of any man, who from his habit of life, was presumed to be prejudiced. He would as soon appeal to the opinions of a veteran officer, whether standing armies were necessary in time of peace, as apply to his worthy friend, Mr. Pownall, for his opinion, whether the best part of his life was spent in the discharge of an useful office.

The committee next proceeded to fill up the blanks in the proposed clause, after which Mr. Eden desired to be heard again, pursuant to the notice which he had already given.

He said, that his honourable friend [Mr. Burke] had spoke infinitely better upon papers and books which he had never seen, than he himself could ever hope to do upon materials which he had carefully examined; nevertheless that it was the first principle of his life and conduct in case to decline his duty when he seemed to be called upon. He admitted, that possible cases might exist in this country in which it might be just and reasonable that a proportion of the royal income, though solemnly and sacredly granted for the life of the royal possessor, might be refused, and applied to lessen the distresses of the people. He contended, however, that this must be in cases of great extremity actually existing and shewn in Parliament: he denied that there were any appearances in the country to support the disheartening a supposition; but he supposed, that nothing less than the full belief of such circumstances, could have induced

ced the honourable gentleman who brought in the bill,
 object the dinners, diversions, and works of taste within
 palace, to the cramped, slovenly, and disgusting system
 contract, which the lowest private gentleman would
 from his own family with disdain, and which had
 to found its way only within the walls of a madhouse,
 infirmary. Nothing less than such a belief could have
 the honourable gentleman to postpone the payment of the
 en's subsistence to the wages of the King's menial ser-
 . He next touched lightly on the harshness of those
 es in the bill which were to leave upon the pavement
 worthy individuals, who, in the rank of clerks and
 aries of the different offices, proposed to be reduced,
 passed their whole lives in an honest attendance on pub-
 licities in the confidence of a permanent provision. Quit-
 however, all inferior objections, he recurred to the pre-
 question, but first begged leave to observe, that the re-
 ons proposed would make a great defalcation in the
 tax, and bring a considerable charge on the inhabitants
 Westminster, which the honourable gentleman ought to
 provided for. He entreated the committee to recollect
 after, that though, by shewing the utility of the esta-
 blishment in question, he should clearly prove that it ought
 to be abolished, he would by no means admit that any
 establishment ought to be abolished, the utility of
 he might be unable to shew. He then proceeded to
 the institution, the powers, and the proceedings of the
 board of trade, and also its charge to the public.
 With regard to the institution, he observed that councils
 of commerce have had an early existence in every established
 government which had made any progress in commerce; and
 there is not, at this moment, any kingdom in Europe
 without its establishment for this purpose. He admitted,
 in early instances, when the principles of commerce
 were ill understood, these councils of trade had oftener been
 pernicious than useful; but insisted, that in the result, the
 experiments which failed, had tended to enlighten man-
 kind and to give that spring and effect to general trade and
 exchange which prevails at this day. The first traces he
 found of a special commission of this kind, was in the
 year 1636, by Charles the first. This was enlarged and
 modified under Cromwell, and he referred to Thurlow's
 papers for the particulars. Charles the second, he
 said, had established a large board immediately on the
 restoration

restoration, which, however, had no salaries, and did business. In the year 1672 he made a commission on the model of the present; this, however subsisted only two years; after which the business of the board reverted to a committee of the council, in the manner proposed by the present bill. He next shewed, that the neglects and sufferings of the mercantile interest during twenty-two years had been such, that it became an object of Parliamentary enquiry and reprehension: in consequence of which it had been proposed, contrary to the wish of the court, to establish a commission of trade by act of Parliament, in 1680; but the discovery of Charnock's assassination plot having put the nation and House of Commons in good humour with the court, that intention was laid aside; and immediately upon the prorogation of the Parliament, a royal commission of trade was issued on the 5th of May 1696, upon the model which had originated in the House of Commons, and was laid to the commission now existing.

He observed, that this first establishment had been represented as a job, but that it could be so represented only from misinformation, or for the purposes of a job. The persons appointed were men of the highest talents and character; the institution, in the subsequent sessions, was examined, and tacitly proved in the House of Commons; it was expressly approved in the House of Lords. He then quoted some very curious and interesting passages on the subject from Mr. Anderson's Deduction of Commerce; in which it was stated that committees of council, being a fluctuating body, and acting gratuitously, had been always found to act loosely, superficially, and insufficiently, in the important business of trade and plantations; but that the board of trade had been an excellent institution, and was of the highest importance to the merchants, and the islands and colonies.

In order to shew the powers of the board of trade, he read an extract of their commission, which is printed at length in the 12th volume of the Journals of the House of Commons.

The proceedings of the board, consisting, he said, in answers and reports to the Houses of Parliament, in representations immediately addressed to the King, in reports to the privy council, in correspondences with the secretaries of state with the treasury, with foreign consuls, with governors and civil officers in the Plantations, with corporate bodies,

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individuals. He shewed, that the board, from time to time, had done material service in improving the coinage, reducing many useful laws, respecting all the principal branches of trade, opening new branches of commerce, encouraging useful inventions, advising and consulting on treaties of commerce, giving notice of the contravention of treaties, examining and controuling many public expenses, checking malversations and oppressions, dismissing bad governors, revoking improper grants, and examining all new laws made in the colonies and islands, and referring the same to the King.

At last, he stated the *expence*, which in 1696 was 9090*l*. At present, including the first lord, it is 11,305*l*. a year, from which he deducted more than one fourth, or 2*l*. in the pound being paid back to the public in taxes, which reduced the present establishment to little more than 8000*l*. a year.

It would ill become him, he said, to contend, as far as was concerned, that there were merits or ability in the present board to repay the public for such an expence. He thought it was easy for a lively imagination, assisted by a fluent diction, and the habitual skill of debate, to treat all that might be said on this subject as light and unimportant.

He must however observe, that the clause in question did not assert, or even insinuate, that the board of trade was corrupt; it merely stated in the style of an Old Bailey indictment, that "a certain board, commonly known by the name of," and then proceeded to conviction and sentence, without any trial or examination whatever. It was too late, however, yet too late to say a few words in arrest of judgment, and to state the birth, parentage, and education, character, and behaviour of the unfortunate board.

It showed its birth to King William III. it was nursed and fostered by the great Lord Somers; its farther progress in life was in the society of Mr. Locke, Mr. Addison, and all the first men in point of abilities within the kingdom; its character had ever been that of industry, beneficence, and wisdom. Such was the board which the honourable gentleman had condemned by a single dash of his pen; he acknowledged the powers of that pen, but could not, in this instance, acknowledge its deliberation, wisdom, or merit.

In conclusion, he desired the House to recollect, that the question was not, whether the functions of the board should be suspended, because commerce is for an interval, and

in some degree, suspended;—that the question was not, whether there should be fewer commissioners, or whether members of Parliament should be excluded from lords of trade.

The simple and sole question before the House was this; whether, when no case is made, nor any evidence stated, the committee should consent to the abolition of an ancient executive office, possessing great powers, and many duties, producing strong appearances of application and diligence, and being, in fact, the general resort of merchants, manufacturers, and colonists; and this merely because an honourable gentleman had been pleased, *ex mero motu*, but not *ex certa scientia*, to place this great office at the head of finances, in the forlorn hope, and front of the attack.

Mr. Burke. Mr. Burke said, he should not travel through the 2300 volumes, but he begged leave to say a few words in answer to every thing material, which had been offered against the clause, by the honourable gentleman. The honourable gentleman had attempted to shew, in the first place, that a commission on the model of the present board, had been established in the year 1672, after the one now proposed had continued for upwards of twelve years. It was very true, but he presumed the honourable gentleman was not aware that this fact, made against instead of for him, for in two years after, that commission was vacated, and the business at that board vested in some of the greatest names that ever adorned the political history of this country. He said, without disparagement, he hoped, to the noble Earl who was now the first commissioner [Lord Carlisle] Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftsbury, might at least as a sound politician, whatever his other qualities were, be put in competition. He then enumerated the several other great names, who stood in that commission, such as Lords Clifford, Arlington, Savile, afterwards Marquis of Halifax, Duke of Buckingham; Lord Sunderland, Lord Danby, afterwards Duke of Leeds, Lord Essex, Mr. Godolphin, Sir William Temple, &c. He then mentioned several other succeeding commissions; and hoped, that in point of great authorities, and high and respectable names, he might at least vie with the honourable gentleman. He would observe, however, that the whole system of our trade laws, the establishment of our colony governments, the granting of charters, &c. had been effected during those commissions, which the honourable gentleman had represented as inadequate to the task, and so great, glorious, and

wife a system of laws and regulations, he believed, had never been devised or carried into execution in this or any other country, since the beginning of the world to that day; in fine, every thing which had laid the foundation of the great and extensive commerce, which we till very lately enjoyed; every thing which rendered the possession of the vast and extensive wilds of America beneficial to us; which peopled the deserts of that country, which cultivated the wastes, and filled the rivers and ports with ships; were planned while the commission continued, which was now represented as useless, because those who acted in it were not paid for their trouble. Here was a period of thirty-six years, the most glorious in point of commerce and colonization it ever experienced; two years only intervening, and this is the period the honourable gentleman has fixed upon, to shew that nothing had been done, because those who acted in the commission had no salaries, and very confidently asserts that the board as now constituted, was established merely to provide against the neglects and sufferings of the mercantile interests. The honourable gentleman has called for proof, nothing short of written or parole evidence will satisfy him; surely then it was incumbent on him to give some better proof than mere assertion, that the trade and commerce of this country had been neglected, when the evidence of past experience, is in such strong contradiction to what he has advanced.

After answering the former speaker with uncommon ability, and strength of argument on these points, he observed, that whatever advantage might have been derived from the board in its early establishment soon after the Revolution, so long as it retained any portion of the original constitution, it had been gradually decreasing ever since, till it had at length dwindled into a mere useless sine-cure office, so much so, that the little business which was transacted there, had been long since transferred to the office of secretary of state; and if any better proof were wanting, nothing could be stronger than that in the course of all our disputes with America, not so much as a single scrap of paper had been laid by that board before Parliament respecting the state, condition, or temper of the Colonies. The only pretence to any attention shewn by that useless board to the trade and commerce of this country, was in the single instance respecting the African trade a few years since; and such a report as was then made by that board,

so much gross ignorance and partiality as were exhibited, he believed, was never before known upon a similar occasion.

But supposing the fact to be true, that it was the business of the board of trade to attend to the various matters which had been alluded to, was it not a fair question to ask, if they had done it? And was it not incumbent on the honourable gentleman, to appeal to those proofs of their attention and industry, in the discharge of those duties which he was so ingenious to find out? He expected from the honourable gentleman, when he informed the committee of the 2300 volumes, that he would have at least referred to, or acquainted the committee with some of its voluminous contents. Had not the honourable gentleman time to extract out of his vast mass of information, some of the late answers and reports to both Houses of Parliament; some of the reports of the King in council, or immediately addressed to his Majesty himself; some of the correspondences carried on with the treasury and Admiralty boards, with the secretaries of state, and the great trading and commercial companies? No; not a syllable; the honourable gentleman refers his friends and adversaries alike, for he makes no distinction to his 2300 huge and massy volumes. He put them off to Doomsday, and points sources of information to them, by which they can only profit in the other world. In respect of the foreign transactions of this celebrated board; this hospital for the maintenance of veterat authors, not upon half, but full pay; he sends the ignorant and curious to the same 2300 volumes. He has declined to quote a single line of correspondence held with foreign consuls, with governors; or a single application or instruction, conveyed to our ambassadors, through the medium of either of the secretaries of state. But what of that? He guides with friendly hand the anxious enquirer to his 2300 volumes.

The honourable gentleman, he observed, was fond of quotation, and that kind of quotation which best tells against an adversary, namely, the antagonist's own words, either remembered or collected from his writings. [alluding to Mr Eden's quotation from the pamphlet entitled "Thoughts on the public Discontents."] This was what the logicians called *argumentum ad hominem*, and so far as it went was unanswerable, and here it went very far indeed. Because it was the opinion of the only person who would venture, or he presumed was hardy enough to defend this wretched board, the phantome of a long departed inefficient office. The authority he would quote, was of the first

class, the author well known, his works greatly admired: he had written on the criminal law, and by a fertile imagination, bright imagery, and consummate judgment so enlightened his subject, that a study in itself irksome, crabbed, and disgusting, was rendered rather an amusement, than attended with that severity of thought, and intense application requisite to unfold the labyrinths, which our more ancient law sages have led the young beginner. He had lately opened an epistolary correspondence [Mr. Eden's letter from Tunbridge and Greenwich addressed to Lord Carlisle.] with a young nobleman, no less admired for his poetical productions, than the deep researches into the vast science of political knowledge: and had done more within a very narrow compass, than some of the greatest writers had been able to comprize in many volumes, nay, for aught that appeared, more than the board of trade transacted in the course of a century, or was contained in the 2300 volumes. Whether it was the war, American independency, giving Ireland a free trade; whether it was in laying on taxes, paying off the national debt, incurring new burdens, or making discoveries of national resource; it was all contained in this delectable and pithy little treatise, or political manual. What did this great and respectable author say in his first epistle from Greenwich or Tunbridge? He desires his noble friend to look upon him as a person totally secluded from the political world; as a mere idle unemployed speculatist, ignorant of every thing passing beyond the pleasurable circle in which he then moved (for he hoped his honourable friend was not drove to Tunbridge Wells, in order to repair a broken constitution) sincerely declaring, that he had no information of what was going on, more than what he procured through the channel of the daily prints. If this great author, this high and respectable authority, happened to be one of the commissioners, and one of the most active commissioners at that board, he would submit it to the committee, if such a declaration did not deserve more credit, and of course went more directly to prove the total inutility of the board, than the whole contents of twice or thrice 2300 volumes. The honourable gentleman, would he made no doubt, readily bow to the great authority he had now quoted, and would think with him, that the honourable commissioner would have hardly attempted to mislead his noble friend, for whose instruction he had taken up his pen, and through his Lordship, likewise proposed to instruct the public at large.

After touching this with a mixture of ironical pleasantry,
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he then proceeded to argue the question at large, in which in a very able manner he endeavoured to shew, that the office of the board was useless; that Mr. Grenville and almost every other minister, for the last forty years had complained of it, as attended with a heavy expence and totally unnecessary, and that Mr. Charles Townshend, from his experience while at the board, had often held it up as an object of ridicule.

He concluded with observing, that the honourable gentleman, conscious, that he was unable to make any impression on the understanding of the House, had endeavoured to excite its commiseration, by representing the effect of the present clause, as directed to deprive the clerks who had spent the greater part of their lives in it, of their bread; and thereby throwing them upon the world advanced in years, and in a state of indigence to starve. He would not willingly pay so ill a compliment to his honourable friend, as to suppose, that he had never read the clause; yet, he must necessarily do so; because he would much sooner impute this gross mistake or misrepresentation to negligence than design. He begged, therefore, that the honourable gentleman would take the trouble to re-peruse the clause, and there he would find, that the salaries were to be continued to the several clerks belonging to the board, till otherwise provided for.

Mr. Jolliffe. Mr. Jolliffe spoke a few words. He said, he disapproved of the present clause, though no person, in a general view, was more heartily convinced of the necessity of a frugal expenditure of the public money. He thought the object of the clause was trifling; and he doubted much, whether, though the savings were made, it would be proper to appropriate the savings in the manner proposed by the bill. He was much surprised to hear the honourable gentleman, who spoke last, affirm, that the board of trade was useless. He was convinced of the contrary. He had sat at it for several years, and from his own experience could venture to give the honourable gentleman's assertion a direct contradiction. A great deal had been said about abolishing useless or sinecure offices, and taking away exorbitant salaries, fees, perquisites, &c. It was the language which was held by the petitioners. No man in that House would go further in effecting such a reform, but then he hoped gentlemen would not use an argument which could only apply against sinecure offices, against a real executive efficient one. The former he wished to have abolished; the latter he would never consent to, till evidence, at least, was adduced to prove, from various existing circumstances, that it was no longer necessary or useful. An honourable

honourable gentleman [Mr. Fox] early in the day, said, that Parliament dare not refuse to comply with the petitions of the people, and from thence drew a conclusion, that the rejection of the present bill would be a rejection of the petitions of the people of England. For his part, he was at a loss to know, from what premises the honourable gentleman drew his deduction; for if he understood the prayer of the petitions, it went, as he said before, not to the abolishing an executive efficient office; but those offices and places which required no attendance; or if they did were performed by deputy, and brought into the principal enormous incomes, infinitely more than were adequate to the services performed.

Governor *Pownall*, said, upon this very serious and important occasion he had with the best attention that he was capable of applying, and with the best intentions weighed in his own mind the propriety, the policy, and the justice of the ground whereon the steps which they were about to take were to begin; that he had attended to the reasoning of gentlemen on this subject, with that respect which their characters and their opinions deserved, and to the law reasoning of professional gentlemen, with all the caution that their arguments and opinions required; that he was founded upon the judgment of one of the ablest advocates, one of the first of orators, one of the greatest of politicians, in declaring that the profession from a habit, always contracted in the practice, had a natural tendency to form the mind to an undecided vague habit of thinking, and an academic sceptic habit of reasoning. That Cicero was the authority referred to, who confessed this of himself in express and direct terms. That while he wrote as an academician, he could be a stoic on one side of the question, and an epicurean on the other. The arguments which respect this ground go to those reasons which might or could not justify the House in interfering in any office or establishment which is included in his Majesty's civil list.

That the result of thus considering, and attending to the arguments of others, had convinced him of the impropriety both in point of policy as well as justice of the House, interfering by an act of the House in any part of the civil list applied to his Majesty's personal dignity or the support of the royal family or his household.

But those arguments did not apply nor extend to the establishments of the state. There was an essential difference between the one case and the other. In the one, the arrangements of the establishment were made by his Majesty, as his immediate and personal concern. In the other case, the arrangements of

of the state, the civil establishments, respected the kingdom and people at large: and the legislature had not only a right to make regulations in them, but had in many instances done it, —however, that this was not the time to discuss that point. But when the proper time did come, and the proper occasion, he should move something that he flattered himself would meet the concurrence of both sides of the House; however let that matter be as it will, the subject of the present debate and question (the establishment of the board of trade) stood upon quite a different ground. It originated in Parliament, was a parliamentary arrangement, began as an experiment, and had at different times taken different shapes. After this, he proceeded to examine the several points which Mr. Eden had stated, respecting the powers and authorities given to the board of trade; as also the several points contained in the account given by Mr. Eden of the duties of that Board. Under the first head of their powers and authorities, that of their general superintendence of trade, and their interfering with every branch of it, either by encouragement or discouragement; he said their best merit was, that they had done nothing; and had not been mischievous, as the execution of those powers would naturally have led them to have been.

That under the next head of the state of the poor, and the method of employing them; as he could not find they had done any thing, he naturally looked to (as the public at large did) an honourable gentleman within a little distance of him, [Mr. Gilbert] who upon that subject he considered as the only board of trade that he knew of. Then pursuing in the course in which Mr. Eden had mentioned them, the several powers, authorities, and duties of that board; he shewed that the greatest part (since the separate establishment of the secretary of state) was done by that officer. That another main branch of their business was done by reference to the law officers of the crown, and to the council of the board of trade. That the business which they did, by reference from the privy council, might be done at any time by any one clerk of the council. That the only business which seemed to remain with them, was the hearing complaints of the people of the colonies against the governors and other officers of the crown; but that in this branch also, they had been superseded by the privy council; for when the complaint against the late governors of the Massachusetts Bay, were preferred by the legislature of that province; the council, and not the board of trade, took cognizance of it, and heard it; and gave judgment upon it.

One branch mentioned by Mr. Eden, as their business, was, that they were to form plans of treaties of commerce for ambassadors. He said he begged to know when the commissioners were sent as ambassadors to America, whether they received any instructions upon commercial matters; if any such existed, he was sure that gentleman could produce them.

Another branch mentioned was to superintend the trade between Great Britain and Ireland. He said he should be glad to know whether in the late occasion which Parliament had to take that matter into consideration the board of trade had made any state in that matter, or any representations upon it. In the next article of their business, the coinage of this kingdom, he wished they could give any proof that the very important, beneficial, and meritorious services of the gentleman [Mr. Jenkinson] who lately undertook to conduct, and had effected that business, had received any aid or assistance from that board. That Mr. Eden had stated that the regulating the constitutions, legislature, and judicature of the colonies, was of the department of that board. Upon this matter, he said, he could speak, as giving evidence, that that board never did interfere in that business, but that it created a dispute with the colonies, in which the authority of the crown, being unequally committed, was always impaired.

As to the business of their superintendence over the settlement of Africa, and the affairs of the East-India Company, he should say nothing; for the very mentioning of it would be to libel and caricature the board.

That one of their duties was said to be the forming plans of government for new colonies. He should take notice only of two (West Florida, and the Ceded Islands.) The first was so formed, that it created a civil war in the province, and that the governor took one of his own forts by storm from his Majesty's troops. That a truce, however, was made in the province, and the matter brought before the courts of law, and settled in the King's Bench, not by the board of trade.

As to the plan of Government of the ceded islands, the disputes which arose about admitting Roman Catholics to the legislature, was fresh in every body's memory: and was very well known that the first revenue that these plans of government were established upon, was superceded and abolished by the court of King's Bench. He added, that it was not a question now whether that board should be abolished, for

for that by appointing a secretary of state for the department of the colonies, and separating that secretary of state from the board of trade; that board was *ipso facto* abolished, and remained in a state of annihilation.

Mr. Adam. Mr. Adam rose after Governor Pownall. He observed, that one of the honourable gentleman's remarks, intimidated him in some manner, from troubling the House, viz. that speaking prevented business; but he thought the subject of such importance, that every person who had the faculty of speaking in that House, should deliver his opinion upon it. He then went into the subject before the committee. He stated the question, as involving not only arguments upon the particular clause, but general arguments relative to that part of the principle of the bill, that regards the civil list. He first stated the impropriety of destroying the board in question, because that board, though the war now existing, by suspending commerce, might render it in some measure a sinecure, yet upon the return of peace, it would be necessary, perhaps more necessary, than at any former period, because the channels of commerce might receive an alteration from a change of circumstances, relative to the extent and nature of the dependencies of this country, upon the settling of a safe and honourable peace. That it was therefore absurd to destroy an office, because temporary circumstances might for a while suspend its utility; and it was still more absurd, to appropriate the revenue, which paid that office, to different purposes, so as to make it impracticable for the King to re-establish that board, or a similar one, in case of necessity. He alluded to what Mr. Eden quoted, from Mr. Anderson on commerce, relative to the appointments of the board, and the impracticability of the privy council executing that office; and said, it might appear vanity, but he had concluded the same from general argument, which that author had established upon incontrovertible facts that had fallen within his own observation, without having ever perused the author on the subject. He then went on to shew the dangerous tendency of impairing the prerogative of the crown, relative to the appointment of executive officers. That he made no distinction, and meant to make none, between the different offices paid out of the civil list; because he agreed with his learned friend [The Lord Advocate] and a right honourable gentleman [Mr. Rigby] that we could not without proof of abuse, touch the civil list. But he forbore enumerating arguments so much better conveyed by them on the former day

than he could convey them. The honourable gentleman [Governor Pownall] had made a distinction between executive offices, and the offices of the household; he had said, the former might be curtailed, the latter ought not. If he [Mr. Adam] were to make a distinction at all, it would be to reverse that proposition. For he conceived it to be dangerous to invade the prerogative relative to such appointments. That the King was the only judge of what officers were necessary to carry on the executive business of government: That to restrain him from that power, was contrary to the constitution. That to say, you shall have so many boards, so many offices, whatever the exigencies of the state might be, was wrong. That this bill did limit them, and therefore justly entitled to the character of a new code of laws given to it (by Mr. Rigby) on a former day. For what had the constitution done? Not restrained the crown from appointing officers, but merely restrained those officers from sitting in Parliament. That the act of Queen Anne did not say, the crown shall not appoint what number of secretaries of state it pleases; but that if the number is more than three, the fourth shall not sit in Parliament. He then came to the principle of the bill, that related to influence. He said, the Bill of Rights at the revolution, had curtailed the dangerous prerogatives of the crown, but had left that which was necessary and safe. That among those, it had left the power of creating titles of honour, of regulating the number, and of naming the offices of state, to the places of trust and profit. That if this prerogative had become dangerous, by an encrease of numbers, the bill restraining it might be proper; but if it had not encreased, no alteration so dangerous to the constitution was to be made. He was of opinion, that it had not encreased within the walls of the House of Commons, and thought he could prove it to almost mathematical certainty. That the act of Queen Anne prevented those who held new places, created after the 25th of October, 1705, from sitting and voting in Parliament. That various acts from that time had encreased the number of incapacitating places, down to the 15 George II. That therefore fewer placemen sat in Parliament now than at the beginning of this century. That the tax upon places had taken effect since that time; and that the diminution of the value of money, by the encrease of its quantity, had diminished the sum that the crown bestowed upon placemen. That, therefore, the influence within the House had been diminished both in number and value; but it had encreased

without, and therefore it was to be checked within doors: but was it reasonable to check it by an abolition of so just, so necessary a part of the executive power, as that of appointing more or fewer executive offices, according to the exigency of the state? A place bill in the old form was the fit measure, if it was to be checked within these walls, and not an impairing and diminishing, nay an abolition of the power of appointing executive offices, which had always, and must always belong to the monarch of this country, for the safety and welfare of government, and for preserving that balance which is necessary to maintain the Prince in the respectable situation that this mixt monarchy requires. But the encrease of the influence of the crown without doors, or any where, was to be estimated by the proportion the revenue of the crown bore to the revenue of the subject; that if the first had encreased more than the last, that revenue had rendered influence greater: but the direct reverse was true; the revenue of the crown remained stationary, or nearly so, while that of the people had encreased tenfold since the revolution, and consequently rendered the people more independent. But, says he, supposing all this reasoning to be true, or false, it is necessary before we impair this prerogative, or diminish this influence, (which one side calls corrupt, and another constitutional) to shew that it has done some harm.

Has it hurt the constitution? No one complains of any violation there. Did it promote the American war? No. That was the war of the country, and the peculiar favourite of the country gentlemen; and the greatest abilities in this House are every day employed in exciting those gentlemen to oppose that Minister whom they formerly supported in that war: But it may have fettered the executive hand of Government, and prevented our success against France, Spain, and America. Without entering into that success, he merely hinted that fortune seemed lately to have turned, and he trusted that prosperity would now attend the single arm of Great Britain against the united force of her enemies. He went on to say, that he believed it to be a fixed principle that the same cause would always produce the same effect. He referred to the history of this country from the Revolution downwards, by which he shewed, that with the same influence existing, this country had been great and glorious abroad, rich, prosperous, and happy at home. That during that period William the Third had repelled and checked the domineering spirit of Lewis the Fourteenth. During this period, and un-

der this influence, this country had been rendered great and respected by the plans of Godolphin and the conquests of Marlborough. Under an equal influence, the peaceable Ministry of Sir Robert Walpole had encreased the commerce and maintained the happiness of England; with the same cause existing, two rebellions in the heart of the country had been repressed. And under similar circumstances and equal influence, the great conduct of Lord Chatham had elevated the glory of Britain, while it shook the existence of the opposing states to their center. And that of consequence the late change of fortune was not to be attributed to influence, whatever other cause it might be attributed to; for if influence had checked our success now, it would have done the same formerly. But œconomy is a principle of this bill, and in his opinion, in common with all the world, a most necessary thing. He here marked out some sources of œconomy that had not yet been thought of. Particularly the simplifying the taxes, and by that means reducing both the expence and number of tax-gatherers. But, says he, the Hon. Gentleman, (Mr. Burke) who brought all this matter forward, said, that we must *œconomize* our Civil List, because France has œconomized hers. It was necessary, upon such a proposition, to compare the extent and application of those two funds in the different countries. In France, the Civil List amounts to three millions and a half sterling: In England, it amounts to nine hundred thousand pounds. The Civil List of France is applied only to the maintenance of the splendour and pleasure of the Court. The Princes of the Blood have their separate estates. The judicial establishments are not defrayed out of it, and as far as he knew, none, or a very small part of the political offices. Whereas the 900,000l. per annum of England supports the brothers and family of the Crown, maintains its pleasures and its splendor, pays the whole of the judicial, and a very great part of the civil establishments. In the one there was great room for œconomy, and the constitution from its nature could not be hurt; in the other there was little or no room for œconomy, and the constitution, by altering the balance necessary in a mixed monarchy, might be destroyed. But were we to promote œconomy in the Civil List at the expence of the constitution? We were told the petitions of the people required it. No person, he said, would pay greater attention to the people than he would. That the present petitions of the people were the most numerous that ever had been brought to Parliament. But were we, for that

that reason, to give up the deliberative power of Parliament. We were sent here by our constituents to judge for them, to think for them, and to determine for them, not to obey implicitly the dictates of their will. If we did, we lost and forgot the very essence of what a House of Commons was. Suppose the people were to tell us, this mixed government, the admiration of all foreign nations, and the happiness of this, is not sufficient for our liberty, we want a democracy, that liberty may be extended. Would this House agree to their request, and alter the government of this country, because the prayers of their petitions contained such a request? He did not say that the tendency of this Bill would be to throw the balance on the part of the democracy. He was afraid it would rather increase the power of another part of this constitution, a part which he respected for high birth, for a long line of ancestry, for abilities and virtue. But he did not wish to see that part too strong either for the King or people. That reducing the power and property of the Crown would be attended with giving powers to those who had most property, as power followed property. That a combination of rich and powerful Nobility, might, upon the reduction of the necessary prerogatives of the Crown, destroy and trample upon the democratical parts of the constitution. That all experiments upon a constitution like ours were dangerous. That our constitution stood upon a nice equipoise, with steep precipices and deep waters upon all sides, and by removing it from leaning to one side, we run a risk of oversetting it on the other.

Lord West-
cote.

Lord Westcote said he had the honour of serving his Majesty, as Governor in two respective situations, [Jamaica and South Carolina.] as well as the honourable gentleman who spoke lately [Governor Pownall.] and likewise as his Majesty's representative at a foreign court, [Portugal.] and he could say, so far from finding the Board of Trade an useless and inefficient Board, he had frequently derived great assistance from it in the capacity he had last alluded to. He then entered into a detail of the duties of the Board, and was satisfied in his own mind that no part of the public expenditure, which he knew of, was better or more beneficially applied than the 8000*l.* *per annum*, stated by the honourable gentleman.

Sir Joseph
Mawbey.

Sir Joseph Mawbey said, that in all Parliamentary enquiries, it had been usual for the members that were the subject of it to retire from the House; but, in the present instance

he found the rule deviated from. The Lords of Trade chose to remain, notwithstanding he had read in a morning paper that five of the Lords intended to absent themselves. He hoped, however, that when the question should be put, the said Lords would be pleased to retire; and he hoped the Chairman would not be so quick in putting the question, but that they might have sufficient time to get out of the House. It was in his opinion the more necessary to give this hint, because he believed it would be a close division, and the gentlemen whose places the present clause proposed to abolish, might have it in their power to turn the scale in their own favour. He thought it not improper to call to the recollection of the House, the affected candour which he saw practised upon a former occasion, and said if it was a good rule at one time it was invariably so, that members who were interested in the event of a question should never wait for the division.

The affected candour he particularly alluded to was that shewn by the noble Lord over against him, upon an occasion in which he took a leading part, he meant relative to the noble Lord's occupying a place created after the year 1705, which disqualified his Lordship from sitting in that House, in his opinion. When the question came to be put, the noble Lord withdrew, saying, that he could not think of giving a vote upon a question respecting his own seat; but this very disinterested conduct was easily accounted for from the apparent sense of the House; for when the division took place, though the House was tolerably full, no one went out in support of his motion but the mover himself and the honourable gentleman who seconded it.—When, however, upon a recent occasion the event of the division seemed to be doubtful [respecting the abolition of the office of third secretary of state the 8th instant] the noble Lord was not quite so delicate, for he staid out the debate, and divided on a question in which he was equally interested.

This assertion was contradicted out of doors. He trusted therefore that the honourable gentleman who would be affected by the present clause, should it be agreed to, instead of an affected delicacy, would adopt a more open and manly part by withdrawing, and thereby avoid exercising a judicial opinion in a matter in which their personal interests were materially concerned.

Sir *Edward Dering* spoke, and in his speech adverted to Sir *Edward Dering*.
the conduct of a right honourable gentleman, respecting his
principle

principle suggested on the preceding Wednesday, that the House had no controul over the King's civil list. He was sorry, he said, that the right honourable gentleman had started a question, and ordered his friends to vote for the order of the day, to prevent its being put. He should not have wondered to have heard him say to the Minister, "you are a very honest clever sort of a man, and I like you very well, but I could wish to get you turned out, that I may put a man of my own in."

The honourable gentleman concluded by observing that he was one of the most virtuous, most honest, and independent members of the House, and should like to hear the right honourable gentleman explain himself.

Mr. Rigby. Mr. *Rigby* thought the honourable gentleman deserved attention, if but for his being, as he said, an honest, virtuous, and independent man; but he did not know how he could explain himself, but by going over the whole matter again. For his part he did not care to have the motion he suggested, put to please the gentlemen in opposition, when he knew they did not wish it, but had only endeavoured to irritate him to what they did not desire. When he said the Parliament had no controul over the King's civil list, he never meant to say that they had no over-ruling power in any case whatsoever. They certainly had. But there ought to be some abuse of the civil list first proved.

If the judges salaries, for instance, were unpaid, or refused, that would be an abuse, and Parliament could have a right to enquire into it. With respect to the people of England, he thought their petitions truly respectable, and that the Minister could not decently remain in office, if the voice of the people was against him.

Mr. Fox. Mr. *Fox*, in answer to the assertions of the right honourable gentleman, declared that he would not retract from the declaration he had made on a former day, and he wished instantly to meet him on that ground, and decide upon it. He had declared that if such a doctrine was established, they must go to another place, and rescue themselves from slavery by other arguments than words.

He called upon Sir Fletcher Norton, as the highest legal authority in the kingdom, to tell his opinion, whether there was not, in the constitution of Parliament, an inherent right in the representatives of the people to controul the exercise of any power in the Crown, that tended to support a government by influence and corruption, against the voice

of the people, against the redress of every national grievance, and in subversion of the freedom and independence of Parliament.

As soon as he repeated this expression, which he did more than once, the Speaker's secretary rushed through the side gallery, and repaired instantly into the Speaker's chamber.

Sir *Fletcher Norton* now made his appearance, and took his seat on the Treasury Bench, and Mr. Fox having again repeated his wish that the right honourable gentleman over the way would give his opinion on the competency of that House, to enquire into and controul the civil list expenditure, said that it would be indeed great arrogance and presumption in him to apply what had fallen from the honourable gentleman who had just sat down to himself, relative to a great authority, a high character in his profession, of great weight and ability, &c. &c. Yet, as a particular part of it, respecting his presiding in that chair, could apply to no other person, he thought it incumbent on him to rise, and after so direct a call, not to remain silent on a question of such infinite magnitude and importance. Before he would trouble the House with his sentiments, which whenever he delivered them there he did with infinite reluctance, he should be glad to know whether or not the honourable gentleman directly pointed to him.

Mr. *Fox* observed, that as the right honourable gentleman was not present in the House, when he first rose, he begged leave to inform him that it was to him he alluded, and that respecting the proposition suggested the preceding Wednesday, by a right honourable gentleman on the floor [Mr. *Rigby*.]

Sir *Fletcher* then proceeded. He said, since he had the honour of presiding in that chair, (pointing to it) he had on every occasion avoided as much as possible, giving any opinion respecting matters which came before that House. His duty and inclination led him to adopt that mode of conduct. His duty, left from the respectable and honourable station he filled, his mixing in debate, without arrogating any thing to himself, might be supposed to create an improper influence, on some of his hearers; and his inclination forbade him, because he knew from experience that whatever he might support as an individual member, might be apt to bias his judgment in his other character, that of Speaker, when he came to preside in the House. It was true that the mode and order of proceeding did not preclude him from speaking in a committee,

committee, the House was now in one, consequently within the most rigid rules of order, he was as much at liberty to deliver his sentiments as any other member, and he was ready to acknowledge that he had more than once, soon after he was called to his present honourable station, exercised that right. But he could not say for what reason, but so it happened, that he found whenever he had exercised it, that his conduct was liable to misinterpretation, and that whatever he offered, as arising from his own feelings and judgment, was deemed rather as taking a step out of the proper duties of his office, which were said to be a strict observance of whatever might tend to impress on the House the most strict impartiality and indifference.

He had not long presided in that chair when he discovered what was deemed the proper line of conduct for him to pursue. The House was in a Committee on a most important, and in his opinion, a most consequential bill. [The royal marriage bill, in the year 1772.] He did not wish to intrude his sentiments on the House, but being called upon to give his opinion on a question of law, directly in the way of his profession (as he was now upon a more general question of constitutional law) he had the misfortune at that time, by complying with the seeming wishes of the House, to give some persons very great offence, which he could assure them he by no means intended*.

Thenceforward, he endeavoured to avoid as much as possible mixing in the debates, or of giving his sentiments, but when it seemed to be the united sense of the House. Whe-

* What Sir Fletcher alluded to here was that clause in the royal marriage act, which subjects those who shall or may be privy to or present at any marriage solemnized with any of the descendants of George the Second, contrary to the provisions of that act, to a *præmunire*. Upon this occasion Sir Fletcher contended that the punishment ought to be defined; as well as the crime created by the act; that the word *præmunire* had never been legally defined; that it was a species of offence created by a particular act passed in the reign of Richard the Second; that it created or vested a power in the King's judges to punish the offender at discretion, to any extent short of a loss of life or member; and that such an undefined power was no less repugnant to the common and statute law of the land, than to the scheme and spirit of the English constitution, and the immutable principles of natural justice, which is supposed in one instance to proportion the punishment to the previous risque the offender knows he is liable to run, where the law is merely *malum prohibitum*, and were it *malum in se*, that the punishment should be as nearly as possible proportioned to the real turpitude and enormity of the crime.

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ther the motives which gave rise to those ill-founded misinterpretations of his conduct, but which he could confidently affirm were dictated by a sense of duty, were as pure as those who urged them were willing to represent; he was not prepared to say, but this he was ready to acknowledge, that he had experienced in himself a propensity to wish success to that side of the question which he had supported in the committee, as soon as the House was resumed. He felt his mind warped, and a certain bias hanging on it and bearing it down, consequently, though he might not be converted to the opinions of those who wished him to be silent upon every occasion, he was satisfied that the seldomer he mixed in debate, the more likely he would be to avoid giving offence to either side of the House.

He was obliged now to understand the honourable gentleman as calling upon him, to give an opinion on the present bill, at least so far as the principle of the bill was connected with the proposition suggested by the right honourable gentleman on the floor, [Mr. Rigby] the preceding Wednesday. He professed his total inability to give his opinion on the provisions which the bill contained; they were various, extensive, and in some instances complicated and involved a great number of objects. The duties incident to his station in that House, had in a great measure absorbed all his time, and would not permit him to investigate the bill, in all its parts, relations and probable consequences; in the manner a subject of such vast importance required, so as to enable him to give any opinion with safety, or with satisfaction to himself. Since he was up he would deliver his sentiments, crude and indigested as they were; they might be erroneous, but he assured the committee they would be sincere.

The bill, as it presented itself to him, held out two objects, that of promoting an economical expenditure of the public money in general, and the diminishing the influence of the Crown. One part of the plan of general œconomy went to a reform and reduction of that particular part under the name of the revenue or income appropriated to the expenditure of the civil list, which, as he should explain by and by, ought to be considered into two lights, that destined for the domestic support and maintenance of the Sovereign, and that which was meant to be applied to public services.

The honourable gentleman who brought the present bill to the House, deserved well of this country. He had sent for the bill, in order for his opinion, and to know whether it was approved or disapproved of it. He must acknowledge

that he was prejudiced in its favour, by the very able and eloquent speech the honourable gentleman made on his motion for leave; one of the most instructive and entertaining he had ever heard in that House or out of it; so much so, that however high he held that honourable gentleman's parliamentary talents, it served to confirm him in the opinion he had long entertained of his unrivalled abilities. But to return, notwithstanding every previous prejudice created in his mind, when he came to examine the bill, he was free to confess that the two principles which appeared in it, did not strike him with equal weight. He could easily see the right of Parliament in general upon extraordinary occasions, to controul the whole of the civil list expenditure; but then he thought that the necessity should be shewn, otherwise he could not help thinking that any enquiry or controul would be premature. Nothing of the kind, or at least nothing positive or distinct had been pointed out; and this suggested to him the distinction which he had some time since formed, that is, a distinction between that part of the civil list appropriated to the special purposes of government, and that other part applicable to the expences or maintenance of the King's household. The former he thought directly and immediately within the controul of Parliament, or indeed rather resulting from the nature of a public trust. The latter he thought stood upon a very different ground, and bore as near a relation as possible in its nature to private property. There were instances in which it might become very proper for Parliament to interfere, respecting even this part of the revenue of the civil list; but though Parliament had a right to interfere even in the regulating of the expences of the King's household, yet so far from wantonly interfering, there should be good ground even for controuling the expenditure of that part of the revenue appropriated to public uses, such as the salaries of the judges, ambassadors, &c. &c. To apply these general premises to the bill then before the House, he had no doubt in his own mind that the controul which went to regulate the part of the expenditure not appropriated to the King's domestic expences, was not only right in principle, but wise, necessary, and expedient at the present crisis, and the general state of this country, borne down as it was with enormous burdens, and increasing taxes; but while he said this, he deemed it his duty to openly declare that he totally disapproved of that part of the bill which proposed the abolition of the several royal domestic establishments, and as he had

been thus explicit he thought it proper that he should assign the reasons he had for this opinion.

On his Majesty's accession, a gross sum of 800,000*l.* per annum, was accepted of in lieu of the several existing duties appropriated to the maintenance of the civil list. At the end of eight years, Ministers came to Parliament for a sum of money to pay off an arrear incurred, which was supposed to amount pretty nearly to what the Crown had relinquished, by the acceptance of this gross sum. In eight years after, since he had the honour to preside in that chair, Ministers came again on a similar errand, with a further request of an annual addition to the gross sum first granted of 100,000*l.* For his part, though he did not pretend to speak from his own knowledge, he had every reason to believe from every thing he had heard within that House, or could learn out of it, that 800,000*l.* a year was fully equal to the maintaining the dignity of the Crown, with the greatest lustre. The majority of that House thought otherwise, and perhaps very properly, and they granted the additional 100,000*l.* Such being the fact, such being the claims of the Crown at the time, and the necessity for the increase stated, he must confess he was totally at a loss to know upon what ground that House could proceed to resume not only the additional increase, but a considerable, if he understood right, of the original gross sum granted at this Majesty's accession. When the application was made in 1777, was, in his judgment, the time to make a stand; it was now too late, at least so far as the present bill went to a reduction of the royal expenditure; because, if he recollected right, the arguments, and of course the conclusive sense of the House, all turned upon the single circumstance that the grant upon his Majesty's accession was totally inadequate to the increasing necessary expences of the royal household; a numerous family since that in a progressive state of increase, and, in short, every difference gentlemen feel in their own domestic expences, from the necessities and conveniences of life being enhanced in their value.

Whatever particular weight those arguments carried with them he could not pretend to say, but until the facts and arguments upon which the House then proceeded to vote an addition to the civil list revenue were disproved or given up, he must continue to think that that House could not lay any just claim to consistency, if they proceeded to resume the grant they had made, so far as the expenditure of it applied to the King's household expences; consequently, while he was ready to support that part of the honourable gentleman's

bill which proposed to regulate the expenditure of the civil list, which was appropriated to public uses, he could not think it proper to interfere in the arrangement or controul of the King's household or domestic expences.

There were several other clauses, in the honourable gentleman's bill, highly worthy of the attention of that House; and there were other propositions suggested by him, to be wrought up into bills, of which he highly approved; he meant the sale of the forests, and crown lands, which his particular situation, as enjoying a place under the government, gave him opportunities of knowing. The general cry of the people without doors, was against sinecure places. He was certain none in the common execution of the office he held [chief justice in Eyre of the forests south of Trent] could better deserve the appellation, of a sinecure, than his did. It was not so profitable as it was reported to be; but yet it was much in his opinion, too profitable, for the duties annexed to it. Be that however as it might, he could say, that under the idea of a general reform, he was very willing to submit to the consequences, so far as it respected himself. He had not, however, been unmindful of his duty, as far as a discharge of it, could answer any good or beneficial purpose. He had made every enquiry, which his other avocations would permit, particularly his attendance in that House; and he was enabled to say, that the powers vested in the chief justice in Eyre, were such as ought not to be exerted; and if not exerted, answered no one purpose, that he knew of. Many applications had been made to him, to enforce the powers vested in him by law. He had resisted them, because if exercised, he was clear, that they would lead to the greatest hardships and oppressions; and would militate against the general scheme of the constitution, and the principles of the common law; but nevertheless, he had good reason to believe, they might be well justified under the idea of legal oppressions authorized by the forest laws. On the other hand, the not enforcing them, left the forests, thus vested in the crown, of little or no service; and in fact, became a source of petty injustice, to the advantage and benefit solely of a few individuals.

Under this impression, though he might and presumed would, be a sufferer if the forests were disposed of, he was ready to give up his interest, in the tenure, he now enjoyed, as in his opinion, so far as the sale of the forest and crown lands went, nothing could more effectually tend to serve the public,

public, to remove an existing grievance; and to promote internal cultivation, and improvement. He wished the honourable gentleman every possible success in the future progress of his bill, and assured him of every assistance it was in his power to give him.

He next spoke of the petitions, and said, that most undoubtedly it was the inherent privilege of the people of England to petition either House of Parliament, or any branch of the legislature. The present petitions upon the table, were the petitions of a most respectable body of people; the free electors of this kingdom, and so far as they were confined to the real objects of redress, not only deserved redress, but every possible attention, and respect in the mode of administering it. That House could not, nor dare not treat them in any other manner, he meant the House ought not, and whatever it ought not, it did not dare to do, and therefore could not do. When he said this, he was free to say, that although he approved of the petitions, he totally disapproved of the committees and associations. If they were not illegal, they were in his opinion, extremely improper, and might terminate in consequences, which every good man, upon cool reflection, would wish to avoid. They had increased this evil tendency, that they took off from the weight of the petitions in that House; because they pointed to other measures of redress, while they were seeking it at the hands of their constituents assembled in Parliament; thereby holding out motives of compulsion, and rendering that an act of necessity which ought to be the effect of consideration and conviction. He would not measure out on which side the majority lay; he meant of those who petitioned, or those who did not, but he believed, every person who heard him would agree with him, that the petitions not only contained matter worthy of parliamentary consideration; but that the persons from whom they came were deserving of every respect, and it was possible for that House to shew to so numerous, and so respectable a part of their constituents.

This being his general sense of the bill before the House, of the petitions, and the authors of them; he had to lament, that the bill had engrossed so much of the time of the House. Time was wasted, and so far as the subject matter of the bill was concerned, he did not think that their proceedings were the appearance of doing business. The petitions should not have been permitted to lie upon the table so long without notice. Certain days, in each week, ought to have been

been allotted for taking them into consideration. The session was already far advanced; and he never knew delay to be productive of any good consequence; when the principle to be supported was previously decided upon.

The House should proceed to consider them (the petitions) with all imaginable dispatch and alacrity, to avoid every thing which might give a reason to doubt their sincerity; for it was scarcely possible that the petitions could be disappointed, if the prevalent language of that House, for some days past, might be safely trusted, and relied upon.

He said no man, he presumed, was prepared to contend that the government of this country, in its principles and texture, was not a limited one; that it had been so at all times; he had not a single doubt, however the constitution might have been violated, or departed from upon some occasions and in particular reigns. It had perfect freedom for its basis which was subject to no other restraint, but what was imposed by law. Every thing which contributed to make men happy as individuals or citizens, respecting both their personal and political capacity, was derived solely by, and from the laws. It was clearly a government by compact, in which every right or privilege held or enjoyed was qualified and conditional. Such was the title to the crown, and the enjoyment of it; such too, was the right of every subject. Every man in the commonwealth was for certain ends, and to certain purposes, bound by, accountable to, and controllable in some one shape or other. Such was the tenure, by which the sovereign held his crown, and such was the political and personal condition of every one of his subjects.

Every man was liable to violate the law, because every man was bound to obey it; and he was free to confess whatever errors or mistakes, may have been committed in government, whatever evils they might have produced, no breach of either general duty or positive obligation could be justly imputed to the prince now on the throne, and no man would go further in preventing any measure which might have a direct or indirect tendency to intrench either upon the personal or political rights of the sovereign than he would. Nevertheless, Parliament had an inherent right vested in it of controlling and regulating every branch of the public expenditure; the civil list as well as the rest; but then as the civil list revenue was a positive, legal, vested right, the necessary retrenchment ought to be fully, clearly, and satisfactorily shewn before Parliament should offer to interfere. W

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however, the necessity was clearly made out; it was not only the right, but the duty of Parliament to interpose, and no less the duty and interest of the crown to acquiesce.

He had attended with all the industry in his power to the debate of the preceding Wednesday, and was ready to confess, that no person disliked more than he the coming to vote upon abstract questions; he therefore lamented at the time, that the right honourable gentleman on the floor [Mr. Rigby] had not coupled the question he proposed with the bill, and met it fairly and distinctly. Such a conduct, on his part, would have saved much time and trouble. The principle pervaded every clause of the bill. It was impossible to take a single step, but the principle eternally recurred. It is not, whether, this or that reform, or regulation is right or expedient; but whether, the House is competent to entertain the question at all; whether it be not a breach of the compact made by Parliament with the sovereign; in short, not whether the reform be necessary and beneficial to the state; but whether it has originated were it should, and can only originate? He foresaw the delays and difficulties this would throw in the way of the bill; and what endless contention and debate it would be productive of; whereas if the point was decided, one way or the other, the fate of the bill would either at once be determined, or it would very shortly make its progress through the House.

So much as to one part of the great object recommended in the petitions; he meant that of public oeconomy, a thing at times desirable, but at present from a variety of circumstances, both within and without, become absolutely necessary for the preservation of the state. The other part relative to the influence of the crown was palpable and notorious. It was impossible for any person, who sat so many years in that House as he had done, not to perceive both its actual existence, and apparent encrease; consequently, it was the duty of every member in that House, who was himself a stranger to its effects, to do all in his power to reduce it, within such proper limits as the constitution had marked out; and adopt and support such measures as might promise best to prevent the return of such evils hereafter.

He said, he did not take the present opportunity of thus publicly differing with the noble Lord in the blue ribbon. The noble Lord and he were not friends; he was not a friend to the noble Lord, and he had repeated proofs that the noble Lord was no friend of his: Since a circumstance happened which

which was fully in the recollection of every person who heard him, he perceived, that the noble Lord had withdrawn even the appearance of all friendship and confidence. He meant reporting the sense of the House, upon presenting the money bills, at the bar of the other; since that period, all appearance had ceased on the part of the noble Lord; and he was still at a loss to guess what just cause of offence he had given. What he had done was to the best of his judgment only in discharge of his duty. If he acted wrong, it arose from error, not from design; and whatever others might think, he had the satisfaction of having his conduct unanimously approved of by that House. He appealed to the noble Lord, even since the coolness now alluded to began, whether whenever he was consulted upon any matter, he had not always been ready to give the best advice in his power. The noble Lord seldom consulted him in person; but whenever he sent to him, he wished the noble Lord to say, if he was not ready to give him every assistance, as far as his poor abilities enabled him. The noble Lord was thoroughly conscious that he had; and he was equally well convinced, that whatever advice he gave was seldom followed. The noble Lord and he from a recent transaction, must henceforward stand upon the most unequivocal terms; his Lordship's conduct was such, as to put an end to every appearance of mutual good will and friendship. The time was not yet arrived when it would be proper to make the circumstances of this transaction public. If the noble Lord did not do him justice he would state the particulars to the House; and submit to it how far he was bound to remain in a situation where the performing the duties annexed to it was the pretext of doing him a gross and flagrant injury. He hoped he did not go too far, he trusted when the circumstances he referred to were made public, no person who heard him would think he had; and he could solemnly declare, that whatever his provocation might be, nothing was farther removed from his mind, or more contrary to his intention, than mixing any thing personal, in order to influence the opinion of the House, in the discussion of the present question.

He begged leave to assure the noble Lord, that no respect was wanting on his part, he was ever ready to give the earliest assistance to the noble Lord on every occasion; latterly it was true, though he treated the persons sent by the noble Lord with the proper attention and civility due to them, his Lordship troubled him but seldom; and whatever he advised was

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seldom carried into execution; but he was persuaded it was more for want of regard for the adviser, than any doubt respecting the goodness of the advice.

As to the point of influence, and particularly that part of it proposed to be taken away by the clause now under consideration; he was clear that the board of trade was useless and expensive as now constituted; and could answer no purpose, that he knew of, but encreasing the influence of the crown, swelled much beyond what the constitution at all warranted. He was aware that the influence had always existed, and ever would; it was an appendage of the crown growing out of the constitution itself. It was not its bare existence that alarmed him; but the degree and extent in which it existed. He wished not to exterminate, but to modify and regulate it; and repress its inordinate growth. It was not influence to a certain extent, but the *quantum* he wished to have measured out, and ascertained.

Lord North declared, his total ignorance of what was now Lord North, alluded to, or what grounds of offence he had given to the right honourable gentleman, which could induce him to thus openly say, that he was no friend to the right honourable gentleman, nor the right honourable gentleman no friend of his. One part of the assertion he would not undertake to contradict; but he could safely and conscientiously venture to contradict the other; that of his being no friend to the right honourable gentleman. He believed, he must have been betrayed into this assertion by heat and passion; for he could most sincerely assure the right honourable gentleman, that he ever had, and notwithstanding what now passed, would ever retain a proper and due respect for his person and abilities, and his conduct in discharging the duties of that chair. He was quite a stranger to what the right honourable gentleman alluded to, when he spoke of some recent transaction, and of some ill threatment he received; he supposed from his hands followed too, with an express declaration of making it a subject of public appeal. If he had done any thing, which justified the threat now thrown out, he protested it was entirely unknown to him; and had no doubt but the right honourable gentleman would be convinced, that he had proceeded upon misinformation and mistake. If any negotiation was carried, or carrying on, it was more than he knew of.

Sir Fletcher Norton rose in some warmth, and said he was Sir Fletcher Norton, surprised, how the noble Lord dared to assert to his face, that he was negotiating with him. If thee werre, as he had little

doubt of it, negotiations carrying on, the noble Lord knew, and must know, that he was not one of the parties negotiating. He assured the committee, that he never had, nor ever would be concerned in a negotiation with the noble Lord; and if the noble Lord did not immediately explain his words, he was determined not to rest silent under such an imputation, but would instantly reveal all he knew of the transaction. It was indeed a piece of common justice, he owed to himself, not to sink under the hints and unfair and ill-founded insinuations of the noble Lord.

Lord North. Lord North appealed to the committee, if he said a syllable which did or could admit even by the utmost ingenuity, the interpretation put upon his words by the right honourable gentleman. So far from saying that the right honourable gentleman was concerned in a negotiation, that he declared his total ignorance of any negotiation at all having been on foot. The right honourable gentleman had, however, given the committee to understand, that some negotiation was going forward; and seemed to point at him as being concerned in it. He declared he was still a stranger to what the honourable gentleman meant; but as he seemed to threaten to make it a subject of public appeal, he by no means wished, that any thing so far as it might relate to himself, should be concealed.

Sir Fletcher Norton. Sir Fletcher Norton said, he would not be trifled with, and if the noble Lord did not expressly assert, that he had never been concerned in a negotiation with him, he would state every particular circumstance, relative to the transactions, to which he had been alluding.

Lord North. Lord North said, he was totally at a loss to discover the drift and tendency of the right honourable gentleman's discourse. If, however, it was directed to make a discovery of what ought to be revealed, he should ever disclaim the idea of wishing to stifle or conceal what ought to be made public. He assured the honourable gentleman, that it was never his wish or intention to give him any just cause of offence; but, be the consequences what they might, he wished to remind the right honourable gentleman, that the matter wholly originated with himself; for he had nothing personally to hope or fear upon the occasion.

Sir Fletcher Norton. Sir Fletcher Norton then rose, and said, that he had been applied to by a noble Lord, then at the head of administration [Duke of Grafton] upon the death of the late Speaker [Sir John Cust] to accept of the very honourable situation

he then held. He had indeed been strongly solicited to accept of it before he did consent; because he was no stranger to the great weight which was necessarily to be borne, by who ever filled that chair. He had besides other reasons of a very forcible nature, that furnished motives which rendered him still more reluctant to comply with the request. An honourable gentleman in his eye [Mr. Rigby] was sent to him, by the noble Lord then at the head of administration, to prevail upon him to accept of the nomination of the minister. To this he had very strong objections. His answer was, if he should accept, it must be understood, that he by no means meant to be taken out of the line of his profession; and that consequently the way whenever an opportunity offered, should be kept open for his return to Westminster Hall; and when his character, his standing and his general pretensions, were considered, he believed, it would not be deemed arrogance or vanity in him, to say, that he was then at the head of his profession, as a common lawyer.

Till he was provided for, in the way of his profession, for that was the precedent condition of every thing which followed; he was to have the sinecure he then enjoyed. These were the terms which were offered; it was upon these terms he accepted of the place he now held. He had, however, lately heard, what he must say greatly surprised him, that there had been a negotiation on foot: he had it indeed from the best authority, no less than the first law officer of the crown; that it was in agitation to remove a certain chief judge [Mr. William De Grey] and to give him a pension, and to put another person in his room [the Attorney General.] He had no doubt of the honourable gentleman's abilities, but considering every circumstance, which applied to that honourable gentleman and himself, he did think, he went not beyond what the assertion would bear him out in, when he affirmed, that neither in point of standing or professional reputation, that the person to whom he was alluding, stood fairly between him and the claims he had upon those, who induced him to quit those habits of life, and professional views, which were incident to his then situation.

He had heard from the authority now quoted, that such a negotiation was on foot; he meant a negotiation between a certain chief judge and the minister, for the purposes already described, and took the earliest opportunity of ob-

taining a full and explicit declaration upon the subject, from the minister. He knew the noble Lord was no friend of his, and took every precaution in his power, to prevent his Lordship from taking any advantage in one shape or the other. He accordingly informed the noble Lord, previously of his intention of calling upon him, upon an affair of business, and desired in the letter, that the noble Lord would have some person present, who should be able to report what might pass at the interview. He called accordingly at the noble Lord's house in Downing-Street, but was much surprised when he did call to find the noble Lord alone. He explained his business, though he confessed, he was much astonished to perceive, that the noble Lord so far as such a circumstance might be supposed to operate, had in part defeated the object proposed by the interview, that of putting it out of the power of the noble Lord or himself, to misrepresent or misconceive whatever should pass upon the occasion.

So it was, however, and he could not say, but he was greatly disappointed when he proceeded to explain himself upon the subject, which induced him to call upon the noble Lord, to find, that his Lordship affected to be a total stranger to the original transaction, on which his claim in the professional line was founded; and which the right honourable gentleman on the floor [Mr. Rigby] was well acquainted with; namely, the condition on which he accepted of that chair; a condition, that a return into Westminster Hall should be open to him whenever an opportunity offered.

He trusted, that the committee would believe him, when he affirmed, upon his honour, as a gentleman, that he never meant to challenge their attention, upon any subject merely personal to himself; but thinking at all times, that nothing should be kept more pure and unpolluted, than the fountain of justice, he felt when any measure was adopted, no matter under what pretext, that might even afford a colour for suspicion that they were corrupted, or that any improper means had been resorted to for rendering the courts of justice subservient to party or factious views: he thought it a duty highly incumbent upon him to take notice of it. He could assert, and was ready to prove that money had been proposed to be given and received, in order to bring about the arrangement, to which he now referred; and whenever a per-

per time came, he would undertake to prove it to the satisfaction of that House.

He meant to throw himself upon it for protection; and he entertained no doubt, but the House would take up the matter in a proper light, and decide accordingly. He went into a variety of particulars of less moment; and concluded with assuring the committee, that the very high obligations, and the gratitude resulting from a full and perfect consciousness, how little he deserved them, which he owed that House, that he was determined to conform his whole conduct, in this business, agreeable to their sense and wishes. He trusted, however, that after a certain period they would give him one further mark of their indulgence, in permitting him to fly from a situation, which had no possible inducement to continue him in it, but the pleasure resulting from a grateful return of their many signal and unmerited favours.

Mr. Rigby spoke to the original transaction, as far as he knew of it. He said, he had been solicited by a noble Duke, then at the head of public affairs, to deliver a message, substantially the same as that reported by the right honourable gentleman; that the right honourable gentleman had to the best of his recollection, stated the particulars with all possible candour and correctness; but as well as he could charge his memory at this distance of time, he never understood, that any of those particulars came regularly or properly to the knowledge of the noble Lord in the blue ribbon.

Lord North rose to declare, that he did not look upon himself responsible for any promise which might have been made by his predecessors in office. The right honourable gentleman had proved to the satisfaction of the committee, and he was persuaded of every other person who had heard him, that such were the considerations on which he accepted of that chair; but he could fairly answer, that he neither knew of the transaction at the time, nor looked upon himself bound when he did come into office by any such promise.

There were other parts of the right honourable gentleman's speech, to which in point of fact he could not accede; he meant, that assertion, in which the right honourable gentleman undertook to say, that there was a negotiation on foot, such as he had described, and that money had been proposed to be given and received. He assured the right honourable gentleman, that he had been grossly misinformed; and as he was accused of being one of the acting parties,

ties, he was entitled to say, that no such negotiation was on foot, as had been stated by the right honourable gentleman.

The right honourable gentleman complained and made a ground of accusation against him, that when he waited upon him at his house in Downing-street, a third person according to his previous desire had not been present. To this he could only answer, that he was extremely sorry, there was not a third person present; for if there had, he made no doubt, that what was now brought forward in a stile of high crimination would have been so perfectly and fully explained, as to have rendered this public appeal, totally unnecessary.

A long personal altercation now ensued, consisting of a number of assertions and contradictions, till at length

Mr. Dunning

Mr. Dunning rose to the question, and in a short but most masterly speech, proved that the board of trade was useless; that it was no more than a mere appendage of administration, no matter what administration were composed of; and, that consequently, it ought to be abolished.

Mr. Wedderburn.

Mr. Wedderburn, Attorney General, now Lord Loughborough said, that while the conversation which the committee had just heard between a learned gentleman and the noble Lord near him, was going on, had he attempted to rise, the committee might have thought his intrusion improper; and some gentlemen might have imputed it to a desire of stopping what it was neither his interest, nor his wish to suppress. But the conversation being now over, he could no longer remain silent, nor suffer the committee to go away with an impression, that he wished them to suppose him altogether unconcerned in what had been said. The committee had heard a great deal about negotiations and promises relative to places; he begged leave to assure the committee, that he would not accuse the noble Lord of a breach of promise to him, because he never would negotiate for emolument out of the line of his profession, nor preferment in the line of it, with the noble Lord, or any other minister. He said, he had now served his Majesty for ten years in the several offices of Solicitor and Attorney General; that he had endeavoured to do his duty in those offices with all the zeal and ability he possessed; that he hoped he should not be accused of presumption, if he hinted, that in that course of time he had received frequent marks of the intended bounty of his royal master, an honour he highly valued.

valued, on account of the quarter from whence it came; but that his uniform rule had been, to pursue the line of his profession without looking to emolument, unconnected with it, and unmerited by him; that the learned gentleman knew that he never treated, that he never negotiated, that he never solicited office, that he never would solicit it, but but that, as had hitherto happened, he would not go to it, it should come to him; that he would not so disgrace the profession he belonged to, so demean his own character, and betray the interests of his country, as to seek for sinecure emoluments, as a compensation for quitting a profession by which he could maintain himself independent, without any expence to his country. The right honourable gentleman had said, that he had got the greatest sinecure he enjoyed, as a reward for doing the law business of the privy council, there being at that time no person of the profession belonging to that court.

Surely (said he) the learned gentleman has forgot, for at that time the then chief justice of the common pleas—[Here Sir Fletcher Norton said no.]—But the Attorney General went on, I beg the right honourable gentleman will recollect himself. Sir Eardly Wilmot, the person who now does the business of that court, was then of that council, the present master of the rolls, the present chief justice of the king's bench, the then chancellor; in short, all the persons of the law that usually belonged to the council.

He said, he knew the great respect due to the character and situation of the right honourable gentlemen. No doubt, when the learned gentleman honoured a committee, with his opinion, and spoke from that bench, he reduced himself to the level of any other member: but he had been so much accustomed to see him in that chair, the dignity of which he supported with so much strictness, that he could not separate him from his office; he therefore bowed with reverence to his great and respectable character, and would combat the weight of his opinion with all the deference that was due. He was fully sensible of the justice of the right honourable gentleman's remark, with respect to his unfitness for a law situation, when compared with the character of the right honourable gentleman. In proportion, as he thought highly of the learned gentleman's professional abilities, he thought humbly of his own; the learned gentleman had said, and truly said, that in point of character, of standing, pretensions and education, he was not equally qualified for a common law court

court with the honourable gentleman: he was as ready to allow his superiority, as the learned gentleman had been eager to assert it. But when that gentleman quitted Westminster Hall, to slide first into the enjoyment of a great sinecure, and afterwards to be exalted to the high situation he still held, he left behind him many who continued to labour, with industry and assiduity, in hopes that the line of preferment would be open to them, as a reward for their labours, and a gratification of their ambition. It was rather hard therefore, that the right honourable gentleman, should, in addition to his other advantages, throw his mantle over those he had left behind him to toil in the profession, that he should check their preferment, and secure an exclusive claim to himself to return to the profession, not for the purpose of joining in the toil of it, but merely to enjoy those posts of dignity and honour which other men had in the uniform routine of business laboured to merit, and hoped to receive when their turn came. For his part, he said, he looked upon the office of judge to be in its nature and execution so delicate, that it was unfit for solicitation, that he felt the character as too weighty ever to think of soliciting such an appointment as a favour, while at the same time he owned, he had not such an opinion of his own insufficiency as to make him ready to say, that he would reject an appointment if voluntarily offered by those, who were entrusted with the power of judging of the propriety of the appointment.

That whatever honours his Majesty might chuse to bestow upon an humble individual, he would receive them with respect and gratitude: but he never would enter into a negotiation with, or exact a promise from any minister. He then turned to Lord North, and in a degree of satire, and a warmth of eloquence, equally polished and poignant, equally severe on the Speaker and honourable to himself, but which suffers from our not being able to do it justice in this report. He said, with respect to his pretensions, he gave the noble Lord a *charte blanche*; he declared, that as long as their political life went on together, he never would, upon any occasion, remind the noble Lord of any promise he might have made to him—that he never would accuse him of breach of promise—that he never would be so forgetful of his own character, as to make private differences matter of public complaint, and that he would not so degrade himself, or be so lost to the decorum that was due to that House,

as to call upon them to interfere in a private negotiation, nor would he so humble his character as to make a difference with a minister the ground of his opinion, upon a great and important political regulation.

Mr. Attorney then went into a consideration of the clause in question, the tendency and consequences of which he placed entirely in a new light; and shewed, that the bill, by enacting that the business of the board of trade should hereafter be performed by a committee of council, revived an exploded and universally condemned system of business. Committees of council had, as our history afforded repeated instances, been intrusted with the operative and executive powers in various departments of the national business, and long experience had proved, that from a multitude of different causes, committees of council had not answered their end in this respect; it was therefore from the fullest conviction, grounded on repeated trials, that the board of trade had been instituted with a hope of its being able to prove itself an efficient board, and to do that, which committees of council had been found incapable of performing. He rallied the Speaker upon his opinion respecting the influence of the crown being enormous, about the board of trade being useless, and about the futility of the distinction between the household and the board under consideration, declaring that if the *ipse dixit* of any man, without proof, was to be the ground of decision, it was unnecessary either to argue or deliberate; and he concluded with shewing, that diminishing the power of the crown below its just proportion, would enable a selfish proscriptive aristocracy to rule the country, with all the tyranny attending such a government.

At a quarter past two o'clock in the morning the committee divided.

For abolishing the board of trade — 207

Against it — 199

Majority for abolishing the board of trade 8

which is the exact number of the board. Adjourned to the fifteenth.

March 15th.

After private business, the House went into a committee on the second part of the budget.

Lord North began with lamenting the evil of the day, declaring that the task of proposing taxes, the amount of

de- Lord North.

which must be so very heavy a burthen to the people as the necessary amount of those he had to offer, was the most arduous, the most unpleasant, and the most irksome, of any he had undergone or undertaken in the whole series of years that he had stood in his present situation. The burthen would oppress the subject in some degree; it had oppressed him already very greatly, and at that moment the weight of it was exceeding painful to him. He hoped therefore gentlemen would not encrease the evil, which was of itself much too large, by unnecessary going into matters of declamation and matters of personal attack upon him, which were not only improper at that time, but exceedingly unjust to agitate at any time, as they had been agitated. An honourable gentleman [Mr. W. Hartley] had said, that the country was brought into its present situation, and that the burthens about to be imposed on the people, were owing to his crimes; he would not now go into an argument upon that head, he would only say, that he had committed no crime, and that he had done his country no wrong whatever; so far from it, the line he had pursued and the plans he had been concerned in as a member of administration, and had supported as a member of Parliament, in concert with the majority of that House, had been solely calculated to support the just rights of Great Britain, to maintain our interests as a commercial people, and to defend the territories of the crown, and put them in safety from the attacks and designs of our enemies. These had all along been his motives; he felt every wanton effort of faction to traduce his character with no other emotion than that of contempt; he was conscious of his innocence, and whenever an enquiry was moved against him, or any specific charge of criminality brought forward, he would meet either with cheerfulness and with confidence, because he had no doubt of the justice of his country, and was certain they would not think he had merited their ill-will, when they had the whole matter before them. In the mean time he wished that all accusations might be suspended for that day at least, as the real business of it would sufficiently engage the attention of the committee.

Having made this exordium, his Lordship proceeded to the real business of the budget. The sum to be raised for the payment of the interest of the loan he stated to be 697,500*l.* a very large sum certainly, and which, burthened some as it would be to the people, was unavoidably neces-

far
ought not

fary to be produced by such taxes as the committee should approve. He had said, the last time the budget was in agitation before the committee, that the taxes he designed to propose should be substantial taxes, and such as might be relied on, as being most likely to answer the full amount for which they should be given. In order to do this, he had no other resource but in additional taxes to those already imposed on certain subjects of taxation, which from their nature were not likely to vary, or to fall short of the produce of that sum for which they might be taken. As these taxes must unavoidably be felt, his principal aim had been so to impose them, that they should bear equally upon the subjects, and while they answered the exigencies of the state, neither injure its commerce, nor deserve being complained of as a grievous burthen upon any description of the people.

The first object of his taxes, and from which indeed he meant to obtain the largest part of the sum required, was the brewery; that natural English beverage, malt liquor. But in imposing this tax, the difficulty lay in so settling it, that while the ends of finances were adequately answered, the pot of porter, and tankard of beer, should not meet the lip of the individual consumer with any additional charge upon either; that the one should not cost more than three-pence half-penny, its present price, nor the other more than what was now paid for it. In order to effect this purpose, of not increasing the price of porter, to the porter drinker, he had chiefly directed the tax at the private brewery, those who brewed their own small beer and ale, and who had not been taxed when the last impost was laid on the brewery, though they were, generally speaking, more opulent people, and better able to pay a duty than those who bought their small beer of the public brewer. When this idea was under consideration, the point chiefly to be taken care of was, to save the private brewer from the unwelcome visits of the excise-man, visits which no private gentleman would certainly have wished for, and which he thought it his duty, if possible, to prevent. Two ways had offered themselves for this purpose; the first was, by a composition in the nature of that proposed, when a tax which had been exceedingly obnoxious and unpopular, was proposed some years since; he meant the tax upon cyder. The objection then urged, was, that every private man's dwelling was his castle, and his sanctuary, and ought not to be rendered liable to the entry of the officers of

excise, who very properly and necessarily had access to the houses of those who carried on the brewery as a trade, and that though a composition was authorized by the act, yet that a man's house was ultimately liable to an exciseman's entering it, because if he suspected an unfair composition, or if the party making cyder for his own use, would not come into a composition, the exciseman had authority to enter, to guage the cyder, and to demand the full amount of the duty. Such was the objection, and certainly it had been founded, but how was it to be avoided? Because if the exigency of the state required that a tax should be imposed on cyder, and a composition was offered to save the persons liable to pay it from a more obnoxious mode of collection; if that composition was not accepted, a power must be given to compel the payment of the tax, or the ends of the revenue would not be answered. The same objection would undoubtedly have been made had a tax been imposed in like manner on the private brewery. The second way to protect the private brewer from the visits of the exciseman, that had been proposed, was by not meddling with the beer when it was brewed, but imposing a tax on its principal ingredient, malt. This was that, which he had adopted; and in order to save the public brewer, who was sufficiently taxed already from paying it, he meant that he should have an adequate allowance upon the beer.

More fully to explain how this must be done, his Lordship stated from written documents which he held in his hand, and which he declared to be authentic, an exact enumeration of the number of quarters of malt brewed in a year in the metropolis, and in other parts of the kingdom. Two quarters, he said, in London brewed five barrels of porter, or beer, and about two thirds of another barrel; the exact amount of a new duty designed to be laid upon malt therefore would be one shilling and four-pence and 19-23ds per barrel. In the country two quarters of malt, he understood, generally brewed about four barrels and a half of beer, the amount of the new duty therefore would upon the country beer be one shilling and eight-pence, and the fraction of a penny per barrel. The allowance that should make would be one shilling and four-pence to be London, and one shilling and eight-pence to the country brewer, and four-pence per barrel upon small beer, which he also in detail shewed to be about an average allowance upon the duty paid for the malt used. The fractions were

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singly considered but mere trifles, upon the whole brewery, however they amounted to a large sum, but he thought the public had a right to that advantage, and the public brewers would have no right to complain, because the tax would in all probability check the private brewery, and increase the business of the common brewers. He stated that the amount of the new taxes in the gross, would be 670,000, but deducting the allowances and other drawbacks, there would remain a neat 310,000*l.* at which sum he should take it; as the first part of the sum to be raised by the taxes he had to offer to the committee.

Having thus laid a burthen on the proper British beverage, it was natural for him to turn his eyes to other beverages; he first therefore should propose an additional tax on low wines, and spirits, made from malt. On the former he proposed to lay a duty of one penny per gallon, which would produce full 20,617*l.* On British spirits he proposed a duty of three-pence a gallon, the produce of which would be 34,557*l.*

The next object in view was foreign spirits; and first brandy, on which he should propose an additional duty of 1*s.* per gallon, which would produce 35,310*l.* Rum, though it came from the West Indies, he could not but regard as a species of foreign spirit, and he meant to lay the same duty upon it as upon brandy, viz. 1*s.* per gallon, which, as the importation was more than double that of brandy, would at least produce 70,958*l.* Some persons, he said, might suppose he had laid too heavy a duty on rum and brandy, and that it would tend to increase smuggling in brandies; he was convinced he had not; that the new duty would not lessen the consumption, and as to smuggling, the duties were already so high, that no increase of that dangerous trade was to be dreaded from the addition proposed. As brandy and rum were both, not only luxuries, but pernicious luxuries, he thought them very fair objects of additional taxation.

The next article he had turned his eyes to, had been lately tried, and experience had shewn, that it would very well bear an additional duty, and that without any increase of price to the consumer. The article he alluded to, was foreign wines. The legislature had two years since imposed a tax of four guineas a ton on Portugal wines, and eight guineas on French, which, on the former, amounted to a penny per bottle. The consequence was, the retail venders, the

the masters of taverns, coffee-houſemen, innkeepers, &c. had univerſally raiſed it upon the public fix-pence a bottle. The profits upon this increaſe had been ſhared between the wine-merchant and the tavern-keeper, &c. the former having, as he underſtood, made the latter pay 12l. a ton additional price, on account of the new duty. The tax he meant now to propoſe, was juſt double the former, viz. an additional penny per bottle, and the wine-merchant and tavern-keeper having, as he had ſtated, taken fix-pence per bottle of the conſumer, might very well afford to pay the new tax, without charging their customers more than they now charged them, viz. 2s. 6d. per bottle. His Lordſhip dilated upon the probable effect of this new tax, and ſaid it was not the intereſt of Great Britain to lay any heavy duty upon Portugal wines, becauſe Portugal was our ancient and beſt ally; we had a kind of natural connection with her in the wine trade. The new tax, he was pretty certain, would not decreaſe the importation, and as to any bad effects of it at home, he ſaw none; it certainly would not encourage adulteration, becauſe he verily believed that art was now ſtrained to its utmoſt perfection, and that it was not poſſible in the nature of things, to produce a bottle, under the denomination of port and other wines commonly drank at taverns, &c. with leſs wine in it, than was now repeatedly ſerved up in ſome houſes. He ſtated the whole amount of the importation of foreign wines, whence it appeared that out of 19,000 tons, annually imported, 1400 and odd came from Oporto, 400 from France, beſt part of the remainder from Spain, and about 70 tons from Germany. He charged the new duty only 4l. on Portugal wines, and 8l. on French, declaring that for the ſake of regulating the cuſtom-houſe buſineſs, he meant to add the 5 per cent. the ſame as had been laid on other imports, &c. laſt year, which would bring the duty up to four guineas and eight guineas, the ſame as before. His Lordſhip ſtated the produce of the additional tax on foreign wines at 72,000l.

His next object was coals exported. To ſhew that this was a juſtifiable object, he remarked that the duty paid at the port of London, was 2s. per chaldron more than was paid at Newcaſtle on exporting to Rotterdam, and other places, and therefore he meant to impoſe an additional duty of 4s. the Newcaſtle chaldron, which was double the London

London chaldron. The produce of this he gave at 12,899l.

Upon the whole of these taxes, his Lordship said, he should propose the additional duty of five per cent. the same as was last year imposed, which he took at 46,193l.

All these several taxes put together would still fall short nearly 100,000l. of the sum wanted; in order to make up this, he should propose various small taxes, and first a tax upon an article, which he was aware was a necessary one of life, and equally so to the poor and the rich; the tax therefore would be felt universally, but he trusted the mode in which he meant to impose it, would render it so trifling a burthen, that no person, however poor, would have cause to complain. The article he meant, had not been taxed last year, and was the article of salt. He stated the number of bushels accounted for to the salt office, said the gross produce of the present duties (which he also circumstantially stated, amounted to 900,000l. and yet the nett revenue of salt was no more than 240,000l. Nor was the decrease imputable to the charge of management, as had been frequently supposed. The entire charge of management was no more than 6,000l. The great difference between the gross receipt and the nett revenue was occasioned by the number of drawbacks, rebentures, and bounties, upon the exportation of salt provisions, and for various other matters, all established for the benefit and encouragement of trade and commerce. A bushel of salt contained 56lb. The duty he meant to impose would be 10d. per bushel which would not give any colourable pretext for the retail vender to charge the consumer more than one farthing a pound in addition to the present price, because that 1s. 2d. per bushel, even had he imposed the duty at that rate, would only amount to a farthing a pound. His Lordship stated that a peck of salt was sufficient for the use of any little family, a twelvemonth, and therefore there could be no ground of alarm at this tax, on a dread of its being oppressive and grievous to the poor. His Lordship took the produce of this tax at 69,000l.

The next matter he mentioned, was an additional duty six-pence on each advertisement inserted in a public newspaper, the produce of which he estimated at 9000l.

Another object was entirely a new tax, and yet he flattered himself that it would meet with no objection, and be received with great chearfulness: it was a tax on all receipts given to administrators and executors upon the payment of legacies

legacies. In order to enforce it, he meant to insert a clause in the tax bill, making all payments of legacies null and void, the receipts for which were not on stamped paper, and the proportion he designed to make them at would be this: 2s. 6d. for a stamp on a receipt for a legacy at or under 20l.: 5s. for a stamp for a receipt for a legacy at 20l. or over 20l. and 20s. for a stamp on every receipt for a legacy amounting to 100l. and upwards.

His Lordship said he had some thoughts of carrying this idea much farther. The Dutch had a tax called the collateral tax, which was the payment of a certain duty by every person not immediately the descendant of the deceased, who came into possession of his estate and effects. However it would be almost impossible to do exactly the same here, or to have ascertained the value of the property those who died in this country left behind them, by which the tax must necessarily be regulated, and precisely ascertained. The face of the will was the only guide we could have, and that was by no means a certain direction. He told the committee, that he had received several hints of such a tax, and one of his correspondents, among other reasons urging him to adopt it, used one which was rather comical, and that was that it would be a very productive tax, a tax which nobody would feel, for it would be paid by nobody till after he was dead. He owned he did not dislike the idea of the tax, but he could not adopt the reason used by his correspondent. The reason why he liked it was, that it was to be paid not by a dead man, but by a live man, and he trusted the live man would pay it, whether it should be, if at any time hereafter adopted, with perfect good humour and good will.

After stating his reasons, why he did not at present attempt to reduce the tax he had hinted at, into a practical shape, his Lordship declared, that the tax on legacy receipts, would be easily collected by the same persons who collected the other stamp duties on letters of administration &c. and that he took the produce at 21,000l.

The last object of his tax was an annual licence to be taken out by all dealers in tea; an idea which he had in contemplation last year. The price of the licence would be five shillings each, the produce of which would

His taxes altogether would stand thus :			£.
Malt, at 6d. per bushel	-	-	310,000
Low wines, at 1d. per gallon	-	-	20,617
Spirits, at 3d. ditto	-	-	34,557
Brandy, at 1s. per gallon	-	-	35,310
Rum, at 1s. ditto	-	-	70,958
Foreign Wines—Portugal, 4l. per ton ; French, 8l. per ton	-	-	72,000
Coals exported, 4s. per Newcastle chaldron			12,899
Five per cent. on the above duties	-		46,193
Salt, at 10d. per bushel	-	-	69,000
Stamps on advertisements and legacy receipts			21,000
Tea licence, at 5s. each	-	-	9,082

£.701,616

The total amount his Lordship remarked, would somewhat exceed the money wanted to pay the interest of the loan, but then there must necessarily be some allowance for contingencies. He remarked further, that the collection of all these taxes, would not occasion the appointment of an additional officer, or cost the public any thing. He gave notice, that he intended very soon to propose some mode of rendering the former taxes, which had turned out deficient, sufficiently productive to answer the amounts for which they had been given, and accounted why they had failed in their produce. He also congratulated the committee on the comfortable prospect for the next year, assuring them that there was, to his knowledge, various subjects of efficient taxation yet open to the public as resources, and which he had this year forbore to touch upon, for certain reasons. He mentioned also the 200,000l. of public monies which would fall in next year, and spoke of the East India company as another field of expectation, declaring that the three considered together, would be more than adequate to any probable necessity of the public. His Lordship concluded with moving his first proposition.

Mr. *Hartley* attacked Lord North severely, and arraigned Mr. *Hartley*. His proposed method of making an allowance to the brewer, shewing that it was open to great fraud, especially in the allowance upon small beer; and concluded with saying that he waved opposing the taxes, but should in a few days make a motion respecting America.

Mr. *Byng* said the petitions ought to be complied with before more taxes were voted.

Sir George
Yonge.

Sir George Yonge moved "that the chairman do leave the chair, and report a progress to the House."

Lord George
Gordon.

Lord George Gordon insisted on dividing the committee against the taxes. He was earnestly persuaded not to do so, by Colonel Barré and others; Lord George Gordon however kept resolute, and effected his purpose.

Ayes - 9. Noes - 135.

The second resolution was then read, and he divided the committee a second time with equal ill-success.

At length all the resolutions were read and carried.

March 16.

The comptroller of the navy was called to the bar, in consequence of the order of the House. Lord Howe asked him why the order of the House, for producing an account of the number of officers and seamen employed in the impressed service, with the number of men raised thereby, distinguishing the volunteers from the impressed men, and ascertaining the expence, with the parts or places where they were employed, could not be complied with in less than three months? The comptroller answered, that the volunteers and impressed men were included in the same account, and it would be a very tedious and difficult business to separate and proportion the expence. The officers had not all sent in their accounts; and it would take about that time before they could be compleated. The noble Lord asked him if an account could not be made out in less time, if the expence was not to be distinguished and appropriated? He answered in the affirmative; and having withdrawn, the noble Lord moved to discharge the former order, and make a new motion, tending to the same end, but avoiding the difficulty which would occasion the delay.

The House then went into the order of the day for hearing witnesses on a complaint of the honourable Temple Luttrell of corrupt practices in the borough of Melbourne Port, committed by Lord North, first Lord of the treasury or by agents acting in his name, tending to influence the next general election. The honourable gentleman moved that Samuel Daniel be called to the bar, the first question put to the witness, was, "whether he knew of any letter or note, purporting to be the note, or letter, of Lord North, addressed to Mr. Medlicot, approving of certain negotiations for the purchase of property and interest in that borough by Maurice Lloyd?" This question he answered in the negative. He said, that he saw a memoran-

dom made up at Yeovil, between Mr. Lloyd and Mr. Walters, for the purchase of the latter's property in the borough; but he did not recollect that it included any agreement for the purchase of borough interest. When this question was asked, the Attorney General objected to such a mode of examination. It was a leading question, and tended to inform the witness of the answer that was wished for. This was not the rule of examination, and would not be admitted into the courts below; nor would it be proper to go into a tedious inquiry into the mal-practices that had been committed in the borough of Melbourn Port, without first moving, that the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, the person accused, was privy to these practices. The agency must be established before the proof of the mal-practices was attempted.

Mr. Luttrell begged leave to disagree with the honourable *Mr. Luttrell*, gentleman in this respect. That might be the practice of the courts below, but it was not, nor could be common sense. He was so far a judge of the English language, though he was not of law, as to know that he must first prove that mal-practices had been committed before he proceeded to inquire who were the perpetrators. This was the tendency of the charge also; for it complained of corrupt practices having been committed, in the first instance, and then stated them to have been committed by Lord North, or agents acting in his name.

The *Solicitor General* said, that a paper writing had been mentioned, but the House could not enquire into the contents of that paper, and assume them as matter of crimination, unless the noble Lord was proved, in the first instance, to be privy to it. *The Solicitor General.*

Mr. Rous scouted this doctrine as incompatible with the matter in hand. True, it was the practice in contracts between man and man; but in cases of treason, and misdemeanor, the crime was proved to exist, and afterwards fixed on the actor. *Mr. Rous.*

The *Lord Advocate* observed, that unless it was first proved, that the men said to be the agents of Lord North, were proved to be so in the legal meaning of the word, no charge could be brought home against the noble Lord. *The Lord Advocate.*

Mr. Coventry condemned this shuffling and cutting. A man of the law, he said, was rising here, and another there, and introducing all the quibbles and quirks of Westminster. *Mr. Coventry.*

minster Hall, to defeat the process of justice and sound inquiry.

After some debate of this nature, in which Mr. Luttrell said that he had not pledged himself to prove, that the noble Lord in person, or by agents confessedly acting under his authority, had committed corrupt practices, but that the noble Lord had, by agents who pretended to act under him, been guilty of those things. This he had promised, and he would fulfil it.

The Authentic Minutes on the complaint against Lord North, relative to Milbourn Port.

Mr. Samuel Daniel,

Q. Do you know of any note, or letter, in the name of Lord North, addressed to Mr. Thomas Medlycot, signifying, directly or indirectly, that his Lordship approved of a treaty for the borough of Milbourn Port, between the said Mr. Medlycot and Maurice Lloyd, Esquire?

A. I know of no such note, or letter.

Q. Do you know of any written contract executed at Yeovil between Thomas Medlycot, Esq. and Maurice Lloyd, Esq. touching the borough interest at Milbourn Port.

A. I never saw one—I never saw any contract between Mr. Lloyd and Mr. Medlycot executed at Yeovil.

Q. Do you know, or have seen, any such contract?

A. I remember a memorandum drawn up at Yeovil, relating to the purchase of Mr. Walter's property in the town of Milbourn Port.

Q. Did that memorandum contain nothing relative to the sale and purchase of the borough interest? [*Withdraw.*
[*Called in again.*]

Q. Did that memorandum relate to any other matters besides the sale of Mr. Walter's estate? [*Question waved.*

Q. Do you know where that writing is?

A. I do not.

Q. Who was in possession of that memorandum when you saw it?

A. I had it in my own hands?

Q. To whom did you deliver it?

A. I delivered it into Lord North's hands.

Q. Have you here any copy of that memorandum?

A. No.

Q. When did you deliver it to Lord North?

A. A long time ago; can't say exactly when.

Q. Was it a year ago, or about what time?

A. Above a year ago, I think.

Q. Do you know of any sum of money stipulated to be paid after the next general election by Mr. Lloyd or Mr. Combes, or others, in case Medlycot's interest at Milbourn Port should prove unsuccessful?

A. I don't know of any.

Q. Do you know of 300l. received by Mr. Hallet, of Milbourn Port, in the course of the bargaining for Mr. Walter's property or interest at Milbourn Port?

A. No.

Q. Do you know of any written agreement between Maurice Lloyd, Esq. and others, for the purchase and sale of the borough interest at the next election, on which the name of Lord North was made use of?

A. I don't recollect any such thing.

Q. For what purpose did you put that paper into Lord North's hands?

A. To read.

Q. Did you leave it in Lord North's hands?

A. Lord North returned it. Can't say whether Lord North read it or not.

Q. How long had Lord North it in his possession?

A. A minute or two.

Q. Who was present at that time?

A. I think Mr. Lloyd; nobody else that I recollect.

Q. Where was this?

A. At Lord North's house in Downing-street.

Q. What became of the paper when you got it back again?

A. I took it home, and put it in my pocket, and left his lordship.

Q. Have you the paper now in your custody?

A. No, I believe I delivered it to Mr. Medlycot, but it's long ago, I can't recollect.

Q. Have you seen it since you delivered it to Mr. Medlycot?

A. I don't recollect I have.

Q. Why did you deliver it to Lord North?

A. Mr. Medlycot desired it; I had no particular reason for it.

Q. Did

Q. Did Lord North direct you what to do with it when he returned it?

A. Lord North did not say a syllable about it.

Q. Are you in habits of seeing Lord North in Downing-street?

A. No.

Q. Did you come to town on purpose of shewing that paper to Lord North?

A. No.

Q. How came you to go to Lord North's that day?

A. Mr. Medlycot desired me.

Q. Did you go with Mr. Lloyd to Lord North's, or meet him there?

A. If I recollect, Mr. Lloyd introduced me to Lord North.

Q. Did you understand that Mr. Lloyd had previously appointed to introduce you to Lord North?

A. I applied to Mr. Lloyd to introduce me to Lord North.

Q. Was it for the purpose of delivering that paper to Lord North?

A. I applied to Mr. Lloyd for that purpose, at Mr. Medlycot's request.

Q. Are you of any profession?

A. I am in trade—Grocer, and do something in the banking business.

Q. Do you usually do business for Mr. Medlycot?

A. Yes.

Q. When you saw the memorandum, was it signed by any body, or by whom?

A. It was signed by Mr. Medlycot, but nobody else.

Q. When you saw the paper signed, was Mr. Medlycot present?

A. Mr. Medlycot signed it, and I believe Mr. Lloyd was present.

Q. What were the contents of the paper?

A. It related to the purchase of Mr. Walter's property in the borough.

Q. By whom?

A. By Mr. Lloyd. Don't recollect it contained anything else. Mr. Lloyd absolutely refused to sign it.

Q. What reason did Mr. Lloyd give for refusing to sign it?

A. Don't

A. Don't recollect he assigned any reason.

Q. Did Mr. Lloyd sign it afterwards?

A. I never saw him sign it afterwards.

Q. Do you know whether the agreement was ever executed, and by whom?

A. I don't know that it was ever carried into an agreement.

[*Withdrew.*]

Mr. John Daniel.

Q. Do you know of any letter, or note, purporting to be from Lord North to Mr. Medlycot, or any other person, signifying, directly or indirectly, his Lordship's approbation of the treaty between Maurice Lloyd, Esq. and Thomas Medlycot, for certain property or interest in the borough of Milbourn Port?

A. No, I do not.

Q. Do you know of any written contract, or memorandum, relative to purchase, in the borough of Milbourn Port, by Maurice Lloyd?

A. No, I do not.

Q. Do you know of any sum of money agreed to be paid by Mr. Combes, or any other person, after the next general election, in case Mr. Medlycot's interest should succeed at Milbourn Port?

A. I do not.

Q. Did you ever know the name of Lord North made use of by Mr. Lloyd, or Mr. Medlycot, as being concerned, directly or indirectly, in the said purchase at Milbourn Port?

A. No.

Q. Do you know of a memorandum relating to a purchase at Milbourne Port, about twelve months ago, or upwards?

A. I do not.

Q. Do you know of the sum of 300l. paid to a Mr. Haller, of Milbourn Port?

A. I was not privy to any such agreement.

[*Withdrew.*]

Mr. Robert Bryan, Attorney.

Q. Do you know of a conveyance of property, about February, 1779, at Milbourn Port, made by Edward Waller, Esq. at Stalbridge, to Maurice Lloyd, of Dillington, in the county of Somerset?

A. It was in the month of February, 1779; I was employed by Mr. Lloyd, as an attorney, to transact some business

ness between him and Mr. Walter. In the course of that business, a great deal came to my knowledge. However inclined I might be to disclose that, I think myself not at liberty to do it, and therefore I submit myself to the candour of the House. I know nothing since February, 1779, except in the character of an attorney.

[*Withdrawn.*]

[*Cal'ed in again.*]

Q. Are you one of the capital bailiffs of Milbourn Port?

A. I apprehend I am—appointed by Mr. Walter.

Q. Was you acquainted with Mr. Walter, so as to expect such an appointment without the recommendation of a friend or client of yours?

A. I was not.

Q. By whom was you recommended to Mr. Walter?

A. I apprehend by Mr. Medlycot.

Q. Have you nominated a deputy?

A. Yes.

Q. Whether, or whether not, that deputy be joint returning officer for the borough of Milbourn Port, in case of an election, within twelve months after his appointment?

A. I apprehend he would. I appointed my deputy about Michaelmas, and apprehend he and another would be the joint returning officers if an election was to happen within twelve months.

Q. In certain conveyances made by Mr. Walter to Mr. Lloyd, whether there be not certain interests, (stiled incorporeal interests) which are said to give a right of voting at Milbourn Port?

A. I beg leave to refer to the conveyance itself.

Q. Do you know of any contract for the borough of Milbourn Port?

A. I could wish that the word contract might be explained.

Q. Do you know of any contract for returning members for the borough of Milbourn Port?

A. I do not.

Q. Did you, or did you not, voluntarily, and without any confidence required on Mr. Luttrell's part from the nature of your communication, produce to Mr. Luttrell what you stated to be the copy of such contract?

A. I produced a copy of a paper which I do not understand to be a contract, it not being signed by any body

which was the contract that the question I understood alluded to. I likewise produced—*[Interrupted.]* *[Withdrew.]*

[Called in again.]

I likewise produced, at the same time, to the honourable gentleman, a copy of another paper which appeared to me to be a contract made in February, 1774, for a seat in Parliament, for the borough of Milbourn Port, for the honourable gentleman himself; which contract appeared to be signed by the honourable gentleman: the original of which contract I have now in my hand.

Q. How do you know either of these papers to be copies of the original papers?

A. The copies I produced to the honourable gentleman, I transcribed from the copies themselves.

Q. Where was the original paper which you conceived not to be a contract, because it was not signed.

A. The paper was in the hands of Mr. Lloyd at the time I copied it.

Q. When and where did you copy it?

A. I copied them both, last Tuesday, in Mr. Lloyd's house.

Q. Do you know the hand writing of either of those contracts?

A. I believe the hand writing of the first paper to be Mr. John Hyde's, but I never saw him write?

Q. Do you know the hand writing of the second.

A. The second appeared to me to be written in two different hands.

Q. For what purpose did you produce these papers to Mr. Luttrell?

A. I produced both these papers to Mr. Luttrell, that he might see how liable he was to be accused on clear grounds of an offence with which he was charging the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, upon little or no grounds as it appeared to me.

Q. Are you, or are you not employed as attorney by Mr. Lloyd, who is the person accused by Mr. Luttrell in this transaction?

[Question objected to.]

Q. Are you or are you not employed as Mr. Lloyd's attorney? when you threw yourself on the protection of the House as an attorney, for whom did you mean?

A. I meant Mr. Lloyd in the business.

Q. Whether or not when you came to Mr. Luttrell's house, and produced the papers, his observation was or was not to this purpose?

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"That I was resolved to do my duty on that occasion, that whatever charge might be invented or authenticated against me, would not obstruct me in that duty, as to the paper he had produced concerning a former election, and presuming I was therein involved, that paper I would make a present of myself, if he pleased, to whoever should accept of it, and I wished the ministerial lawyers to make the most of it they could."

A. I wish to report what I remember the honourable member said on that occasion.

He said, he did not know such a paper existed, but if he had, he should have called for it. He said, as he says now, that he would do his duty in Parliament, as his election had undergone an examination in a committee. He apprehended this paper could not now affect him. I don't remember that Mr. Luttrell then made use of the words he has now, of a charge being brought against him, nor do I remember he said any thing about the crown lawyers.

Q. Whether any paper you produced to Mr. Luttrell was signed by him?

A. Not the papers I produced to Mr. Luttrell.

Q. Did you then say you had any original paper in your possession, or pretend to have any original papers in your possession that would affect Mr. Luttrell?

A. I did not directly say so, nor did he understand it from any body else, but from the note at the bottom of the paper. The honourable gentleman read the paper, and at the bottom was written, "A true copy, examined with the original, by me R. Bryant." From whence I concluded he knew it.

Produces another paper, a copy of a draft in Hyde's hand writing examined therewith by me R. Bryant.

Q. How did you know the papers from whence you transcribed the copies to be originals?

A. As to the first, I did not understand it to be an original paper, but only a draft of a paper, there being no name to it. I believe the letter to be an original paper, because the names T. H. Medlycot, Temple S. Luttrell are subscribed thereto, and appeared to me to be authentic.

Q. Did you know Mr. Luttrell's hand writing, when you certified that to be authentic.

A. I never saw Mr. Luttrell write, nor have any opportunity of knowing his hand writing, otherwise than by a letter which I received from him, requiring me to produce all

pers in my possession, which letter I received at the time I received the order of the House to attend.

Q. Was the letter you received from Mr. Luttrell, signed Temple S. Luttrell?

A. The letter does not appear to be signed Temple S. Luttrell, there is a striking similitude of hand writing.

Q. Have you ever seen the hand writing of John Hyde?

A. I never saw him write, nor ever saw any other of his hand writing, unless this paper be of his hand writing, which I was informed it was.

Q. From whom did you receive the paper, you suppose to be Mr. Hyde's hand writing?

A. I saw it in Mr. Lloyd's possession, and copied it from thence.

Q. Does the paper, which is not signed, appear to be an agreement between Mr. Medlycot, Mr. Lloyd, and Lord North?

A. Certainly not.

Q. How long have you been in town?

A. I came to town last Monday in the afternoon, in obedience to order.

Q. Have you had directly or indirectly, by writing or otherwise, any communication with Lord North, since this matter has been depending a month or two months past?

A. I have not.

Q. Whether or not that paper makes use of Lord North's name, to have the nomination of a member or members, at the next general election?

[Question objected to.]

Q. Does that paper relate to the next general election at Milborne Port?

[Question objected to.]

Q. Whether Lord North had at any time any conversation, or communication by speech, writing, message, or otherwise, with Mr. Bryant, touching the election of members for Milborne Port in the next Parliament?

A. Lord North never had at any time directly or indirectly, any conversation or communication with me, by message, writing, or otherwise, touching the election for members at Milborne Port at the next general election.

Q. Did you ever hear that Lord North was party to any agreement for the procuring a seat in Parliament for Milborne Port at the next election?

A. I never did hear that Lord North was party to any agreement for procuring a seat of a member for Milborne Port, at the next election.

Q. Is Lord North's name mentioned in that paper?

[Question objected to---Withdrawn.]

[Called in again.]

Q. Have you the paper you shewed to Mr. Luttrell?

A. Yes.

Q. As what did you produce it to Mr. Luttrell, On what pretence?

A. I produced it to Mr. Luttrell, that he might see how liable he was to an accusation capable of proof, of an offence with which he was charging the noble Lord, on little or no grounds, as it appeared to me.

Q. For what purpose did you produce the paper signed?

A. I produced both with the same intention to Mr. Luttrell; one as a complete charge against Mr. Luttrell; the other, to shew how weak his evidence was against the noble Lord.

Q. Did you then insinuate to Mr. Luttrell, what use was to be made of these papers?

A. I did not. I let Mr. Luttrell draw that conclusion himself.

Q. Did you produce the paper unsigned, to shew Mr. Luttrell how incomplete his proof might be in support of his charge?

A. I did, so far as Mr. Luttrell's proofs arose from the paper.

The paper was desired to be brought up.

This objected to.

[Withdrawn.]

Called in again, and told by Mr. Speaker he is not to leave the House, nor part with the papers talked of; and then he withdrew.

Mr. John Hyde.

Q. Did you ever see a letter or note, purporting to be from Lord North to Mr. Medlycot, and relating to a treaty between Mr. Medlycot and Mr. Lloyd?

A. Yes.

Q. Can you tell the contents of that note?

[Question objected to---Withdrawn.]

[Called in again.]

Q. Did you ever read that note or letter?

A. Yes.

Q. Once, or more than once?

A. Two or three times.

Q. Where is that note or letter?

A. I don't know; it was produced by Mr. S. Daniel, of Yeovil, at Mr. Medlycot's house.

Q. What

Q. What are the contents of the letter ?

[*Question objected to.---Withdrew.*

[*Called in again.*

I beg leave to mention one thing before I am examined ; I know nothing of any transaction but what I was immediately concerned in myself ; and beg to know whether that may tend to convict myself.

Q. In whose hands did you see the note or letter ?

A. In Mr. Samuel Daniel's.

Both witnesses called in again---Mr. Hyde directed to go on---Minutes again read.

Mr. Hyde---It was thus---“ Lord North presents his compliments to Mr. Medlycot, and has no objection to his treating with Mr. Lloyd.”---I believe that is as near the contents as may be.

Q. Now, Daniel, had you any such letter in your hands ?

A. I think I had, but I believe the word “ treating ” was not in it. It was, “ Lord North's compliments to Mr. Medlycot ; he has no objection to Mr. Lloyd.”

Q. [To Daniel] Is the note in your possession ?

A. Not at present.

Q. To whom did you deliver it ?

A. I think, to the best of my recollection, Mr. Lloyd had it.

Q. When did you deliver it to Mr. Lloyd ?

A. On my honour, I can't tell.

Q. When did you part with it ? How long since ?

A. About a year ago, or more.

[Daniel's evidence on this subject read to him---Daniel withdrew.] [Hyde remained at the bar.]

Q. Was any thing done, in consequence of that note, by Mr. Medlycot ?

A. Yes.

Q. What ?

A. A meeting was held at Mr. John Daniel's house, where Mr. Lloyd was, Mr. Medlycot, two Mr. Daniels, and myself. In consequence of which meeting, an agreement was entered into between Mr. Lloyd and Mr. Medlycot, a copy of which agreement is here.---

[*Proceeds to read it.*

“ ——— between Mr. Medlycot of Milborne Port, in the county of Somerset, and Mr. Lloyd of Dillington, in the said county, made——— ”

Q. What is that ?

A. The rough draft.

Q. Is it signed ?

A. No.

A. No.

Q. Whose writing is it ?

A. Mine, great part ; and the greatest part of the interlineations Mr. Lloyd's.

Q. Was the original ever executed ?

A. I can't say it was.

Q. Did you ever understand from the parties, or either of them, that the original was executed ?

[Withdrawn.]

[Called in---reads.]

“ A memorandum between Mr. Medlycot, of Milborne Port, and Mr. Lloyd, made for the defraying the necessary expences so far as hereafter-mentioned sums may extend, which may arise in procuring a seat in parliament for the borough of Milborne Port, in the said county, for either the said Mr. Lloyd, or such other gentleman as Lord North, Mr. Medlycot, or Mr. Lloyd, shall mutually approve. The said Mr. Lloyd agrees to deposit in the hands of Messrs. J. and S. Daniel, bankers, in Yeovil, the sum of 1500l. for the purpose of purchasing Mr. Walter's interest in the said borough of Milborne Port, for and on account, and for the sole use and risque of Mr. Medlycot, on the said Mr. Lloyd's receiving eight days notice from the said Messrs. Daniel, to pay the same, and receiving the proper security, such as the said Mr. Lloyd shall approve of before he advances the sum aforesaid, and the said Mr. Lloyd is to receive of the said Mr. Medlycot, after the rate of 5l. per cent. per annum from the time of the deposit of the said 1500l. until such time as the said Mr. Lloyd, or the approved friend shall have been seated peaceably fourteen days, and in case the said Mr. Lloyd or his friend shall not be returned, or have a seat, then the said sum of 1500l. to be returned to him, again, without deduction, and the said Mr. Medlycot is to give Mr. Lloyd proper security, such as Mr. Lloyd shall approve, for the payment of the said sum of 1500l. and the said Mr. Lloyd agrees to pay Mr. Medlycot the further sum of 1500l. immediately after the expiration of the fourteen days [quitting] possession of his seat in Parliament, and in the mean time to lodge proper security in the hands of the said Messrs. Daniel for the payment of the same, in the name of the real candidate to be made known to the said Mr. Medlycot, and to make his appearance six months prior to the said election, if required.

N. B. The above agreement to be nulled and void unless the above purchase of Mr. Walter's interest in the said borough is made.

“ Mr. Medlycot further agrees, that in case Mr. Luttrell does not contribute the like sum, as his share towards the expence of bringing him into Parliament, which request shall be immediately made, after the signing this agreement, then Mr. Medlycot will give Lord North the option of recommending to him another gentleman in the room of Mr. Lloyd ; Mr. Medlycot further agrees to give Lord North the recommendation of another gentleman, provided Mr. Luttrell is not a candidate on Mr. Medlycot's interest. Mr. Medlycot is to come to the knowledge of Mr. Luttrell's intentions respecting the same with all convenient speed, and as soon after this agreement is completed by Mr. Lloyd as possible. Mr. Lloyd undertakes to use his endeavours to purchase Mr. Walter's interest in the borough, if the same does not exceed 1500l. for the use and purposes aforesaid ; and Mr. Medlycot agrees to take the said purchase, provided it does not exceed that sum.”

Q. What was meant by Mr. Walter's interest ?

A. Property and houses, bonds, notes and five capital bailiffs.

Q. Does he think or believe that Mr. Walter was directly or indirectly privy to this agreement ?

A. Within these ten days I have heard Mr. Walter say, that he would sooner have given away his property than it should get in the hands it is now in ; he looked upon it as the greatest he ever met with in all his life.

Q. Do you know that a Mr. Hallet, of Milborne Port, received a considerable sum of money, 300l. or thereabouts, to carry this business into effect, with his master Mr. Walter ?

A. I did not see him receive the money, Mr. Daniel can give the whole account of that transaction ; I made the agreement with Mr. Hallet, and therefore don't wish to speak against myself.

Q. At what time of the year did you make that memorandum ?

A. The beginning of February, 1779.

Q. Have you understood, or have you reason to believe that that agreement, or any part of it, was carried into effect ?

A. With respect to Mr. Walter's property it was I am positive of it.

Q. Was you at any time offered a place, or a sum of money, if you would prevail on Mr. Medlycot to give up Mr. Luttrell, and not support him as a candidate ?

A. Mr.

A. Mr. Lloyd offered me a note of 500l. if I would prevail on Mr. Medlycot to relinquish Mr. Luttrell.

Q. Did he say any thing of a place or public employment?

A. He mentioned a place of 100l. per annum.

Q. Did you ever hear Mr. Lloyd, or any other person declare, that Lord North's principal object was to get Mr. Luttrell out of Parliament?

A. Mr. Lloyd at the same time told me, that Lord North had determined to oppose Mr. Luttrell, go wherever he would.

Q. Was it ever expressed, or understood in the borough, that the nomination was to be in fact Lord North's, not Mr. Lloyd's; and have you heard Mr. Medlycot declare, that he little considered Mr. Lloyd, or words to that effect, that Lord North was his man?

[Question objected to---Withdrawn.]

[Called in again.]

Q. Whether the part of that paper, not written by Mr. Lloyd himself, but written by him, the witness, was with the approbation or privity of Mr. Medlycot?

A. The whole was with the privity of Mr. Medlycot; he was present in the room all the time.

Q. Did you mean to have it understood, that no such agreement was carried into effect, or rather you meant to say, that you could not, positive to your knowledge, declare that it had been executed?

A. I meant to say, that I could not take upon me to say, that the agreement was signed by the contracting parties, it was a late hour of the night, and we had put about the bottle pretty briskly.

Q. Do you mean, when that rough draft was taken, or at a subsequent day?

A. On that very day, that the rough draft was taken, and I believe it was executed about one o'clock in the morning, if it was executed at all.

Q. Can you inform the House of Mr. Hutchins's declaring to you of his having been in London on a visit to Mr. Robinson, the Secretary of the Treasury, on this transaction?

[Question objected to---Withdrawn.]

[Called in again.]

Q. Who were present, when that memorandum was drawn, and the business settled?

A. Mr. Medlycot, Mr. Lloyd, and Mr. Hutchins.

A. Mr. Medlycot, Mr. Lloyd, the two Mr. Daniels and myself.

Q. Was Mr. George Hutchins there?

A. No.

Q. Do you know of any contractor engagement for indemnification entered into by Mr. George Hutchins, or in which Mr. George Hutchins was a party?

A. Mr. Bryan can better inform you of this—I never drew any myself.

Q. Have you seen any?

A. I can't say I ever read it.

Q. Do you know of a draft for 3000l. or some such sum to be paid eventually on the success of Mr. Lloyd's negotiation?

A. I did see a note of hand for that sum signed with the name of an honourable member of this House.

Q. What was the condition of that note?

A. I can't recollect.

Q. By whom was it signed?

A. By Mr. Coombe.

Q. Did you ever see Mr. Coombe's hand writing?

A. I can't say I ever saw him write.

Q. Do you know of any part of this transaction in which Mr. George Hutchins was a party?

A. Nothing more than I have heard him say.

Q. Do you know to whose order Mr. Coombe's note was payable?

A. I can't say.

Q. Do you not know of any indemnifying engagement entered into by Mr. George Hutchins in favour of Mr. Lloyd, in case the treaty for the borough of Milborne Port should not succeed?

A. I was in the room when Mr. Bryan was ordered to draw such a note by the parties; I can't say that I read it.

Q. Was it an indemnification for any specific sum of money, and what?

A. I understood it to be such.

Q. What sum?

A. Six thousand pounds.

Q. Did Mr. Hutchins declare that he had given up Mr. Nuttrel, at Mr. Robinson's house in London?

[Question objected to—*Withdrawn.*

[Called in again.]

Q. Did you ever meet at Mr. Medlycot's, or was in company for the purpose of hearing any declaration respecting

this treaty for the seat at Milborne Port on Mr. Hutchins's return from London? [*Question objected to---Withdrawn.*]

And it being near one o'clock in the morning, further hearing was adjourned.

March 17.

Mr. Luther. Mr. Luther presented a petition from the clergy, gentlemen, and freeholders, of the county of Essex, similar to that received from York; ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. Crowe. Mr. Crowe brought in a bill for the better securing the freedom of election, by preventing certain placemen from voting for members of Parliament, and moved that it should be read for the first time.

Mr. Harris. Mr. Harris said, he thought he should not do his duty, if he did not object to this bill, even on its first reading, as it went, in his opinion, to destroy the rights of the electors of Great Britain. So long ago as twenty years, he was applied to for the purpose of bringing in such a bill, but he declined it; for he really thought it of a most arbitrary and despotic tendency; and as he thought so still, he should certainly give it every means of opposition in his power.

**Sir Philip
Fennings
Clerke.**

Sir Philip Fennings Clerke said, it did not in the least surprise him, that the honourable gentleman should take a resolution of opposing the bill brought in, as the borough he represented was entirely voted away by excise office and placemen, and no others.

The bill was then read, and ordered for a second reading on the 21st.

Mr. Hartley. Mr. Hartley intimated to the House an intention of troubling it very soon with a motion respecting America. He should not, he said, move for declaring her independent of this country; he trusted he was not thought capable of so gross an absurdity: but he should certainly move for withdrawing our troops. The honourable gentleman then reminded the House, that the order of the day stood for going into a committee of ways and means, to receive the report of the taxes; but he supposed the order would be discharged, to make way for another business (meaning the purchase of Milborne Port) and he hoped the report of the taxes would be put off till the 7th of April, the day appointed for taking the petitions of the people of England into consideration.

Lord North. Lord North said, he did not mean that the report of the taxes should be then brought up; but he desired gentlemen would not possess themselves of an idea, that it was to be

ferred till after the considerations of the petitions, as he certainly meant to take the first open day for it.

Mr. Temple Luttrell then moved the order of the day for Mr. Luttrell. resuming the enquiry into the complaint he had brought against Lord North, respecting the purchase of the borough of Milborne Port.

The Authentic Minutes on the further hearing of the complaint respecting the Borough of Milborne Port.

Mr. John Hyde.

Q. Then you say, the treaty was carried into execution with respect to Mr. Walter's property? Do you mean the transfer of the property from Mr. Walter to Mr. Lloyd, or from Mr. Lloyd to Mr. Medlycot, or both?

A. The transfer was first from Mr. Walter to Mr. Lloyd, and afterwards from Mr. Lloyd to Mr. Medlycot. I have seen both the deeds, and Mr. Medlycot has received half a year's rent, due last Michaelmas.

Q. Have you seen, at any time, a note given by Mr. Hallett to Mr. Medlycot, for 300l. or thereabouts?

A. Yes.

Q. Whether Mr. Medlycot expressed a disposition to give up Mr. Luttrell, or otherwise?

A. Mr. Medlycot was always very averse to give up Mr. Luttrell, till such time as his brother came from London, and when his brother came from London, and told him, what had passed between Mr. Robinson and him, he seemed very much displeased at it.

Q. How do you know Mr. Medlycot was displeased?

[Question objected to---Withdrew.

[Called in again.]

Q. Did you ever read a conveyance from Mr. Lloyd to Mr. Medlycot of Mr. Walter's property at Milborne Port?

[Question objected to---Withdrew.

[Called in again.]

Q. Repeated.

A. Yes, I have.

Q. Have you ever heard a declaration from Mr. Medlycot, that Lord North was his man?

A. That question has been answered.

Q. Repeated.

A. Yes, I have heard him say so repeatedly, and I have rather checked Mr. Medlycot for using his Lordship's name.

A a a 2

Q. What

Q. What do you mean by checking Mr. Medlycot ?

A. Blamed him—found fault with him for using his Lordship's name.

Q. Have you reason to believe, that his Lordship's name was used without authority ?

A. I never supposed he had any other authority, than what arose from that agreement.

Q. Do you know where Mr. Lloyd resided in the country at that time.

A. Yes, at Dillington, in the county of Somerset, where Milborne Port is.

Q. Did Mr. Lloyd ever apply to you to raise and pay recruits about the time of this transaction for a corps, in which Captain North, the son of Lord North, is an officer ?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you raise any men on that authority ?

[Question objected to---Withdrawn.]

[Called in again.]

A. Mr. Lloyd desired me, and I raised two men.

[Withdrawn.]

[Called in again.]

Q. Was you not many years in confidence with Mr. Medlycot ?

[Question objected to---Withdrawn.]

[Called in again.]

Q. Repeated.

A. Certainly many years.

Q. When did you first give notice to Mr. Luttrell of this transaction ?

N. B. This question put by Colonel Onslow.

A. About a month ago. When I first communicated this affair to Mr. Luttrell, I did not do it with an intention to bring it before the House : my intention and request to Mr. Luttrell was for him to wait on Lord North, and to acquaint him that he was in possession of certain facts, in which I thought his Lordship might be involved, and I requested Mr. Luttrell, at the same time, to speak to him in a friendly manner, in order to compromise the matter, and if he could not succeed in that point, this might be a proper enquiry before a committee at the general election.

Q. Are you not indebted a considerable sum to Mr. Medlycot ?

[Question withdrawn.]

Q. Have you, or have you not, in consequence of Mr. Medlycot having taken your goods in execution, declared

that

that you would be revenged of Mr. Medlycot?

[*Question objected to---Withdrew.*

[*Called in again.*]

Q. What was Mr. Luttrell's answer, and on what ground did he object to the attempting a compromise with Lord North?

A. As well as I can recollect, Mr. Luttrell's answer was, that not only his honour was very much wounded in this respect, but that it was a great national affair, and ought to be enquired into, and that he would not accept a seat on such terms, nor even ten seats. [*Withdrew.*

Mr. Samuel Daniel again called in.

The question and answer read in the former part of his evidence, respecting the agreement executed at Yeovil respecting the signing the memorandum.

Part of Hyde's evidence.---The draft of the agreement read.

Q. Was that the purport of the memorandum you recollect to have seen at Yeovil?

A. I don't believe it was. It was so late in the day that any thing of that kind was done I can't charge my memory with it.

Q. Was you present when the memorandum was signed at Yeovil?

A. I think I was.

Q. Who else?

A. Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Hyde, Mr. Medlycot, I can recollect nobody else.

Q. Was Mr. J. Daniel there?

A. He was in and out of the room, but don't remember he was there at that time, [*Withdrew.*

Mr. John Daniel.

Q. Was you present at Yeovil when a memorandum was signed in or about February last?

A. I came into the room at the time Mr. Medlycot had got a pen in his hand. I had been absent an hour, and he was writing his name to something, I don't know what, but I heard afterwards it was an agreement, but what it was, or the contents, I never knew.

Q. Did you know it was a memorandum?

A. I can't tell what it was.

Q. Whether before you absented yourself, nothing passed relative to what were to be the contents of that paper?

A. There

A. There was only one particular thing I heard talked of, that was relating to the purchase of Mr. Walter's property at Milborne Port; that was all I knew.

Q. Did not you then apprehend, that when you saw Mr. Medlycot signing a paper he was signing an agreement to that effect?

A. I really did not know what it was.

Q. What was the time you saw Mr. Medlycot take a pen in his hand?

A. About eleven or twelve at night.

Q. From whom did you hear it was an agreement?

A. From the company in general.

[Withdrawn.]

Mr. John Hyde---again.

Q. Whether Mr. J. Daniel was present at the time that you and Mr. Lloyd jointly wrote the paper?

A. He certainly was, and I have a paper here that was a proposition of Mr. J. Daniel, made at the same time to bring about the contract, written by Mr. J. Daniel; the contents allude to the same.

[Reads the paper.]

Mr. Medlycot desires to leave the affair of the purchase of Mr. Walter's interest and property in the borough of Milborne Port to Mr. Lloyd, and he further consents to Mr. Lloyd's receiving to himself and for his own use any deduction in the price, provided it is not less than 1300l.

Q. Was that paper agreed to by the parties?

A. There was a dispute about 200l. Mr. Lloyd offered 2800l. Mr. Medlycot insisted on having 3000l. at that time we were not exactly certain what Mr. Walter would ask for his estate, and therefore in order that Mr. Lloyd should not exceed the sum of 2800l. Mr. J. Daniel drew this paper himself in order to bring about an agreement.

Q. Was Mr. J. Daniel present?

A. It was wrote at that time by Mr. J. Daniel, for we never had any other meeting. It was agreed at the first meeting.

A motion was made, and the question being proposed, That the paper read at the bar by Mr. J. Hyde, purporting to be the draft of an agreement between Mr. Medlycot and Mr. Lloyd, and being in part in the hand writing of Mr. Lloyd, be delivered in at the table and read.

Question amended, by inserting, after Lloyd, "and the remainder in the hand writing of the witness, John Hyde."

The

Then the question, thus amended, being put, the House divided, ayes 15, noes 108.

Mr. Robert Bryant.

Q. The witness is desired to produce the two papers which he brought to Mr. Luttrell's house, and put into his hands, and which papers he perused; the contract between Mr. Walter and Mr. Lloyd, and another between Mr. Lloyd and Mr. Medlycot.

A. The papers I shewed to Mr. Luttrell were only drafts of contracts, and I told him so at the time; and I likewise told him that Mr. Medlycot had the originals engrossed from those drafts.

Q. Who ingrossed these contracts?

A. My clerks.

Q. Who attended the execution of these contracts?

[*Objects to answer it, as the client is not to be accused out of the attorney's mouth.*]

Q. Do you know that those contracts were delivered and kept in Mr. Medlycot's hands?

[*Objects to answer it.*]

[*Withdrew.*]

Mr. John Hyde.

Q. Whether Maurice Lloyd, at the time of his writing a part of that memorandum, or draft of an agreement, assumed an authority for making use of Lord North's name therein.

A. He used Lord North's name therein.

Q. Was Mr. Lloyd understood by the parties so to do?

Question objected to.

Q. You will report, if you are certain, that that paper was written entirely by Mr. Lloyd and yourself.

A. I am very certain.

Q. Was it in the presence of Mr. Medlycot, or did he see it?

A. I have already said Mr. Medlycot was in the room all the time, and saw it.

Q. By whose direction did you write your part?

A. By Mr. Lloyd's.

Q. Did Mr. Medlycot know the contents of the memorandum?

A. Certainly.

[*Withdrew.*]

Lord North was heard in his place, and then he withdrew. And a motion being made, and the question being proposed, "That it appears to this House, that there have been various undue and corrupt practices, respecting the election of members

members to serve in Parliament for the borough of Milborne Port, in the county of Somerset at the approaching general election," an amendment was proposed, by Mr. Solicitor-General Wallace, to add, at the end of the question, these words, " committed by the right honourable Lord North, first lord commissioner of his Majesty's treasury, or others, acting as his agents in the said transaction," which was agreed to.

Then the main question thus amended being put, it passed in the negative.

A motion being made, and the question being proposed also by Mr. Solicitor General (Wallace)

" That the said charge against the right honourable Lord North is ill founded and injurious."

And the previous question being put, that this question be now put.

It passed in the affirmative.

Mr. Luttrell concluded his evidence (so far as it was not denied him by a majority of the House) with reading the following declaration, dated in November last, written and signed by Mr. Medlycot, and which paper Mr. Luttrell proposed to present; but was refused. " Unprepared as I was, without even a promise of support from you. In this critical situation an offer was afterwards made to me of an assignment of Mr. W——'s borough-property, on condition of my supporting a double recommendation of their's. To this proposal, my necessity and not my will consented."

Mr. Luttrell. Mr. *Luttrell* concluded with saying, that he had proved, he hoped to the demonstration of the House, that a person, acting as the agent of Lord North, had been guilty of corrupt practices in the borough of Milborne Port; a circumstance, which if it was not done with the noble Lord's privity and consent, he would thank him for making public, that the same gentleman might not go with such pretences to the different boroughs of this country. In all the west of England he was distinguished by the appellation of Lord North's Lloyd. He had been guilty of similar abuses at Ilchester, and several other boroughs. He was tenant to Lord North; recruiting officer; lived with him in habits of intimacy, and had been his generally acknowledged agent.

Lord North. Lord *North* defended himself against the charge by saying that no part of it had been proved. Instead of having adduced evidence to prove that either he or his agents had been guilty of the corrupt practices, he had concluded this accusation with saying barely that persons pretending to be his agents

agents had committed them. Mr. Lloyd was never his agent. True he was his tenant, and he paid him a valuable consideration for the lands which he farmed. He had raised some recruits for one of his sons, but he had done this not from any lucrative motives, but from friendship. True he had visited Mr. Lloyd, because he was accustomed in the summer time to go into the country to settle his accounts and arrange his affairs, and Mr. Lloyd rented his house which was in the midst of his tenants. But all this did not amount to an agency; he had given Mr. Lloyd no commission to purchase any interest in Milborne Port, and he was totally innocent of the charge.

Mr. Luttrell replied to this, and moved a resolution, "that Mr. Luttrell. divers undue and corrupt practices had taken place in the return of representatives for the borough of Milborne Port at the next general election."

The Solicitor General [Mr. Wallace] moved, as an amendment, to this, the following words to be added, "committed The Solicitor General. by the right honourable Lord North, the first commissioner of His Majesty's treasury, or by persons acting as his agents in this transaction." This amendment he said he moved, because the other did not either acquit or condemn the object of the charge.

The House were generally of opinion that the amendment ought to be admitted, and that though there was not legal proof of Lord North's guilt, yet it was apparent that there had been undue and corrupt practices committed in the borough.

Mr. Fox said, he hoped the House would not in their decision on this question forget the justice that was due to the borough. It was a crime infinitely greater in gentlemen to commit such shameful transactions, than for boroughs, oppressed with poverty, like Shoreham, to make bribery the means of their existence. He hoped the House would take it up, and proceed upon it in a proper manner.

The question, with the amendment, was negatived.

Col. Holroyd moved, that the charge brought against Lord North was ill founded and injurious. Col. Holroyd.

Sir George Howard seconded the motion.

Mr. Fox said, if nothing further was intended, he thought the motion a very immaterial one; it meant nothing, but if it was to be followed by any motion of censure against the honourable gentleman who brought the charge, he should oppose it, to the utmost; apprehending, however, that there was some motion of that kind in reserve, he would move the previous question. He thought the friends of the motion extremely

trremely inconsistent, if that was their design ; for he very well remembered, when he had upon former occasions, mentioned the judgment of the court martial upon Admiral Keppel, that the charges brought against him were malicious and ill founded ; the other side of the House, and the noble Lord himself [Lord North] said, such judgment was ridiculous ; Sir Hugh Palliser was not before the court ; they were not pronouncing sentence upon him ; and therefore the court martial had nothing to do with him. From this, Mr. Fox drew a strong argument, that the friends of the motion, to be consistent with themselves, could not offer any subsequent motion.

Mr. Dundas. Mr. Dundas [the Lord Advocate] replied, that the charge brought against the noble Lord, not being fully proved, the motion was proper and necessary. If it had been proved, if it had been brought home to the noble Lord, every committee in England would have taken it up ; it would have been matter for a particular resolution in each ; it would have been adduced as a proof of the influence of the Crown. But as the honourable gentleman [Mr. Fox] said the words ill founded and injurious meant nothing, he would add stronger words, such words as were clear and full to the honourable gentleman's conviction. However he offered no amendment.

Rt. Hon. T. Townshend. Right Honourable T. Townshend observed, that though the charge was not brought home to the noble Lord, yet every body must be satisfied that there was an attempt made by somebody, and it was a well-known fact, which he appealed to every gentleman for the truth of, that persons in a private room would say many things which they would be afraid to repeat at the bar of the House ; that there was a freedom in one place, and an awe and dread in the other ; that any gentleman might be induced to believe himself, what he could not afterwards fully satisfy another of, the evidence not keeping the same emphasis, nor the same terms.

Rt. Hon. W. Ellis. Right Honourable W. Ellis said, he was against any stronger words than contained in the motion. They were sufficient. Any thing more might tend to check Parliamentary enquiry into matters of this sort.

Mr. Byng. Mr. Byng thought, that the best mode of vindicating the noble Lord, was for his Lordship to bring actions against the persons who had assumed the character of his agents in this business ; for such they certainly seemed ; the treasury, or his Lordship, and sometimes both, were constantly spoken of in every stage and part of it : and if his Lordship did not vindicate

vindicate his character by punishing such delinquents, the public would judge for themselves.

Mr. *G. Onslow* said a few words on the propriety of the *Mr. G. On-* motion, and the question was put, and the motion agreed to *slow.* without a division.

Lord *North*, who was sometimes in the Speaker's chamber, *Lord North.* and sometimes in the gallery, came into the house, and thanked them for having acquitted him; and then said, that as the East India company had made him no offers, he would on Tuesday next the 21st, move that the Speaker of the House should intimate to the chairman of the company, that the debt would be paid off.---This intimation, he said, must be given before the 5th of April next, or a longer notice would be necessary.

At half past eleven the House adjourned to the 20th.

March 20.

Mr. *Temple Luttrell* said, that considering the partial man- *Mr. T.* ner in which a part of the evidence he had endeavoured to *Luttrell.* bring before the House last week, relative to the affair of Milborne Port had been heard, he thought he had sufficiently shewn that undue and corrupt practices had obtained in that borough. He meant, he said, after the recess, to revive the subject again, as he should then be in possession of evidence sufficient to bring home the charge to those persons whose names had been so frequently mentioned in the course of the enquiry, and he felt himself bound to make out the charge, so that the parties really guilty might be punished. Mr. Luttrell commented on what had passed on Friday evening, declaring, he lamented that he had left the House so early, because he understood he had lost a scene, which far outdid that in Shakespeare, in which Richard the Third is discovered leaning on two reverend clergymen, by his favourite Buckingham, who shews him, in that contrived situation, to the mayor and citizens. Mr. Luttrell drew a ludicrous parallel between the noble Lord's standing with the Lord Advocate on one side and the Solicitor General on the other, and thanking the House for their candour and support, and the interview between Richard and the citizens. He compared the Speaker to Buckingham, and the two lawyers to Father Paul and Friar Beuker. After pushing this comparison, as far as it would go, he rather reflected on the conduct of the majority respecting their determination of Friday, and said he should not have wondered if they had attempted to vote his expulsion, which, he contended, they were as well warranted

warranted to vote as the motion that was carried. He concluded with giving notice, that he should revive the subject after the Easter holidays.

Mr. Fullarton.
son.

Mr. Fullarton rose and said, his character and his conduct in offering to raise a regiment had been reflected upon in another House of Parliament by a noble Earl; a matter which had given him great uneasiness, and the more, because he was puzzled how to act, in order to wipe out the imputation. He rose therefore to explain the motives of his conduct, and he trusted the House would hear him patiently, as he felt his honour wounded, and had ardently wished for an opportunity of removing the bad impression of his conduct, which the place where the reflections he alluded to were thrown out, might serve to give rise to. The reflections were, as he understood, extremely gross; the noble Earl terming him a clerk, and in the most contemptuous manner remarking, that a clerk ought not to be trusted with a regiment, adding to that remark, other insinuations, as false as they are illiberal. He said, the noble Earl might think to screen himself under his peerage, but if he could forego the language and manners proper to his rank and the House in which he had attacked him, the noble Earl stood in another character, which made such an attack highly unwarrantable, and that was, the character of an officer holding high professional rank. Little as he yet knew of the military profession, *Mr. Fullarton* said, he believed, he might venture to assert, that if the noble Lord was brought to a court martial for his words concerning him, he would fall under the article of ungentlemanlike behaviour.

With regard to his offer to raise a regiment in times of public difficulty like the present, when his country was at war with nearly half the world, he had thought his offering to assist by raising a regiment, was by no means such conduct as was likely to draw on him a public censure, more especially a censure from Peers in Parliament; and he was sure that house, if they knew the service for which his regiment was destined, would not think he merited the unhandsome attack that had been made on him. He went on thus:

I know it is irregular to take notice here of what passed elsewhere; but it is the privilege of those who are aspersed, to wipe out the imputation. It is the object of my life to deserve the approbation of this House and of this country. It is the duty of this House to know, that those men who sit here, and who are raised to the command of regiments, in

times

times like the present, are not such men as I have been described.

I was named while very young, by the King, secretary to the embassy at Paris—an appointment so honourable, with regard to business, emolument, and situation, that I did not expect it would have procured me the title of clerk, especially from a noble Duke [the Duke of Richmond] whose brother held the same office; and from a noble Earl, who, as well as that Duke, having been at the head of the diplomatique affairs of this country, as secretary of state, must have known the falsehood of his own assertion.—That noble Earl—I mean the Earl of Shelburne—

Mr. Fox called to order, and said, he could not sit still and hear gentlemen proceed in so unparliamentary a manner, to state what was said in another house, and to mention peers by name: that it was contrary to every rule in Parliament, and ought not to be indured, He spoke of the impossibility of the House knowing whether the words alluded to were really spoken, as the honourable gentleman had been informed they had, and argued the impropriety of considering what was said in debate as a private and personal attack. He begged once for all to declare, that if such a custom prevailed, the freedom of debate must cease; and contended, that the most essential of all the rights of Parliament would be lost, if gentlemen were to suppose, that when their names and public conduct were mentioned, a personal affront was intended. He declared his regard for the noble Lord alluded to, and hoped he should stand excused for having laid down a doctrine, which he was confident ought implicitly to be adopted.

Mr. Rigby declared, he subscribed most fully to the doctrine; but he was exceedingly astonished to hear it from the honourable gentleman's mouth, because no one member, he said, had so frequently been guilty of that violation as the honourable gentleman. He then explained what the custom of Parliament was, ever since he had known Parliament, and wished it was more strictly adhered to, because it would not only preserve the freedom of debate, but preserve regularity, and prevent ill humour.

Lord North said, that it was certainly wrong, to mention in that House or the other, the name of any member elsewhere. There were some occasions, however, which would justify it, and he thought the case of the honourable gentleman one. His Lordship paid Mr. Fullarton great compliments,

pliments, and declared he had done himself great honour, even though he had taken the wrong opportunity to clear himself. He recommended it to the honourable gentleman to treat all personal attacks with indifference and contempt. Noble Lords in another place were very apt to be personal, and they very often made free with him. Among other names, one of them had lately called him *a thing*. The appellation, however contemptibly meant, was certainly truly applied; he was *a thing*. But the noble Lord who had applied it to him had put an addition to it. He had said, he was *a thing called a minister*. A moment's consideration, said his Lordship, convinced me that this ought not to be considered as an affront, because a moment's consideration reminded me that the noble Lord who had dubbed me *a thing called a minister*, had not the smallest objection to become that very *thing* himself.

Mr. Fullarton.

Mr. Fullarton rose to explain, and said, he should not have mentioned the noble Earl by name, but that the noble Earl had attacked him by name, and with all the aristocratical insolence which marked his character.

Col. Barré.

He was called to order again by Colonel Barré, who defended his noble friend, and said the honourable gentleman had been misinformed. The Colonel contended that the term *clerk*, abstractedly considered, was not offensive, and that the term *commis* was applied to the highest officers of state in France.

Mr. Burke.

Mr. Burke defended Lord Shelburne.

Mr. Fullarton.

Mr. Fullarton said, he would only inform the House, that the Earl in question had asserted, that he and his regiment would be as ready to draw their swords against the liberties of their country as against its foes, and leave the House to judge whether he ought to feel himself hurt or not.

Earl Nugent.

Earl Nugent desired that personal animosity might be checked in each House of Parliament.

At length the order of the day was called for, and the contractors' bill was read a third time, and passed.

The order of the day was then read, for the House to resolve itself into a committee on Mr. Burke's bill for regulating the civil establishment. As soon as the Speaker had left the chair, and Mr. Elwes had taken his seat at the table,

Sir Fletcher Norton.

Sir Fletcher Norton rose and apologized to the committee for having improperly introduced matter foreign to the question, when the committee last sat. He said he did not

tract a syllable, he only lamented that what he had said had been drawn from him at an improper time. He took notice of the load of newspaper scandal that had been thrown upon him, from the day in which he had addressed the committee, till the present time, declaring he held it in the most sovereign contempt, but that he was anxious to clear himself to that House and the public.

Mr. *De Grey* stated to the House the satisfaction he felt that *Mr. De Grey* this matter was again brought under their consideration, for he had suffered the greatest uneasiness at its having been so much misunderstood: and he reminded the House that however conscious the learned judge might be of his own integrity, yet the satisfaction of a virtuous mind was incomplete, if it was not accompanied with the approbation and the confidence of the public. That the House would judge what his own particular feelings must be, if any man could call in question the propriety of the learned judge's conduct as far as it was founded in an attention to so unworthy an object as the person who was then addressing the House.

That a report had been circulated, and had gained credit abroad, that upon the resignation of the chief justice two years ago, a sum of money to the amount of 7000*l.* or 8000*l.* was to have been paid by Lord North out of the public treasury, and was actually deposited in the hands of an eminent banker for the chief justice, in lieu of a reversion to a particular office in the court of common pleas, which the chief justice would have had a right of appointing to, if it had fallen whilst he continued at the head of that court. That Mr. *De Grey* would take upon himself to assure the House that the whole of this report was false, and was founded in a mistake. That no sum of money ever was offered, demanded, talked of, or even to the best of his knowledge thought of by any body. That if it had been so offered, or so accepted, he should have thought both the person who offered and the person who accepted equally corrupt, and deserving of all those epithets which had been fixed to this transaction. That the learned judge in question felt as much as the House could feel, how much the preservation of this constitution depended upon the purity of the courts of justice, and of the integrity of those who filled those stations: that he felt not only that the House was competent, but was bound in duty to examine into any malversations, certainly yet more into any corrupt transaction

transaction that had found its way there. That to this tribunal that learned judge was ready, willing, and anxious to submit his conduct, in case the House should think fit to institute any enquiry upon the subject. That he reposed himself with the most entire confidence in the wisdom and in the justice of the House, and the more they enquired into this or any other transaction of his life, the more he trusted that he should be entitled to their good opinion, which he was not conscious he had as yet forfeited, and the more they would find that he was what he had always been reputed, to be as un sullied and as unsuspected a character as ever trod the paths of public life.

Lord North. Lord North rose to confirm Mr. De Grey's declaration that no sum of money had ever been offered to, or demanded by the chief justice, and said many handsome things of the chief justice's general character.

Mr. Burke. Mr. Burke moved for postponing the clause in his bill, for providing for the execution of the third office of secretary of state upon its being abolished; but Lord North objecting to this as the office was allowed to stand, and because the postponing the clause implied that the consideration of it was to be resumed, which could by no means be admitted. The chairman put the question, that the clause should stand part of the bill, and it was negatived without a dissenting voice.

The next clause was then read for appointing the business done by the board of trade, to be executed for the future by a committee of the privy council, as done before the institution of that board.

Earl Nugent.

Earl Nugent entered into a long and elaborate opposition to the clause. He insisted upon it, that was it to take place, neither the independency of Parliament, nor the œconomy so the public, could be put in a better situation, as the members of the privy council would require salaries. The noble Lord talked much of the influence of the crown, and asserted in very loud terms, that there was no other influence at present that pervaded government but a constitutional influence; the influence that at present reigned was owing entirely to the necessary increase of our navy and army, and it was nonsense to say that influence would not always naturally encrease with power. His Lordship mentioned the success of the contractors' bill, as a proof that government had at present no very great influence; and again put in his objection to the clause, as it would cost the public as much

to have the business of the board of trade done by a committee of the privy council, as it did when under the management of the board of trade, as the members would require salaries; besides that there would be secretaries to pay, and after all, great difficulty in getting as many privy counsellors as were necessary to do the business: for though there were a great many members sitting at that board, his Lordship, and the late lord president [Lord Gower] had often sat there a long while together in tête-a-tête by themselves. The noble Lord said he did not approve of any part of Mr. Burke's plan. It only pretended to strip off the lace; but, to speak the truth of it, it tore away the cloth itself.

Mr. Alderman *Sawbridge* answered the noble Lord. He Alderman
Sawbridge. thought the success of the contractors' bill was by no means a proof that the influence of government was gone. It was the sixth session, and gentlemen were become rather cautious how they acted, and it was to that the minds of the people owed such an additional strength to their cause; for he was afraid the converts lately made would desert the principles they had so newly adopted, after the general election. The honourable gentleman adverted to the doctrine that had lately been used in that House, of a monarchy, without at the same time qualifying the expression. This, he said, was by no means to be suffered; for a monarchy, without being limited, was a government as arbitrary and as despotic as France, Spain, or Prussia.

Mr. *Burke* strongly urged the necessity there was for the Mr. *Burke*. committee to accept the clause. In the year 1680, the whole business of the board was done by a committee of the privy council, a committee of the greatest men in the kingdom. There were Prince Rupert, Lord Shaftesbury, lord president of the council, Lord Anglesea, lord privy seal, Earl of Arlington, lord chamberlain, Earl of Essex, first lord of the treasury, Savile Earl of Halifax, Earl of Sunderland, Mr. Godolphin, Hyde Earl of Clarendon, Lord Heneage Finch, Mr. Seymour, and Lord chief justice North. The honourable gentleman expatiated on the respective talents of the several persons named, and was very sure his present Majesty could find very able men to transact the same business in the privy council, if he thought fit to look forward to them. There were the Earl of Shelburne, the Marquis of Rockingham, Lord Camden, the right honourable Mr. Townshend, and the right honourable Colonel Barré, willing

to serve their country in that way without any pecuniary situation.

To prove that a committee of the privy council were competent to the business, and very capable of transacting it, he instanced a case respecting Jamaica, when Lord Carlisle was governor of that island, and the government and trade of it was most admirably settled in that committee. As to defraying the expence of it, he asked how the expence of the privy council was at present defrayed? The King paid it, he said, out of his civil list, and the same might be done in the present case, if there should be any expence attending it. But he thought it might be done now as heretofore. In the year 1681, the two secretaries of state, Mr. Secretary Coventry, and Sir Lionel Jenkins, acted as secretaries in the business; and he thought those persons as able officers as any we had at present. The honourable gentleman thought with such a committee of the privy council more might be done than with those who lately had the regulation of the board of trade, as there could be no comparison between Prince Rupert, and Lord George Germain, or Lord Shaftesbury and Mr. Bamber Gascoyne.

Lord North. Lord North said there was certainly no occasion to debate the matter, for as the board of trade had been abolished, the business of it must of course be committed to a committee of the privy council.

Mr. Burke. Mr. Burke then proceeded with his bill, and came to the fifth clause, that relative to the treasurer of the chamber, treasurer of the household, cofferer, &c. &c. he proposed putting each office into a separate clause, and therefore after moving that the word offices be changed to office, which was agreed to, he moved that the words "be abolished," stand after the words "treasurer of the chamber." The next clause, enacting, that his Majesty's household should be served by contract, he said, he proposed to omit.

Sir Edward Dering. Sir Edward Dering, Sir John Wrottesley, and Mr. Ellis, spoke against the abolishing the office of treasurer of the chamber; not, they said, from any regard to the office, but from a strong disapprobation of meddling or interfering with the management of any part of the King's household.

Governor Pownall. Governor Pownall said, that after the opinion which he had thrown out in the course of the debate, in the committee on this bill, he could not acquiesce in giving a silent vote, and must therefore beg leave of the committee, to state

state his reasons. He said, he was the first, who had made the distinction between that part of the civil list, which went to the offices of the state, and that part which went to the King's household. He was, upon very serious consideration of the matter as it stood simply on its own ground, and upon a thorough inquiry and examination of the proceeding of Parliament in these cases, convinced that Parliament had not only a right to enquire into, and to reform the offices of the state, but that it had, without contradiction, always exercised that power. That however he was convinced, it had never meddled or interfered in the King's household, except in times from which he was unwilling to take his precedents. There were however precedents of proceedings in Parliament, which stood upon the same ground exactly, and were of the same spirit precisely, as the matters proposed in these clauses respecting the King's household. He said, that in the 5th of Edward the second, a commission, in consequence of proceedings in Parliament, was issued, for inquiring into and reforming and new-modelling the King's household. That a commission of the like sort, in consequence of like proceedings in Parliament, was issued in 10th of Richard the second; but when he looked to the consequence to which those measures lead, he should not take them as his precedent. The first ended in deposing Edward, and the second in dethroning Richard. There was a wiser and a more temperate measure taken in a period between these two—in the 50th of Edward the third—and that was, an address of Parliament to the King; praying him to institute an inquiry into the state of his household, and pointing out to him the abuses which they apprehended reigned there, and that if he would reform them, he need not burthen his subjects with subsidies and taxes. It was on the spirit of this precedent, and upon the nature and spirit of the business itself, to which the present clauses went. That he had suggested on another day in the committee, that although he did not approve the making the reform of the King's household by an act, a statute of a sort he would not name, yet that such reform ought to be, and must be made, and if these clauses were rejected, he would bring forward a motion for some such address, a draught of which he had made, and shewn to one or two gentlemen. But he hoped that no such motion would be necessary, for he thought it impossible, if his Majesty should, from the information or by advice of his ministers learn, that though the clauses

were rejected, the idea of the necessity of the reform was universally received and established in the minds of gentlemen on all sides of the House, and who voted on different sides of the question. He was sure, therefore, that the matter must and would originate with his Majesty. If no such information nor advice was given by the ministers to his Majesty, it would be time for his Parliament to interpose their advice by address; and some such would be proposed. If therefore he gave his vote against the enacting these reforms of the household by a statute, it was not that he disapproved them; he not only approved them, but thought them necessary, and was sure that, in some shape or other, they must be made.

Mr. Burke. Mr. *Burke* begged to be heard, and said from the turn of the debate he feared it would be for the very last time upon the subject of his bill, because if the clause, as he had moved it, for abolishing the treasurer of the chamber was lost, his bill was gone. In the treasurer of the chamber consisted the very pith and marrow of his plan, as far as that plan was endeavoured to be changed out of theory into practice, by the unfortunate bill which he had now reason to mourn over as a dying friend, and to lament with all the affliction that a parent must necessarily feel for the loss of his favourite child. He did not mean by this, that the bill being his work, he could not for that idle reason bear the loss of it, but because his heart and soul were fixed upon those principles of œconomy, and that aim at the influence of the crown, which governed and were the objects of the work. The treasury of the chamber was the very first office of the household that he had laid his fingers on; it therefore led the way, and involved all the rest; and as the remaining clauses of his bill, for the most part, turned upon the abolition of the board of ordnance, the board of works, the mint, and other boards and offices, which made parts of the household, he was reduced to the necessity of abandoning the whole, if the doctrine which had in the course of the debate prevailed, viz. "that the household must not in any one part be touched, but that such parts of the bill as went merely to the establishments of state, were fair and reasonable subjects of Parliamentary revision and reduction," was to be admitted as a bar to the abolition of the office of treasurer of the chamber.

In order to shew that he had no design whatever to a-bridge or retrench the King's expences, as had been
asserted

asserted in debate, he declared that his bill did not limit or tie down his Majesty in any one respect; that with regard to his table being served by contract, about which so much had been said, his Majesty might, if he pleased, for any thing the bill said to the contrary, contract for his table at a hundred guineas a-head, and invite a hundred people to eat at it. It did not restrict the quantum of money to be expended in support of the household, it only took care that what was expended, should be wisely and economically laid out, and that fraud should no longer prevail in those who served his Majesty with provisions, nor the cost be large as it now was, of those who were paid for preventing that fraud. He contended, that at present the system of economy, which had been introduced into his Majesty's kitchen, was such that even a rat could not have cheated the cooks, scullions, &c. of a scrap of cheese, but at the same time nothing was saved by the system, because the expence of paying cheats to watch cheats, was so great, that it amounted to more than it could possibly cost his Majesty, if he was handsomely cheated at once. It had been asked what would his plan save?—As far as it respected the household, he had already said, that in agreeing to give up the clause for having the tables of the household served by contract, he had given up about 12,000*l.* out of his projected savings, and he presumed, if the other parts of his bill, as far as regarded the household, were suffered to remain, his savings, on that head, would amount to about 10,000*l.*

By way of reply to the arguments of those who had talked of the ungentlemanlike conduct of abridging the sovereign, and stinting him in his private expences; he declared he had no such intention, and the best proof that he had not, would be by reminding the committee, that he had not touched the privy purse, for which a clear 8,000*l. per annum*, was allotted. This sum was more than sufficient to enable his Majesty to live with splendour and with dignity. As a proof of it, he instanced the Duke of Northumberland, as possessing three palaces, each of which was more splendidly furnished than any one of his Majesty's houses. He shewed that the Duke's income was not more than 48,000*l.* a year, and reminded the committee of the magnificence and expence which had ever characterized Northumberland House, making it the first

first resort of the curious in all countries, from the French ambassador down to the lowest emissary of foreign courts; especially in the life-time of the late Duchess, whom he described as a woman possessing a noble soul, a soul fully impressed with the propriety of having her household conducted on a stile of grandeur fit for the high rank and liberal fortune possessed by the Duke her husband. In her time the finest pictures that could be procured, were purchased at any price—the expence was the last thing thought on;—the two noblemen her sons, also were allowed an establishment fit for princes, and all this on an income, he verily believed, short of 48,000*l.* a year.

After fully enforcing this argument, he went into a general consideration of the clause, and of the bill, as far as it respected the household, answering every objection that had been made in the course of the debate, and contended, that one great end of his bill was the rendering it almost impossible in future for the King to run in debt, by enacting that the first lord of the treasury should be answerable that the expences of the civil establishment should not exceed the money allowed for that purpose by Parliament. He asked, how could it be expected that the first lord of the treasury, should be responsible, if a variety of lesser treasuries were to exist, each of which would govern the branch of the public expenditure under its direction, just as it thought proper? It would be unfair, it would be unjust, to expect a first lord of the treasury to be responsible, unless the treasury was the sole place for issuing public money, and governed the whole expenditure as well in detail, as in gross amount.

He quoted the King of France's edict for abolishing the offices of comptroller general, and a variety of others of infinitely greater import, both in point of rank and expence than any his bill was to effect, and held it up as an example worthy to be followed, wishing that the new Lord would tread in the steps of that most able financier Monsieur Neckar. He compared his Majesty's civil establishment with that of the King of Sardinia, declaring that Prussia had nothing like the income we allowed his Majesty; that he nevertheless maintained an army of 25,000 men, and a greater number of expensive fortresses than any power in Europe, France only excepted. He asserted, that had his bill been produced and passed into a law, at the commen-

ment of the present reign, the nation would have saved more than three millions of money, and his Majesty would have lived more at his ease, more like a great prince, and with not one jot less splendor and magnificence.

After seriously repeating that if the present question was carried against him, he should consider his bill as gone, and declaring that though he would not take any more upon him, to put his weak and disordered frame and constitution to the torture, in order to fight his bill through the House inch by inch, clause by clause, and line by line, he certainly would not be the man to withdraw it, but would leave it to the people to go on with it, and let them judge by the issue how far their petitions were able to procure the redress of grievances they complained of. He concluded with begging leave to tell an old story by way of elucidation of what he meant. There was, he had heard, an handsome widow, possessed of an ample income, who lived in a dissenting meeting-house; a well intentioned man, who attended the service of the day, saw her, and was invited by her to visit her, he fell in love with her, and coming directly to the point, said, "Madam, will you marry me?" She refused him; he still persisted in his request, and she still refused. He then changed his request, and asked her to let him be her steward? "No, she would not." Her butler? "No." Her cook? "No." Would she entrust him with the care of her wardrobe? "No." After a variety of requests, finding them all denied, he was going away, when on a sudden he turned round, and begged one of her late husband's old wigs. The widow who had refused all his former requisitions, complied with this, and the man who had asked the widow to give him her person and fortune, was obliged at last to be contented with one of her husband's old wigs. "So is the case with me, said Mr. Burke, I would marry the handsome and rich widow of economy. I fain would have her person and fortune, but finding I can't get them, I have asked to be her treasurer, her steward, her butler, her cook, and her wardrobe keeper, but all in vain, I have got one of her late husband's old wigs, and with that I fear I must walk off contented; but only I beg the committee will do me the justice to remember, that I did not so far degrade myself as to ask for the wig solely."

The *Attorney General* [Mr. Wedderburn] replied to Mr. The *Attorney General*. He declared that it was not treating the committee
very

very candidly, to say, that the bill was necessarily gone, if the clause for abolishing the treasurer of the chamber's office, was lost; as if the treasurer of the chamber wrapped up every other officer whose abolition was aimed at by the bill. If the committee were to be menaced in that manner, it would be in vain to discuss any part of the bill; and the menace was the more extraordinary, because, notwithstanding what had been asserted to the contrary, the same principle did not apply generally to the whole bill, which consisted of many different parts and clauses, each of which therefore turned upon a separate and important point, and had each a separate principle. Mr. Attorney said, there were many of the principles which he thought highly laudable, and fit to be adopted; there were others which he could not but consider as absurd; in proof of this, he pointed out the clause for serving his Majesty's household by contract, which the honourable gentleman had (from the intimation of his friends and the feelings of the public upon it) been induced to leave out. Good God! how could the honourable gentleman ever reconcile this clause to a possibility of its being carried into practice? His Majesty, had it stood and been supported by a vote of the House, could not buy a single piece of furniture, without the consent of the treasury and their previous notice. His Majesty had lately put up a new piece of furniture in one of his oldest palaces. Could the honourable gentleman ever have supposed, that his Majesty ought to be so unhandsomely restricted, that he could not have put up the new state-bed in Windsor Castle without referring Mrs. Wright to the board of treasury, before whom she must have first produced her drawings and design; have stated the number of clergymen's daughters intended to be employed in working it, have stated also the separate quantities of silk, sattin, and embroidery, to be used in the work, and have stated likewise by a correct estimate the expence that the whole would come to, before his Majesty would have had it in his power to order that which he thought proper to decorate his palace with, and the purchasing of which, certainly was, a truly royal and gracious encouragement to Mrs. Wright, and the persons employed in making it.

He asked if the honourable gentleman by his declaration, "that if the clause in question was not agreed to, the bill was gone," meant to treat that House like the Parliament of

Parli

Paris, and to tell them in so many words, that the bill was his edict, and he would have it registered.

Mr. Attorney animadverted on Mr. Fox's having thrown out a kind of threat against that House, and the House of Lords, in case they did not pass the clause in question, and pass every clause of the bill, by declaring that the people without doors would say the House of Commons was corrupt, and resort elsewhere to do themselves justice. This sort of language, he said, spoke much too plainly a meaning that ought not to be heard within those walls. In the very moment that the honourable gentleman was loud in exclamation against the supposed increase of the influence of the crown, he was setting up an influence of a much more dangerous nature, an influence over Parliament, not only tending to fetter the freedom of debate, but tending likewise to awe that House in its essential proceedings. After reprobating this sort of menace in very decided terms, and stating various objections to the clause, Mr. Attorney declared that he should vote against the clause, either in its divided state, as now proposed by the honourable gentleman, or altogether.

Mr. Dempster rose, as he said, to defend his honourable friend [Mr. Burke] who he perceived was almost exhausted, from the imputation of his wishing that House to consider his bill as his edict, and expecting, like the King of France, that the House of Commons would implicitly register it on the bare assertion of his *ipse dixit*, without examination and without discussion. What his honourable friend had said, he declared, warranted no such interpretation, but it might very fairly be put on the conduct of the minister, who had for a series of years treated that House as if it had been the Parliament of Paris. If the minister chose to pursue the American war, what had he to do, but to bring the edict, and it was instantly registered! If he wanted more money, no matter how much, nor how ill the people could afford it, the moment the edict was produced by the minister, the House registered it, and granted the money!

Let the minister want to impose an additional weight of taxes, what had he to do, more than to come down with an edict, and it was instantly registered, and the taxes imposed! In short, for years, the minister had founded his whole system of government, on edicts, which that House had most complyingly registered. Mr. Dempster, defended the

bill in a very liberal manner, and made a distinction between such parts as struck him as reprehensible, and such as he saw in a contrary point of view.

On the question being put, that the words "be abolished" stand after the words "treasurer of the chamber," the committee divided,

For the motion, - - - 158

Against it, - - - 211

Mr. Burke. Mr. *Burke* having lost this point, declared his indifference to what became of the rest of the bill.

Mr. Fox. Mr. *Fox* however roused him to his wonted attention to it, by arguing on the necessity of their still going through with the bill, and if they got ever so little more than they had already gained, it would be worth the striving for. Even, he said, if they could not obtain more than the abolition of the seven lords of trade, he should, after having gone through the bill, think that had been worth the struggle, because, as he was determined, and he doubted not but his honourable friend would join with him in renewing the bill from session to session, till they effected the wished for purpose of demolishing the influence of the crown, they would have seven of the enemy less to fight against.

Mr. Burke. Mr. *Burke* admitted the force of the argument, and the committee, after a few words from Mr. *Turner*, went through the whole of the clause, negating every part of it.

The committee then adjourned, after agreeing to report a progress, and asked leave to sit again.

The House rose a little before two o'clock.

March 21.

Col. Barré. Colonel *Barré*, as soon as the above matter was got rid of, said he had a motion to propose which he hoped would not be objected to; if it should appear likely to create a debate, he would withdraw it, and move it another day. His motion was,

"That the House of Commons be put into a committee on the 10th day of April next, to consider of the extraordinaries of the army incurred in 1779, and to consider of the most proper methods for limiting the expences of the army to the grants of Parliament."

The Colonel, before he sat down, spoke of the necessity of strictly examining into these accounts, and attempting at least to provide some mode of reducing more of them to estimates in future, than was now the case. He complained of

of the enormous sum to which the extraordinaries had lately swelled, and of the difficulties thrown in the way of all examination, declaring that when he applied at one office for particular papers relative to them, the answer was, that the paper he asked for must be got from some other office, and so on. He referred to several pages of the printed account, and instanced very large sums which were charged under one general item, without any explanation whatever.

The motion was seconded by David Hartley, Esq.

Sir *Charles Bunbury* thanked the honourable gentleman for making it, and said, that unless that part of the public expenditure, which might properly be termed the expence of the army, was voted upon estimate, it was impossible for the House to know whether their vote was proportionable to the size of expence necessary, or whether the size of the army was equal to the objects of the war. In order to shew, that suffering the army extraordinaries to increase so much was a custom of modern growth, Sir Charles read an extract from a pamphlet written by the late Sir Robert Walpole (when he was Mr. Walpole) on the subject of the navy debt. This extract contained a remark, that, "from the nature of the navy service, it was impossible to produce previous estimates of the whole year's expenditure, as was the custom for the expence of the army, which, from its different constitution, was always voted for by estimate."

The *Secretary at War* rose, not to object to the motion, but merely to say a few words in reply to what had fallen from the honourable gentleman who made it. Mr. Jenkinson then declared, that the extraordinaries of the army, amounting to so large a sum, was no new matter; that more than once, in the course of the last war, they had been greater; and that as to the idea of providing some better mode of keeping the army accounts, it was what he most sincerely wished for, and should be exceedingly happy to hear any such proposed. He presumed, indeed, that among the other good consequences of the bill for a commission of accounts, which had been proposed by the noble Lord near him, that would be one, as the army accounts would necessarily come under the cognizance of the commissioners, as well as the other public accounts. With regard to what the honourable gentleman had said, about the difficulties of getting at matters relative to the army, he could only say, that as far as regarded his office,

every reasonable satisfaction was always ready to be given. The honourable gentleman must know, that the conduct of the army, at home, was all that the war-office was immediately answerable for; the army in America was under the conduct and cognizance of others, and it was absolutely impossible to give accounts of expences relative to them, in detail, till such accounts were so transmitted home. The Secretary at War mentioned the absurd constitution of the army in France, which, while stationed, was paid by the War Minister, but when marching was paid by the Comptroller General; in consequence of which, if the latter refused the former the necessary sum for the expence of the army, he had nothing to do but to put the army in motion, and the Comptroller General must provide for its pay. He stated, that the case was widely different here, and that his warrants were inefficient, unless signed by the Lords of the Treasury.

Col. Barré. Colonel Barré said, the honourable gentleman had made it necessary for him to put a question or two to him relative to the extraordinaries on the table.

The Secretary in reply, declared he would make himself master of every doubt which the honourable gentleman had from time to time stated, against the 10th of April, and would then be ready to answer any question the honourable gentleman might chuse to propose.

The motion was put and carried.

Lord North. Lord North agreeable to the notice he had given on the 17th (that he should this day move the House, that the Speaker give notice to the East India Company, that Parliament intend to pay them off in the course of the three years that their charter has to run, from the 15th of April next) rose, and said, he had for some time past expected that he should have received proposals from the East India Company for a renewal of their charter, but as none had come, he thought it his duty to inform the House, that agreeable to certain stipulations in various acts of Parliament, the East India Company's charter would have three years to come of it, from the 25th of March, but as the stile had been altered since the bargain was originally made, the new stile changed the day, and carried it forward to the fifth of April, from which day therefore the company had three years right to an exclusive trade to the East Indies, but no more, provided that Parliament gave notice to pay them off the

4,200,000*l*.

4,200,000*l.* which was due to them from the public on or after that day. His Lordship owned he had seen certain propositions, which he had thought might have been made the basis of a treaty for a new charter, but on the directors referring them to the general court, they had been reprobated by the majority of the proprietors, and other propositions had been framed, and sent to him, which he thought were by no means sufficiently advantageous, nor such as, in his opinion, the public ought to accede to. He stated the right of the public either to the whole of the territorial acquisitions and revenues, or if the company were allowed to hold the exclusive trade longer, to a participation of the profits—the company however not having offered him such propositions as appeared fit for him to treat upon, it was his duty to state the matter to the House, and to make the necessary motion. In order to ground it properly, he moved that

“The act of the 17th George II. cap. 17, be read, as also the 4th, 9th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 15th sections.”

“That notice be given, that the capital stock or debt of 4,200,000*l.* and all arrears of annuity due and payable in respect thereof from the public to the united company of merchants trading to the East Indies be paid on the 5th of April, 1783. agreeable to the power of redemption in the said act.”

Mr. Fox rose, to give a negative to the motion. He asked Mr. Fox, whether the noble Lord was not content with having lost America? Or, was he determined not to quit the situation in which he stood, till he had reduced the dominions of the Crown to the confines of Great Britain? What good could the present motion be attended with, or rather, what evil might it not produce? The motion was a threat, and the idlest of all possible menaces, because it was made at a time, when the noble Lord knew in his own mind, that he neither intended nor was capable of carrying it into execution. Why then throw it out, unless the noble Lord wished to ruin the East India Company's possessions in India, and to deprive this country of the ample revenue she received through the commerce and trade of that company? It was ridiculous, it was dangerous to threaten, when men dared not perform what they threatened. Let the noble Lord, let the House, turn their eyes to the probable consequences of that threat! Good God, what a scene of anarchy, confusion, distress, and ruin, would it not occasion! Supposing even for a moment that the noble Lord really intended putting his threat in execution, and was capable of doing it, must not the public suffer considerably? How was the money to be paid off? Did
not

not the noble Lord know he was obliged to pay the debt at *par*, and therefore as the 4,200,000*l.* stood at the interest of three per cent. and three per cents. were at sixty, the public must necessarily lose a clear forty per cent. by every 100*l.* they paid off. But how was the noble Lord to secure the revenues which the public were to derive from the territorial acquisitions of the company? How was he to get them home? Did not the noble Lord know that the company was the best medium through which they could possibly pass? Had he a plan for any new company, and had he a design to establish a new company on the ruins of the present? Was that the noble Lord's gratitude to those to whom his country was so highly obliged, as the present East-India Company? The noble Lord must know that he could not by law grant an exclusive trade to a new company, and where would his new company, if any such project he had in view, get their capital? He must know that the company would laugh at his idle menace; at least he hoped to God they would, and not take it as a serious matter, meant to be followed by the paying off the 4,200,000*l.* If they did, woe be to the revenue, woe be to the public, woe to all our acquisitions in India! The company, if they expected a dissolution, might put every thing in India to the risk, in order to get home as large a stock as possible, that their ultimate dividend might be swelled. Thus their present industry, serviceable and beneficial as it was to themselves and to the public, would be directed from its course, and be rendered dangerous and prejudicial to the public in the extremest degree.

Mr. Fox said, he had seen in newspapers, the propositions agreed on by the general court of proprietors and rejected by the noble Lord. They certainly were not altogether such as he should approve, but comparatively considered with a dissolution of the company, they were most advantageous and desirable. The one must lead to certain ruin, the other to great wealth and great revenue. He imputed the bad understanding between the company and the noble Lord, to the noble Lord's having attempted to possess himself of the patronage of the company, and having by the means of his secretary endeavoured to carry every thing his own way in Leadenhall-street, declaring that he supposed they would not, on that account, treat with the noble Lord at all. After a variety of warm expressions, all tending to support the idea that ruin would follow to the revenue derived from the commerce of the company, and that we should lose all we had acquired in India, if Parliament broke with them, and seriously gave them

the notice the noble Lord had moved, he concluded, with earnestly exhorting the noble Lord to change his intention, and not to act hostilely against the company, at least at present.

Lord *North* denied in the most direct terms his having ever Lord *North*. attempted to possess himself of the patronage of the company; the imputation was wholly unmerited by him, and the assertion was not founded in fact. He had, as he had frequently said, occasionally recommended a person, but he defied any man to prove, that he had ever once aimed at obtaining the patronage of the company; the gentlemen with whom he had from time to time treated, would, he doubted not, do him the justice to declare, that from what had passed on those occasions, there was not the least appearance of his having, or wishing to have, the patronage, which had been alluded to.

The honourable gentleman had called his motion a threat and a menace; he begged leave to say, that it was not meant as a threat; it was meant merely as putting in a claim on the behalf of the public, to the reversion of a right which undoubtedly belonged to them, at that moment when it was especially proper that it should be formally made. Did gentlemen consider, that if the notice was not now given, the company would unavoidably hold in their possession that which ought in three years (unless a proper satisfaction was made for a new lease) to revert to the public, longer than they ought to hold it, and longer than it was intended that they should hold it, when the charter was renewed, as was then expressly stipulated. The honourable gentleman had declared that the East-India company would laugh at the notice, because they must know that it could not be seriously intended; it would be the East-India company's fault if the notice was carried into execution. But he would not have the honourable gentleman suppose that if the present company broke up and divided their stock, that the public would, as a necessary consequence, lose the revenues arising from the territorial acquisitions in India. He trusted there were means of securing both the one and the other. He did not wish to break with the present company, he did not desire to drive them to the necessity of a dissolution, but the company ought not to imagine that the public lay at their mercy. The public had a right to look for great resources from the company, and from the territorial acquisitions in India. The company when it was now established, he was free to own, was the best medium of bringing home the revenues from the Indies; and if the company were so unreasonable and so thoughtless as not to come to a fair bargain with the public, a new company might

might be formed, and such plans adopted as might remedy the evil threatened to the revenue.

Mr. Burke.

Mr. Burke said he execrated the narrow idea of bargaining with the East-India company as if we were treating with an enemy, and on the supposition, that every thing we did not get by the bargain, was so much loss to us. He reprobated the intention to give notice to the company, according to the motion, as the most wicked, absurd, abandoned, profligate, mad, and drunken intention, that ever was formed ! he reprehended also in the strongest terms of ridicule the speculation of a new company, declaring, that like a new Mississippi scheme, it was only fit for such a bubble projector as *Mr. Law* ; he asserted in round and direct terms, that the attempt would be big with ruin to all who ventured on it ; he allowed that in this country, there might always be found men enough who were ready to bite at a bubble, but declared, that those who were so weak and incautious to join in such a mad and drunken scheme, would lose their all by it ; this, it might be said, was mere speculation, so was the noble Lord's idea of a new company, and till they were tried, his speculation was as good as the noble Lord's. He contended that Parliament were not ripe to come to a decision on a point of so much importance, as that of giving the East India company notice, that Parliament would pay off the 4,200,000*l*. Before the House attempted that rash step, before the noble Lord hazarded his speculation of a new company, the state of the company's accounts ought to be laid before them, the state of the acquisitions in India, the state of the revenues, and every other paper and document that could enable the House to form an opinion and judge for themselves ; he repeatedly asserted, that they were not yet ripe to form any such opinion or any such judgment. It was the rapacity of the minister to gain a great revenue from America, that had lost us the thirteen colonies. Let that be a warning to the House not to let the revenue mislead them again. Let them regard the East India company as their friends, as their best commercial allies, and as their brethren. The noble Lord talked of the public, and the rights of the public ; the East India company was a part of that public ; as dear to the House, and as worthy their attention, as the noble Lord and his speculations of revenue, or any minister who now did or ever had existed. After pursuing the subject with great animation, and in the most glowing terms, *Mr. Burke* spoke more coolly, and said, he asked pardon if he had been betrayed into too much warmth, but the vast importance of the subject had impressed itself so strongly

on his feelings, that it was impossible for him, on hearing such a fatal, such an alarming motion, to speak of it with moderation. He urged the noble Lord not to press the motion at present, and concluded with moving the previous question.

Mr. Gregory expressed a wish, that government would come to some agreement, without treating on the conditions in Parliament. He agreed with both the honourable gentlemen who spoke before him, that the House ought not to enter into the business in a rash, precipitate manner, but consider it with all possible caution and circumspection; an affair which, in his opinion, called for the united wisdom of the ablest men in the kingdom. He professed his readiness to assist in giving the best information which a residence of upwards of twenty years in the East-Indies had enabled him to collect; and earnestly recommended to both sides of the House, to consider the question as a great question of state, in which the interest, power, and dignity of this country were most essentially concerned. Mr. Gregory.

Mr. Rous made a long speech, and spoke with great warmth. He described the interior of the country, the mismanagements and oppressions committed by the nominal servants of the company, who were countenanced and supported by a faction in government at home. The government, it was true, was carried on under the name of the company, according to the forms of its constitution; but it was equally true, that ministers here had created a power and interest on the spot, which defeated every measure adopted in Leadenhall-street. In a recent instance, well known, government had been subverted there. He then spoke of the arrest and imprisonment of Lord Pigot, and entered into several of the particulars which came out in that transaction. Mr. Rous.

Mr. Stratton rose to justify his conduct; said, the government had not been subverted; that the steps taken on that occasion were necessary, and prevented the subversion which had been unjustly attributed to the actors of that business. Mr. Stratton.

Mr. Rous said, he was astonished how the honourable gentleman could pretend to say, that the government at Madras was not subverted. The honourable gentleman disclaimed the having any concern or any thing to do with the claim of Mr. Benfield on the Rajah's country, under the pretence of money lent to the Nabob, on the revenues, or crop; but when the honourable gentleman was so ready to pledge his honour, as having no concern with Mr. Benfield, would he go a little farther, and pledge it, that he, nor the persons with whom in this transaction he had acted, entered into no private Mr. Rous.

vate treaty with the Nabob, his sons, or his agents, for defeating the purposes for which Lord Pigot was sent out by the company, namely, the restoration of the Rajah of Tanjore to his dominions, which had been wrested from him by the aid and assistance of those very persons, who afterwards opposed that Prince's restoration; and when they found that impracticable, opposed the giving the Rajah the possession of his country, unless he acknowledged himself bound to repay what they pretended to have advanced to the Nabob on the revenues of Tanjore.

Mr. Stratton.

Mr. Stratton repeated his former assertion, that the government had not been subverted; that he had undergone a trial for the facts now charged against him; that the sentence upon that trial plainly shewed, that none of the persons concerned in the arrest of Lord Pigot were deemed as having intended to subvert government; and as to any private treaty with the Nabob, he could repeat upon his honour, that he never was a party to any treaty with him, nor did not believe any such supposed treaty ever existed. He acted from a sense of duty, and was ready to contend, that the conduct of the majority of the council originated in motives, not of choice, but of the most extreme necessity.

Attorney General.

The Attorney General [Mr. Wedderburne] observed, that no man was more ready to give credit to the assertion of a gentleman given upon his honour than he was; but private assurances, however respectable, had no weight with him, when they militated against public judgments, legally and solemnly pronounced. Nay, he would go farther, not even oaths. The honourable gentleman had been convicted by the verdict of a jury, by the legal and constitutional voice of his country, of having subverted the government of Madras. He was not therefore permitted to doubt of the fact, so far as that went. As to the honourable gentleman's intentions, as set forth in his affidavits sworn to in common with others, he by no means intended to controvert the truth of them. Whatever they might be, however true, still he was entitled to say, that the charge of having subverted the government was not only proved, but declared by the judgment of his peers.

It was not his business, in that place, to review the sentence passed upon the honourable gentleman and his colleagues. The court did not think that the facts found were such, or so laid, as to justify the sentence prayed by him, acting under the direction of that House. The court might have, in so doing, acted very properly; but still the material part of the charge was maintained, though the intention of the offenders

so far wrought on the court, as to mitigate the severity of the sentence. The argument of intention, if carried its full length, would go to the impeachment of the sentence, as well as the verdict. That he believed was not what the honourable gentleman meant; he spoke, he presumed, to the measure of the punishment, not to say that no punishment was due, because no crime had been committed.

Sir G. *Wombwell* denied that administration had improperly *Sir G. Wombwell* interfered in the affairs of the East-India company. They had done nothing but their duty. The public, upon a renewal of the charter, had most certainly a right to impose terms upon the East-India Company, and had no other bounds in dictating those terms than the general interest. That general interest could be no otherwise supported than by fair, equitable, practicable terms on the part of government. If they were such as the company would not be able to perform, the consequence would be, that the company must be ruined, and the nation be disappointed; in truth, their interest was so inseparably connected, that it was impossible to serve or hurt one without materially serving or hurting the other.

This being his opinion, he supported the propositions made by the noble Lord to the directors in the general court; because, though perhaps they did not meet exactly his ideas, they afforded a proper basis for a treaty, to be afterwards modelled in Parliament. The proprietors propositions stood partly in the same predicament, though farther removed off the true ground; but this he would say, that either or both contained matter very fit for Parliamentary discussion, where they must come, in any event, at last to receive the sanction of the legislature. The present motion, besides being sanctioned by the authority of an act of Parliament, naturally led to that point. It would of course bring the whole business under the consideration of that House, where only it could be finally adjusted.

The *Attorney General* went very fully into the subject of the *Attorney General* local government in India; said it was conducted upon very improper ideas, and called most loudly for the interference of that House, where only the evil could be corrected.

About forty years since a system of oppression had been adopted by the Indian Princes. A series of usurpations, struggles, and civil wars, first gave birth to it. Princes were deposed, competitors daily rose up, and usurpations almost yearly happened within the empire of Indostan. The victor or usurper, having acquired dominion by force and violence,

had no interest in the dominion thus acquired. He looked upon his throne to be held by a very precarious tenure, and of course endeavoured, by extortion and oppression, to amass money during his temporary government, for the purpose of enabling him to defend his crown against the next competitor, or to render himself a rich individual when it should become his turn to be dispossessed. Hence the subject was oppressed beyond measure. The full value of the soil, that being the source of all revenue in India, was taken, and the tenant or landholder, instead of labouring for himself and the state, was compelled to labour only for the lord of the soil. He would appeal to gentlemen's experience and feelings, whether that country must not in the end be ruined or depopulated where such a policy prevails? This might be excused in some measure in those whose religion, manners, and policy taught them to suppose, that the many were created for the purposes of administering to the enjoyments, happiness, and dignity of the few; but under an English government, such an idea was to the last degree preposterous, impolitic, and absurd. What, however, had the East-India company done? They had copied the barbarous policy of those to whose possessions they succeeded; they copied the same system of oppression, by which at length they defeated the only end such a system could answer, that of enormous sums drawn from the sweat and toil of the miserable inhabitants.

To reform this shameful abuse ought to be, in his opinion, one great object with Parliament. He thought the people, besides the scanty subsistence they drew from their labour and industry, ought to have an interest, a stake in the government of the country they lived in; they should be rewarded for their industry. It would hold them by ties the most indissoluble to a government which held out personal rewards for honest industry. It would create an affection and attachment; it would render them not only useful, but dutiful and loyal subjects; but above all, it would give a permanency and stability to our government, which could not be acquired by any strength or terror derived merely from the superior skill and bravery of our troops. The British subjects in Indostan must soon see the difference between them and the subjects of the Mahometan and native Princes. This, sooner or later, would naturally lay a foundation of strength and internal prosperity, which would render our possessions in that country as permanent as any one part of the British empire. He would therefore recommend to the House, when the affairs of the East India Company came before it, to pay a special attention

to this particular. The present territorial revenue, as he heard in the course of the debate, had been stated at three millions four hundred thousand pounds *per annum*. He would maintain, that though some defalcation should be made in the rents to the landholders, that defalcation would be amply made up in other respects. The revenues would be more regularly paid; there would be fewer deficiencies; in short, in every point of policy, commerce, population, and even revenue, he was persuaded that the adoption of the plan which he had thus hastily thrown out, would be found much preferable to the present system of personal oppression, and all the mischiefs which arise from imposing rack-rents upon the wretched people of that country.

Lord *Ongley* called upon the noble Lord to know why he was in such a hurry to give notice to the company. He was not obliged to give notice till the 5th of April. His Lordship also spoke to various other matters relative to the subject. Lord *Ongley*.

Lord *North* replied, and explained the meaning of his present motion; a motion which precluded no propositions to be hereafter made by the company, nor prevented Parliament from acceding to any, but which of necessity he was bound to make at that time, or let a year of the public's right to the reversion of the trade slip away, and without any consideration. Lord *North*

Mr. *Huffey* approved of the noble Lord's motion, and in reply to one of the speakers, who had termed the East-India company great and glorious, he denied that they deserved those epithets, declaring that the company ought to be regarded with a jealous eye by Parliament, or from gross mismanagement, the directors would lose all our acquisitions in India. He thought the propositions, which the directors had proposed as having been assented to as the basis of a treaty by the noble Lord, such as the company ought to have acceded to, and being a proprietor, he had voted at the general court accordingly. Mr. *Huffey*.

At length the House divided on the previous question,

Ayes	-	-	-	68.
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Noes	-	-	-	142.
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The original question was then put and carried.

This business over, Mr. *Fox* moved "that a list of Mr. *Fox*. the names of the persons who subscribed for this year's loan

loan of twelve millions be presented to that House"—
Ordered.

Lord North. Lord North brought in his bill for appointing commissioners of the public accounts; upon this

Col. Barré. Colonel Barré rose, and after taking notice of the very unhandsome manner the noble Lord conducted himself, in taking the business out of his hands, produced a bill which had been passed the 2nd of William and Mary, and which had been almost literally copied in the 10th of Queen Anne. It was not necessary to enter into any narrative, he said, how it came to pass that the great objects held out by both bills were eventually defeated. It was sufficient for him to observe, that such a bill, exactly the same in title with that now presented by the noble Lord, had been passed at the period first alluded to.

He then proceeded to state the difference between both bills. The present bill went only to three points, the mode of accounting, the defects in that mode, and report of the balances in the hands of certain officers in high trust. The bill in his hand went generally to the whole of the public expenditure, to the treasury, admiralty, navy, army, all the subordinate boards and public establishments, and what was now deemed a kind of political blasphemy, even to the sacred expenditure of the whole of the civil list. He had that act in his possession for some days; sometimes at home, sometimes in his pocket, but never out of his possession. When it had been strongly contended by several gentlemen on the opposite benches, of the first weight and authority in this country, one of them professing himself a revolution whig, [Lord Westcote] and the other a learned gentleman [Advocate of Scotland] who contended, that no precedent previous to the revolution ought to be attended to, but every precedent since ought; it might seem strange that he had not stood forth and produced the precedent which he held in his hand. He had some reasons for not doing so; at one time the act was not in his pocket, when it was he declined to produce it, for motives which he was not obliged to explain. But more particularly it might be asked, when many of the supporters of his honourable friend's bill [Mr. Burke] differed respecting the clause which was lost in the committee the preceding evening by a great majority, and testified their dissent merely on the ground of impropriety and want of precedent, why he had not produced the act as a precedent perfectly applicable? All he thought fit to say

was, that he was much indisposed, and unable to speak, on account of a hoarseness, which the House, he presumed, could not help observing he still laboured under. Indeed, he spoke with so much pain, that nothing but the absolute necessity of saying a few words could have induced him to rise.

He next proceeded to the two concluding clauses of the act, which he said contained the most unequivocal proofs, that not only the affirmative or directory part of it went to an enquiry into the whole of the expenditure of the civil list, but that the proviso stated the single exception to the general rule. He then read the provisional exception; "that nothing in this act should extend, or be construed to extend, into any enquiry respecting the issue of money for the use of the privy purse, or for secret service." This provisional exception was however further modified by the concluding proviso: "provided always, says the act, that the said enquiry do extend to all pensions, &c. payable, due; or growing due, which have been granted since a certain day in the month of November, 1688, to the session in which said act was to take its commencement; namely, the year 1691."

So that not only the whole of the official establishments, navy, army, ordnance, and all the subordinate boards, were the objects of the act of 1691 and 1711, but likewise the civil list expenditure, under the two heads of the privy purse and secret service; the latter of which was not exempt from enquiry, so far as the same might be issued in private pensions with-held from the public eye.

After having very fully commented upon the direct variance both in principle and object, between the bill now presented by the noble Lord, and that which he had read, he begged leave to assure the noble Lord, that he was mistaken, if he imagined that the petitioners, or the great body of the people of England, were to be imposed upon by the bill now presented. They were not ignorant how that bill came into his hands, or in the manner, he would say the ungentlemanlike, uncandid manner it had been wrested out of his. It would, after what he now had stated, require no great industry to persuade them, that his bill, had it been permitted to proceed, would have proved something extremely different from the shameful imposture, the scandalous deceit, encouraged to be put upon them by the shadow now produced; they would, they must perceive, that the present bill
meant

meant nothing, even of what it pretended to import, much less of any thing substantial, or which went to the root of the evil. It was a cheat, a scandalous cheat, of the most gross kind and clumsy texture. He trusted the people of England would consider it as such; he felt, he was persuaded, they would; and perceiving not only that it was meant to answer no substantial purpose, but that, under the idea of doing something, it was meant as a trick on the public, to divide, distract, and sow divisions among those who virtually meant the same thing, but who, acting upon what were called moderate principles, might be detached from the great body of the people, under a false notion, that altho' every thing could not be obtained at once, considerable advances might be made in the great scheme of public reformation.

He did not rise to oppose the bill in this stage. Whatever incurable defects it might have in its first information, the principle of it commanded his hearty approbation. The bill was ordered to be printed; when printed he would be enabled to speak to the particular parts of it with more precision. An establishment, he perceived, was to be made, clerks appointed, and commissioners, with salaries annexed, and he presumed considerable ones. With these minor considerations he had nothing to do at present; but before he fell down, he would, hoarse as he was, say a word or two on a subject not directly coming within the subject of the present bill, but in point of effect, and originating from his own early intentions, nearly connected with it. What he alluded to was relative to two motions which he took the liberty to make about three weeks since (second of March) the day the noble Lord first avowed his intention of taking the bill, now in the hands of the chair, out of his who was the author of it. [Here the Colonel entered into the *minutiae* of that transaction, and appealed to the House if he had not fairly stated it, with all its relative circumstances.]

One of the two motions made by him that day went to the laying before the House the progress of the public money, from the time it was taken or extorted from the pocket of the miserable, oppressed contributor, till it reached the exchequer; and so on till its final receipt; and from the commencement of the first issue till it reached the person for whom it was originally designed, the soldier, the seaman, &c.

He had drawn up a motion for that purpose. Before he ventured to submit it to the House he shewed it to the noble Lord; he consulted him on the propriety of the terms in which it was drawn up. His Lordship approved of it. He afterwards made it, and the House having adopted it, it was no longer his but theirs. At the time he proposed the motion he accompanied it with a short explanation, and an application particularly addressed to the noble Lord, beseeching his Lordship's assistance, and honestly confessing how futile and nugatory it would be to make such a motion without it was first understood the noble Lord should promise, not a general, but a direct, specific, and sincere assistance. The noble Lord did pledge himself, not to him alone, but that House, for so soon as the motion was adopted it belonged not to him but to the House. He had before pledged himself as a gentleman to him; yet what has happened? I am not ready to make in this House charges merely personal; but this, on the present occasion, I will say, that the noble Lord broke his word with me, as a gentleman. I shewed him the motion before I made it. I suggested my doubts. I feared my ignorance of technical language of office. I consulted the noble Lord. I entreated his assistance, he promised it. He read the motion; he approved of it; yet the noble Lord, at the end of three weeks, seems to forget every thing he said then; every thing he promised. The motion went, it of course became the motion of this House. I endeavoured to inform myself on the subject. I consulted with one of the secretaries in the noble Lord's department [Mr. Robinson.] I told him what had been done in consequence of the order of the House. I called upon gentlemen in the respective offices at the exchequer, and pressed expedition in making out the accounts moved for. I called at the auditor's; they directed me to the chamberlain, the chamberlain to the pells, the pells to the tellers, and so on, *ad infinitum*. When I endeavoured to make myself understood, they respectively stared, and seemed surprised, and alternately shifted me off from one to the other, till, I vow to God! I was inclined to believe, that the motion I alluded to was only agreed to in order to render me ridiculous and expose my ignorance. As I said before, I applied to the honourable gentleman, who is one of the secretaries of the treasury. He gave me some little light. At one office, my motion described a period from Michaelmas, 1778, to Michaelmas, 1779, I was in-

formed that the accounts were made up from Christmas to Christmas; in another, that they were made up in the manner described in the motion; that it could answer no substantial or effectual purpose, because the accounts consisted not solely, or perhaps of effectual receipts, in the year 1778 or 1779, growing and becoming due in those years, but in monies of two or three years back, which had not been before paid in.

Good God! what a state of trick and imposition is this! I am not very vain, nor if I were, should I be ready to betray any symptoms of it in this House; but I am not ashamed to say, that if the noble Lord in the blue ribbon were as honest a man as I am, he would scorn to act so dissingenuous and uncandid a part. Why not honestly say, I will oppose your motion? I do not like it, nor will I agree to it; or I do not understand it, consequently it is not such as I can give an opinion upon. I do not know that it will, or will not, answer your expectation; therefore you must apply to others more conversant in the business of the exchequer than its chancellor, or you must exert your own industry. This would have been the conduct of a fair and honest man; but, under the shameful pretext of active approbation, for the noble Lord to privately plume himself in gaining three weeks, by a mere trick, which his high situation enabled him to play on this House, was an act so much beneath him, either as a member of this House, or the ostensible minister of this country, at least the finance minister, that I want words to express my indignation and surprise.

The Colonel went into some further explanation of the same tendency, and concluded with hoping, that the independent part of that House, and the nation at large, would retain a proper sense of the conduct of the noble Lord, and of the uncommon industry he had exerted, in endeavouring to defeat the wishes of the people.

Lord North. Lord North said, he was not then prepared to enter into a debate on the bill, because the present was not the proper stage. When it came to that, he should support it, to the best of his abilities, and assign such reasons, as seemed sufficient to him, to determine his judgment. The honourable gentleman had read the copy of an act of Parliament, passed upon a particular occasion, to shew, that Parliament thought they were vested with a power to enquire into and controul the civil list expenditure. He believed no man would undertake

dertake to controvert the right, in every possible case, that could be put, or in every possible situation; but those who argued for the application of the general principle in the present state of public affairs were bound to prove, in his opinion, that it became necessary to carry it into execution; otherwise, their argument amounted to this; that whatever Parliament might do at one time, they ought, because they had a right, to do at another. He begged pardon of the House, for he perceived, that he was insensibly tending towards a debate upon the bill, which he by no means meant; the question simply before the House being, whether the bill should be read a second time? The honourable gentleman said, he did not rise to oppose that motion; he should therefore turn his attention to that part of the honourable gentleman's speech, which required an answer; and which he should give as far as he was able; particularly as it contained an accusation against him of a want of candour, and a breach of promise.

The honourable gentleman said, that he shewed his intended motion for laying before the House, an account of the monies received or paid by the contributor through the whole progress and receipt, till its first issue at the exchequer; and from thence in its several issues till it came to the hand of the persons for which its use was originally destined. He acknowledged it; and that he gave private assurance to the honourable gentleman, that having approved of it, he would do all in his power to give it effect. He further acknowledged, that when the motion was afterwards proposed, and the honourable gentleman called upon him for his assistance, he added a public assurance, of the same nature, which he had before given in private. So far then, the honourable gentleman and he perfectly agreed on the subject of what passed on that day, both in private conversation, and afterwards in the House, and from these promises, the House would be enabled to judge how far the charge of a want of candour, or breach of promise, was fairly imputable to him.

He had on the very first opportunity, after the vote passed, given the most full and direct orders to the officers and clerks, in the several offices under his controul, to comply with the order. In the treasury, directly under his own eye, he gave specific directions, as well as general instructions. On the application of an honourable friend of his [Mr. Robinson] alluded to by the honourable gentleman, he desired him to convey

vey a message to the several officers under his immediate controul, as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The honourable gentleman said, that he had applied to his honourable friend, who, after consulting the officers in the Exchequer, said, that the order, as it was drawn up, could not be complied with. If that should happen to be really the case, he hoped he stood free of any charge. The honourable gentleman's not having drawn up his motion in such a manner that it could be practicably obeyed, was surely no fault of his. The honourable gentleman had, in fact, acknowledged the inefficiency of his own motion; says he, The period described was from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, in one of the offices; the accounts being made up to Christmas each year, it was impossible to comply with the order. Again, he has told you, that the receipt between Michaelmas 1778, and Michaelmas, 1779, is not the actual receipt of that particular year, but is composed of monies due and payable for the two or three preceeding years, though not actually paid in, till within the period stated in his motion. Says the honourable gentleman, I went to the Auditor's office, and was told I was wrong; that I should have gone to the Remembrancer's, and when I came there, received a similar answer, by being referred to the Pells, and so on to the Tellers, the Chamberlain, &c. All this may be very true for ought I know, but how this can be adduced as a proof of my breach of promise, or want of candour, I confess sincerely I am at a loss to comprehend.

I do assure the honourable gentleman, however ready he may be to throw blame upon me, that I gave the most full, specific, and unequivocal instructions, that the order might not only be literally, but substantially complied with; and without assigning any other reason, I think the honourable gentleman, supposing even I were responsible for the effect of his motion, has rather been too impatient and precipitate in his censure. He has stated it to be very extensive, and directed to a great variety of objects. I believe it is not more than ten days since the order was made; and yet he presumes that there is an intention to defeat it, because the whole of the materials have not been laid before now on that table. [Told the motion was moved and passed on the 2d of March, three weeks since, all but one day.]

His Lordship said, that made no essential difference; for there was no saying that any improper delay had been made, without the time allowed and the duty performed were fairly measured against each other.

Colonel

Colonel Barré re-stated shortly some of his former arguments. *Col. Barré.* He was not surprised that so much industry had been used, in order to defeat the object of his motion; for if ever it should be fully complied with, which he trusted the House would take care it should, as it would no longer be his motion, but an order of the House unanimously carried, such proofs of fraud and speculation would be disclosed as would not only fill the public with indignation, but shock some of the warmest friends of the present administration. As to the plausible defence made by the noble Lord, and his ingenious acknowledgment of a promise of assistance, it amounted to just nothing. The fact was, that he had consulted the noble Lord upon the propriety of the motion before he made it; that if it was inadequate to the purposes for which it was framed, the noble Lord should have been candid enough to have pointed out the defects, and proposed a remedy at the time; consequently the noble Lord must either acknowledge his ignorance of the high office he held in the Exchequer, and the established mode of making up the accounts there, or stand convicted of a want of candour and breach of promise. It was impossible for his Lordship to evade or avoid one or the other part of the alternative; and he most readily left the noble Lord to his choice. He trusted, however, that the House would take up the matter, after the recess, in the light of a public document. The motion was no longer his: it belonged to the House, as soon as it received their sanction; consequently they were bound, in respect of their own authority, to give it effect. The petitions of their constituents, besides, went to a reform of the public expenditure; and that, he hoped, would be a further incitement, when it was notorious, that it would be impossible to reform abuses in the expenditure of the public money, till the mode of expenditure, and of course the abuses, if any, should be first known.

The bill was read the first time, and ordered to be read the second time after the Easter holidays.

Mr. D. Hartley moved for leave to bring in a bill for limiting the number of placemen. Leave was given. *Mr. David Hartley.*

March 22.

Hon. J. St. John said he wished to bring forward one part of the plan of regulation and reform, which had been opened to the House a few weeks since by an honourable gentleman mentioning him, and which he begged leave to take that opportunity of saying, he admired as much as any one of the many, who had spoken in its praise, though perhaps he saw it in a different point of view from other gentlemen, and thought it laudable

laudable, chiefly in regard, and in proportion to its financial tendency. The honourable gentleman had done a great deal already towards producing to the House a practical mode of furthering the plan, and carrying it into execution. His intention in rising, and his wish was, to assist in forwarding an essential part of that plan, in order to do which, it was necessary for him to ask the honourable gentleman a question. The part of the plan he had turned his attention to, was that to which he was most competent to speak, from the place he held under the Crown; a place, that he would venture to say was by no means an insufficient one. He alluded to the intention of selling the royal forests, and those domains which were properly called Crown Lands. This idea struck him as well worthy the attention of Parliament. At present, with all his care, it was as much as he was able to effect, to prevent the Crown Lands, which ought to produce a revenue, from becoming burthensome and expensive to the state. He thought they might be sold in such a manner and on such terms as should render a productive and efficient fund for them. He wished therefore to know of the honourable gentleman when he meant to produce his bill for the sale of the Crown Lands. Mr. St. John, before he sat down, stated in what points, relative to Mr. Burke's plan, he differed in opinion from the noble Lord in the blue ribband, and such other of his friends, as he generally voted with, and gave his reason for entertaining such a difference of judgment.

Mr. Burke. Mr. Burke rose to reply, and began with complimenting the honourable and learned gentleman, for having so properly attended to the duties of his place; a place which he was not only ready to agree was an efficient one, but the most efficient of any held under the Crown; for surely no place could be more useful, than that which prevented an efficient revenue from becoming an inefficient revenue, which attended a sick and dying source of income, and by interposing, watching and administering reviving and cordial medicines, when the agonies of death were on it, rescued it from the grave, and gave it new life. After this exordium, Mr. Burke went into a kind of general review, not only on his plan, but of the progress he had made in reducing its several parts to a practical shape. Though he could not say he had matured the whole, and put it into form, when he opened his plan to the House; he certainly had not attempted to come there upon the mere shadow of a speculation, nor had he ventured to state the outlines of his plan, before he had made a considerable progress in putting it into shape. The Bill for selling

the Principalities, the Crown Lands, &c. was then in his hands, and had been drawn by him some time since. As he wished not however to bring any bill into the House, till he had done his utmost to render it as unquestionable as possible, he had, perhaps with more candour than prudence, at least with less caution than some men would have used, shewn it to a number of persons, and fully opened his intentions respecting it. A large circle of Welsh gentlemen had seen it, and from some objections which had been stated, he had been obliged to sit down again, and tear the principality of Wales out of the bill. Anxious to get the most authoritative opinion upon it, he had obtained it the inspection of a great and deservedly eminent lawyer, well known to the Speaker, both by name and character? and he was happy to have it in his power to say, that the great authority to which he alluded, had not only approved of the principle of the bill, but had wished he had gone further. The bill was, as he had before said, in his hand, and would in two minutes be ready to be delivered to the clerks of the House to copy. It would therefore be brought in by him soon after the holidays.

As soon as Mr. Burke and Mr. St. John had settled their question and answer, Sir *James Lowther* rose and said, he had *Sir James Lowther.* been excited, from what had happened that morning, to call the attention of the House to an affair which he thought merited their immediate consideration. A duel, he understood, had that morning taken place, in consequence of some words which had been spoken in both Houses of Parliament; if this was to go on, and the House did not interfere its authority, there would be an end of the freedom of debate, and an end of the business in Parliament. The custom seemed as if it were growing upon gentlemen, and it moved the House to exert itself, and proceed in such manner, that the two recent instances of the kind might be the last. When he said this, he by no means wished to put men in a spirit into a dishonourable situation. It had been his misfortune more than once to have been engaged in such affairs, and whenever he was called upon, he trusted he could shew himself ready, and do what was proper. But he was then speaking as a Member of Parliament, and an advocate for the freedom of debate. If free debate were to be interpreted into personal attack, and questions of a public nature, which came before either House, were to be decided by the sword, Parliament would resemble a Polish diet, and Members would do better to give up all ideas of parliamentary

amentary discussion, to abandon the Senate, and resort at once to the field, where they might have recourse to arms, as the sole arbiter of political difference of opinion.

Mr. Adam. Mr. *Adam* rose, and immediately the attention of the House was fixed upon him. He declared the honourable gentleman had made it necessary for him to say a few words, because most clearly the honourable gentleman had alluded to him in one part of his speech. With regard to a certain business, in which he had the misfortune to be concerned, no man could regret it more than he did, nor could any one have more unwillingly entered upon it. He thanked the honourable gentleman for giving him an opportunity of publicly declaring that he had in that unhappy affair acted without communication with any one, but solely in compliance with the dictates of his own heart, and in compliance with the impulse of certain principles of honour and feeling, implanted in his breast by nature, in consonance to which he had ever acted, and hoped as long as he lived he should continue to act, because whenever he struck out of that path to which those principles directed, he should hold himself unworthy of a moment's attention in that House, or a moment's attention from any man of honour and integrity. Amidst the unhappiness and the unwelcome sensations occasioned by the recalling to his mind that unfortunate affair, which he hoped would be the last of the kind he should ever be involved in, he had one comfort and one satisfaction, and that was, that it enabled him in the face of the House to do justice to the character of the honourable gentleman concerned with him in the unfortunate affair alluded to, and to assert in the hearing of so respectable an assembly, that he had found in him that spirit, that manliness, and that honour, which it was before supposed the honourable gentleman possessed, and which equalled those transcendent abilities that had created him the admiration of every member in that House, and of none in a more eminent degree than of himself. He hoped what he now said would not be thought flattery; he meant to flatter no man, and he was sure if he had so far descended from his own principles to be mean enough to attempt to flatter the honourable gentleman in question, the honourable gentleman's liberal spirit and dignity of feeling, would have induced him to reject the flattery with the disdain it would merit. His sole intention was, to do the honourable gentleman justice.

He was conscious of the great respect due to that House, and he could read in the Speaker's countenance his sense of the impropriety of referring to such a matter within those walls. He felt the respect which he owed to the House, he trusted, as much as any man, but he felt also the respect due to his own character, and he hoped the House would have the goodness to overlook the irregularity he had been guilty of, when they considered the torrent of abuse that had been poured down upon him in almost every newspaper, and the base motives that had been imputed to his conduct; motives so mean, so infamous, and so much beneath the adoption of any man who had the smallest sense of honour, that he trusted no person who had the least knowledge of his conduct in life, could for a moment harbour a thought so intolerably injurious to him, as to imagine they actuated him in the affair to which he had felt himself under the necessity of alluding. He declared to God, he had no motive whatever but the conviction that he could not exist with honour, without taking the step which he had taken. And so far from being guilty of the base servility of hoping to please a minister by what he had done, he disclaimed any connexion whatever with the minister; he thanked God he could say he had never crossed the threshold of that minister's door, he had never asked him a favour, nor had he any favour to ask of him. He added, that though the grounds upon which the honourable gentleman, who had been concerned in the affair with a noble Earl that morning, had proceeded, were uncommunicated to him, so well was he acquainted with the principles of that honourable gentleman's heart, of his high sense of honour, and of his strict attention to every thing that became a gentleman, that he would undertake to say, he had proceeded upon such grounds as would, whenever they were known, add to the respectability of his character, place him, if possible, still higher than he was, in the opinion of all who knew him, and entitle him to the approbation of every man of honour and sensibility. He had been bred up with the honourable gentleman, he knew his principles, and he should have thought himself unworthy of that friendship in which he lived with him, and which he regarded as a high honour, had he not said thus much in his behalf.

Sir *Adam Ferguson* spoke in the praise of Mr. Fullarton, in terms of the warmest panegyric, and said, he was sure that gentleman had acted upon the most pure and correct principles of honour in the unfortunate affair which had taken place

place that morning, the particulars of which were unknown to him. He declared he had often felt the extremest pain at hearing in the course of debate that degree of personal severity and invective which every gentleman, on reflection, must know to be improper, and must be conscious he would not be suffered to make use of in any other place. Sir Adam submitted it to the candour of the honourable gentleman who had first alluded to the transaction, whether it would be right or justifiable, in point of delicacy, to proceed to discuss it, or make any motion upon it, in the absence of the honourable gentleman who was principally concerned in it.

*Sir James
Lowther.*

Sir *James Lowther* declared he had no intention to enter into a particular discussion of it, neither had he any intention to make any motion upon it in the absence of the honourable gentleman. If he had mistakenly proceeded to any such matter, he was sure the Speaker of the House would not have suffered him, but would have stopped him the moment he attempted it. He had spoke generally upon the subject, which struck him as directly militating against the freedom of debate; in this point of view he had taken it up as a member of parliament, and so far was he from designing to make any personal reflections, he had never been at the house of the noble Lord, and the honourable gentleman was unknown to him even in person, till he had risen a day or two since, and complained to the House of his having been injuriously reflected on elsewhere. Without meaning any thing personal, therefore, he must repeat, that the matter ought by some means or other to be brought before the House, and if that was not fixed as the last day of their sitting, before the recess, and much important business was to be done, he should move, that the House proceed to the investigation of it instantly, because he considered the freedom of debate as an object of the first care and attention of Parliament. As the House was situated, he would not move to have the matter then agitated, but he begged the House to receive it as a notice from him, that he should move, immediately after the holidays, that the honourable gentleman do attend in his place, and that the matter be then taken into consideration.

A general murmur of No! No! ran through the House upon which Sir James declared he had no objection to alter the words of the motion he should hereafter make, if they appeared to be improper.

Mr.

Mr. *Burke* next spoke, and began with complimenting Mr. *Mr. Burke*. Adam for the encomium he had passed on his honourable friend. He declared that the warmest panegyrick was but justice to his character, and complained of his honourable friend's having been called out, not to answer for what he had said in Parliament, but for what a newspaper had chosen to impute to him. "God forbid, (he exclaimed) that gentlemen should be expected to answer for the gross misrepresentations of their speeches in that House, which appear from time to time, in some of the daily papers!" Having said this, he went into a discussion of the matter which had given offence to the honourable gentleman, who had that morning fought a duel with a noble friend of his, a member of the other House of Parliament. He contended that the words spoken by his noble friend were in the strictest sense Parliamentary language, that it was impossible to talk of public measures, without alluding to the men connected with those measures, and that there was an end to the freedom of debate, if gentlemen gave way to their private feelings, and took offence at what was not personally meant. The honourable gentleman who was absent seemed to have confounded public debate with private conversation. In the latter, the object was the happiness and satisfaction of all present; it was there the duty of every one to be upon his guard, and to take care that he let no expression slip him which might give offence to another, or disturb the harmony of the meeting; in public debate, the case was widely and essentially different. The very means and end of public debate, were free discussion, and an open unreserved mode of agitating every subject, to which the question under debate had reference. Without that free discussion, the question could not be agitated at all. This doctrine, he proceeded to apply to the case in question; the Earl of Shelburne had entered into a consideration of the state of the army, a material part of the public expence, and surely, a fit matter for Parliamentary discussion; in doing this, he had complained of one regiment being put under the command of a person, whom he described, perhaps not very correctly, as a clerk. Would any gentleman say that this was not parliamentary? What offence was there in it? He would take upon him to assert that there was none. It was not directed personally, and no gentleman ought to have mixed his private feelings so far with public debate as to have taken it to himself.

Sir *Harry Houghton* interrupted Mr. *Burke*, by begging Sir *Harry* him to remember that it had been in a manner agreed, that *Houghton*.

the subject should not be discussed in the absence of the honourable gentleman concerned. He wished therefore that it might drop for the present.

Mr. Rigby. Mr. *Rigby* declared he subscribed most fully to the doctrines laid down by the honourable member who spoke last but one, relative to the freedom of debate. Public measures and public men were fit subjects of discussion, and if any check was put to the unreserved agitation of such topics, Parliament would be of no use, and might as well be abolished. Certainly every member of that House, and every member of the other, had a right to speak his mind in Parliament, in the freest manner upon all public matters, and in some offices and appointments the man was so blended with the office, and the two were so inseparably connected, that it was impossible to make a distinction, and allude to the one without at the same time alluding to the other. These were facts that every gentleman must agree in. How far it was warrantable in the discussion of public matters, and in the allusion to public men, to throw out reflections of an invidious nature, and to treat them contemptuously, was another question respecting which every gentleman must draw his own line, and act accordingly. An honourable member had said he should move an enquiry into an unfortunate affair, which he understood had taken place that morning; might he advise, no enquiry whatever should be instituted respecting it. That, and every other matter like it, should rest undisturbed, and be buried in oblivion. Both parties, he was happy to hear, were safe, and that no affair of the kind had terminated more to the honour of those concerned in it. Why then interfere with it? Did the honourable gentleman think that any order or resolution of that House, did he imagine that any act of the legislature could prevent a gentleman's going out, as it was termed, with another, if he felt, or thought he felt his honour injured? Had gentlemen so soon forgot that there were acts of Parliament against duelling now in being? The very attempt to prevent one man's fighting with another, was absurd, because it was impossible, by any regulation of Parliament, to prevent it. What one gentleman felt as a reason for calling another out, might not operate equally in the breast of a second person. Every gentleman had his own peculiar feelings, and every gentleman would preserve his honour, in his own way. Duels of the kind that had happened that morning, and that had happened once before in the course of the present session, had happened occasionally, time out of mind, and indisputably would happen again and again, as long as the world

world should endure. They were therefore matters which every man must lament, but which no man, nor no set of men, were able to put a stop to. Out of this great evil, however, he did think some little good would ensue, and that was, it would teach gentlemen, to confine themselves within proper limits, and though it might not, and he hoped it would not, abridge the freedom of debate, he hoped it would make men speak in Parliament with better manners.

This remark, he declared, he did not mean to apply personally to either of the parties concerned in the unfortunate affair, which he lamented had happened that morning, or to any other gentleman. They were all apt to be off their guard in the hurry and heat of debate. He had himself been as guilty of this error as any member either of that House or of the other, and he had lately in a particular instance treated an honourable gentleman with less civility than he ought to have done. He was conscious of this, and condemned himself for it. He repeated, therefore, that he hoped the unfortunate affair that had taken place that morning, and a similar one which had preceded it, would serve as a warning to all of them, and teach them to distinguish between the freedom and the licentiousness of debate.

He disapproved of the idea of moving that the honourable gentleman concerned in the affair of that morning, "be ordered to attend in his place." Such a motion, he said, was highly improper. It involved censure in it, for no member had ever been so ordered, unless the House were previously in possession of some matter of complaint against him, for which they called upon him to answer and clear himself. He concluded with earnestly desiring that the matter might be dropped.

Mr. *Burke* said it was unfair to attack any gentleman in his absence, but it was still more unfair to accuse a man of having done wrong, or of designing to do wrong, and then to condemn him to silence. An honourable member had accused him of intending to go into a personal discussion of the affair of that morning, and in the same moment had desired that he would not say a word in his justification. He must, however, break through the rule, and declare that he had no design to go into a personal discussion of the affair of that morning, he only meant to have argued it on Parliamentary grounds. With respect to what the right honourable gentleman who spoke last had said relative to the impossibility of preventing duels by orders of that House, he could not surely imagine that

that either he, or the honourable gentleman near him, were so absurd as to attempt to make laws for the restraint of the human feelings and passions. No such thing was in their view. He then proceeded to state the real object of their design.

Sir James Lowther.

Sir James Lowther, in reply to what *Mr. Rigby* had said, declared, that there should be an enquiry, and the House should go into the matter, for he was determined to move it an early day after the holidays; and though he certainly would not move that the honourable member "be ordered to attend in his place," he hoped the honourable member's friend's would inform him of his intention, when, as a man of honour he did not doubt but he would be present. As a proof of the propriety of the House's investigating it, he instanced the late interposition of the Speaker, when a serious affair was near taking place between a learned gentleman, and an honourable friend of his, on that side the House.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox declared, that what a right honourable gentleman on the floor [*Mr. Rigby*] had said, made it necessary for him to say a few words. The right honourable gentleman was apt to speak in a loose and careless way, and therefore, perhaps, he had not any particular meaning in what he was going to mention; but as the words seemed to point to him, he must notice them. The right honourable gentleman had said, "he hoped what had happened that morning, and what had happened before of a similar sort, would keep gentlemen within proper limits, and at least teach them better manners." He begged to say for one, that what had happened to himself had not taught him better manners, nor should it ever restrain him within any other limits, than those which he had chalked out for himself. With regard to the noble Earl concerned in the affair of that morning, about which it certainly better became him to talk than about any thing which related to himself, he did not believe it would teach him better manners, and for this reason,—he was sure his noble friend had not gone beyond proper limits, in what he had said. So sure, that when the new levies came under consideration, he meant to object to that particular regiment, which his noble friend had objected to, on the very same ground, viz. because the person appointed to the command of it, did not appear to him to be a fit person to hold that command.

Sir George Yonge.

Sir George Yonge said a few words on the necessity of maintaining the freedom of debate. After which the House proceeded to other business.

Sir

Sir *George Savile* brought up the petition from Newcastle upon Tyne, which was read, and ordered to lie on the table. *Savile.*

Mr. *Fox* moved that the House be called over on the day that the petitions were to be taken under consideration,—ordered.

At length the order of the day was read, for bringing up the report from the committee of ways and means.

It was brought up, and Mr. *D. Hartley*, Sir *George Savile*, and Mr. *Byng* contended against its being taken into consideration, on the principle that the petitions of the people of England ought to be first attended to, and their grievances redressed.

Lord *North* argued on the other side, that having voted a loan of twelve millions, the House were bound to vote the taxes resolved on in the committee, or taxes productive to the like amount. His Lordship said, if the House now agreed to the report, the taxes could not be imposed till long after the petitions were taken into consideration, as the bill could not possibly pass till that time, and the House might oppose them in every stage of the bill.

Mr. *D. Hartley* used very strong language against the taxes, declaring, that agreeing to the report previous to remedying the grievances of the people; had a tendency towards exciting them to resist taxation. He said ministers seemed determined to push every thing to an extremity, which would reduce the matter to this alternative,—if the Parliament got the better of the people, this would become an absolute monarchy; if the people got the better of the Parliament, the King would be dethroned.

Sir *Adam Ferguson* and Sir *William Bagot* supported Lord *North*.

Mr. *Byng* moved, “That the report be postponed ’till the 4th of April next.” The House divided upon it. Ayes, 37; Noes, 145. The report was then read a second and third time, and leave given to bring in a bill.

The committee of supply then sat, and came to two resolutions relative to exchequer bills:

At ten o’clock, the House adjourned to the 4th of April.

Murtis

Martii 4 Die Aprillis, 1780.

Pursuant to an order made before the last Easter holidays, Lord North this day laid before the House the following paper :

Bank of England, March 29, 1780

The List of Subscribers to the Loan of Twelve Millions, made in this Session of Parliament.

The Directors of the Bank	400,000	Stamp Brooksbank	5,000
Do. East India Company	300,000	Lady Frances Burgoyne	5,000
Do. South-Sea Company	200,000	Peirce Bryan	8,000
Do. Royal Exchange Assurance	100,000	Henry Boldero and Co.	100,000
Do. London Assurance	230,000	Peter Burrell	2,000
Adair and Jackson	25,000	Daniel Braithwaite, Post Office	3,000
John Adair	2,000	Batson, Stephenson, and Co.	40,000
Adair and Bullock	30,000	James Baillie	5,000
Welbore Ellis Agar	15,000	Charles Bembridge	8,000
Robert Allen	12,000	Mrs. Cath. Bathurst	6,000
Peter and Isaac Auber	8,000	Richard Bannister	2,000
Sir Charles Asgil and Co.	20,000	James Branscombe	5,000
David André	10,000	Thomas Boylston	25,000
William Allen	2,000	George Browne	3,000
Aubertine and Ripley	5,000	George Bryan	5,000
Agassie and Rougement	5,000	Mr. Baird and Mr. Skinner	110,000
Thomas Allen	6,000	John Barnes	5,000
Moses Allnut	1,000	John Bridges	5,000
Thomas Atkinson	20,000	John Blackburn	5,000
Francis Allen	50,000	Patrick Brydone	2,000
William Austin	20,000	Bright, Bailie, and Bright	8,000
Thomas Ayliffe	10,000	Thomas Burfoot	17,000
Edward Aylett	10,000	William Burrell	5,000
Thomas Ahmuty	7,000	Herman Berns	10,000
Rev. James Adams	1,000	John Baker, Spitalfields	5,000
Edward Atkins	15,000	William Baker, ditto	3,000
Roger Altham	2,000	Buxton and Edwards	5,000
Biddulph and Cocks	100,000	William Belford	2,000
Silvanus Bevan	80,000	Edmond Boehm	10,000
Jacob Bosanquet	20,000	Joseph and John Backhouse, Darlington	5,000
John Barker	20,000	Nathaniel Boutflower	2,000
Anthony Bacon	16,000	John Boldero and Co.	50,000
John Boddington	25,000	Baynes, Wood, Griffiths, and Co.	3,000
Alexander Baxter	12,000		
Thomas Broughton	3,000		
Charles Boone	20,000		

William

A. 1780.

D E B A T E S.

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William Barr	5,000	Mark Cramer	10,000
Brooksbank and Ruddle	5,000	John Craven	2,000
Thomas Boddington	30,000	John Dirk Van Cloodwyk	5,000
Adolph Boon	7,000	Josiah Corthine, Hull	5,000
Cobert Barnewall	7,000	William Chamberlayne	10,000
Thomas Bland	50,000	James Chapman	4,000
John Brown	12,000	Chambers, Hercy, and Birch	10,000
Gerard Backus	5,000	Sir Patrick Crawford and Co.	20,000
Edward Bull	3,000	John Corrie	3,000
John Banning	2,000	Cox, Mair, and Cox	20,000
George Brownsworth	2,000	Peter Calmel	2,000
Charles Belliard	6,000	Emerson Cornwall, Ipswich	10,000
Edmond Blakeney	2,000	Rev. Thomas Clarke	1,000
John and Francis Baring	100,000	John Cator	40,000
Robert Barclay	75,000	John Cholwell	2,000
John Andrew Biggs	20,000	Castells and Whateley	270,000
Edward Bishop	20,000	Thomas Croft	20,000
William Barnard	15,000	Giles Collins	2,000
Burton Forbes and Co.	85,000	Thomas Carpenter	2,000
Henry Burmester	18,000	Edward Coke	24,000
John Ralph Baltier	9,000	Thomas Collinson	60,000
George Browne	8,000	Thomas Cheap	30,000
Richard Baker	10,000	Thomas Compton	10,000
John Bowen	2,000	Hew Craig	4,000
John Bowsteed	5,000	John Courtoy	5,000
Benjamin Booth	10,000	John Collier	15,000
Crofts, Roberts, Devaynes, and Dawes	165,000	Richard Chapman	2,000
Richard Croft	12,000	Abraham Cheetham	5,000
George Cherry	35,000	Coxe and Beardmores	2,000
John Cottin	40,000	Peregrine Cust	100,000
Richard Clarke	3,000	Thomas Coultis	140,000
William Cowley	5,000	John Coope	20,000
Stratford Canning	80,000	George Crawford	10,000
Lawrence Cox	20,000	Maurice Carr	10,000
Sands Chapman	2,000	Richard Carter	5,000
Richard Cumberland	20,000	Hananel David De Aguilar	10,000
Matthew Carrett	20,000	Rich. Dainty and Co.	3,000
Thomas Colborne	5,000	Francis Dancer, Treasurer	5,000
William Chapman	1,000	John Duval and Sons	50,000
Benjamin Collins, Salisbury	8,000	John Dorrien	100,000
John Courtney, Lord	5,000	John Durand	10,000
Townshend's Secretary	5,000	John Isaac Du Moutier	3,000
John Henry Cozenove	12,000		
Gabriel Clarmont	5,000		

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Joseph

Joseph Mendes da Costa	3,000	Thomas Stephen and Rose	
David Duveluz and Co.	5,000	Fuller - -	10,000
James Dick - - -	4,000	Benjamin Fowler	20,000
Isaac De Maltos - - -	2,000	Elmes Foster -	2,000
Philip Devisme and Smith	8,000	Thomas Fenn -	8,500
Henry Pelham Davies	10,000	General Frazer -	40,000
William Dickenson (Buck-		William Fuller, Son, and	
lersbury) - - -	4,000	Co. - - -	100,000
William Denison, Leeds	6,000	Peter Fector -	5,000
Charles Dalbiac - - -	8,000	John Minet Fector	3,000
William Dickenson -	10,000	James Ferrer -	4,000
George Dewar, Park-		Jacob and Samuel Fletcher	2,000
Place - - -	5000	James Bogle French	8,000
James Dalbaic -	4,000	Richard Fuller, Banker	70,000
Lord Chief Justice De		Benson Fearon -	3,000
Grey - - -	10,000	Thomas Farrer -	8,000
William Devaynes	47,000	William Fullarton	18,000
John Drinkwater	4,000	Hugh Frazer - -	3,000
Robert Dent -	400,000	Charles Foreman	20,000
Dim. dales and Barnard	50,000	Thomas Fletcher	9,000
Richard and R. Dixon	6,000	John Fryer -	10,000
John Davies -	3,000	Sarah Fuller -	2,000
Sir John Dick -	10,000	Simon Frazer -	100,000
John Dingwall - - -	2,000	George Field -	10,000
Darbey Langley and Co.	30,000	Thomas Fulling	3,000
R. and H. Drummond and		Jonathan Field -	9,000
Co. - - -	295,000	Isaac Goffet -	3,000
Joseph Denison and Co.	200,000	Richard Gurney, Nor-	
James Dunlop -	20,000	wich - - -	30,000
John Daws, sen.	27,000	Andrew Girardot	25,000
John Devaynes	5,000	Samuel Gift - -	25,000
Thomas Ewer -	20,000	William Gibbard	3,000
Sir Henry Etherington,		G. T. Goodenough	4,000
Hull - - -	10,000	Daniel Giles -	60,000
Sir Arch. Edmonston	24,500	Peter Guinard -	2,000
John Ewer, Cheapside	8,000	William Golightly	3,000
Samuel Enderby -	5,000	Francis and Robert Gof-	
Thomas Elliotson	2,000	ling - - -	30,000
Thomas Eden and Co.	10,000	Dean of Gloucester	2,000
Sir John Elliot -	5,000	Thomas Gery -	3,000
Thomas Everett	20,000	David Girard -	3,000
Sir James Esdaile	10,000	Peter Gaussen -	100,000
Richard Edwards	50,000	Edward Gillyatt	2,000
Edie and Laird -	20,000	Edward Gray -	16,000

A. 1780.

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John Goddard	-	7,000	Thomas Hill	"	4,000
Samuel Wilkinfon Gordon		40,000	John Harman		335,000
John Goodall	-	2,000	John Hillman	-	10,000
Thomas Gibbons		3,000	Henry Holland, jun.		10,000
John Gray	-	5,000	Alexander Hope	-	5,000
John Grier	-	5,000	Charles Harris	-	2,000
William Gilbec	-	10,000	Robert Hunter	"	10,000
David Codfrey	-	9,000	Thomas Hoggarth		3,000
Joseph Gompertz	-	40,000	Francis Hall	-	1,000
Thomas Gibson	-	16,000	Alexander Hamilton		20,000
Ged. Gatfield	-	10,000	C. Jeacombs and Yeoward		8,000
William Harrison		20,000	Henry Jones	-	12,000
Philip Hall	-	30,000	Charles Jackson	-	6,000
William Hamilton		10,000	James Johnson	-	3,000
John Heighington	"	2,000	James Johnston, Figtree-		
John Henicker	-	60,000	court, Temple		2,000
Doctor Howard, Bath		2,000	Henry Jones, Howard		
A. F. Haldimand		50,000	and Jones	-	5,000
John Halliday and Co.	100,000		Jenkin Jones	-	3,000
James Harris	-	2,000	Richard Jackson	-	20,000
Robert Hunter	-	5,000	Cuthbert Johnson		10,000
John Hyndham	-	10,000	William Jones	-	2,000
Richard Heavyside		4,000	Sir William James, Bart.		150,000
Bartholomew Huber		2,000	William Innes	-	30,000
John Harrison and Arsley		5,000	Griffith Jones	-	10,000
Sir Robert Herries	20,000		George Jon	-	8,000
Thomas Hill, Tichfield-			Godfrey Kettle	-	2,000
street	-	8,000	Ashur Keyser	-	2,000
William Hamilton		1,000	Leonard Kilham		5,000
John Hayward	-	4,000	Benjamin Kenton		10,000
George Heming		4,000	William Knox	-	10,000
Henry Hall	-	2,000	R. G. Kerr	-	20,000
Joseph Holden	-	2,000	Charles Keightley		10,000
Sam. Harman, Jermyn-street		3,000	James Kerr	-	35,000
Edmund Hill, Isleworth		4,000	Robert Knox	-	30,000
Stephen Horncastle		1,000	Liotard Kazenove and Co.		25,000
John Hainsworth		2,000	J. D. Lucadou	-	15,000
Benjamin Hallowell		2,000	Elias Lindo	-	10,000
Sir Tho. Halifax and Co.	100,000		John Larpent	-	8,000
Richard Holbert		5,000	Ladbroke, Rawlinson		
John Hodges	-	2,000	and Co.	-	60,000
Samuel Hoare, jun.		89,000	Emanuel Baruk Loufada		3,000
Thomas Ford Hill		14,000	Maurice Lloyd	"	30,000
Joseph Hague	-	15,000	John Lamb	-	5,000

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Langston,

Langston, Polhill, and Co.	50,000	John Maddison	-	5,000
John Martin Leake	12,000	Doctor John Moore		5,000
Edward Lucas	-	William Mellish		10,000
John Robert Le Cointe	10,000	Nathaniel Modigliani		70,000
Sir Wm. Lemon, and Co.	26,000	John Markett	-	50,000
John Livesy, Manchester	5,000	Lachlin Mackintosh		30,000
John Lochley	-	Thomas Millington		2,000
Timothy Leach	-	Charles McIntosh		16,000
John Larpent, jun.	2,000	John Nutt	-	15,000
Leaver Legg	-	John Nesbit	-	350,000
William Lander	3,000	Neave and Aislaby		5,000
William Luccraft	2,000	Henry Nicolls	-	10,000
Joseph Lancaster	-	Abraham Newland	-	10,000
Christopher Langlois	10,000	Thomas Newnham		25,000
Nicholas Langley	20,000	Thomas Neale	-	50,000
Montague Lind	30,000	Peter Nicoll	-	1,000
Robert Cooper Lee	25,000	Henry Newcome		8,000
George Lempriere	5,000	Thomas Neale	-	5,000
William Lane	-	Alexander Ougston		3,000
Robert Lloyd	-	John Olive	—	5,000
Edward Lowndes	3,000	Thomas Ormes	-	3,000
Lilly and Roberts	30,000	Samuel Potts	—	6,000
Leonard Morfe	-	Thomas Powell, St. Helen's		5,000
Robert Mayne	-	Prescotts Grote and Co.		50,000
William Mathews	8,000	David Powell	-	3,000
Andrew Moffatt	10,000	David Powell, jun.	-	3,000
Thomas Mainwaring	5,000	Percival Pott	-	8,000
J. Masfen	-	Frederick Amelia Palman		3,000
John Mayor	—	Christ. Pritchard	-	2,000
Mildred Masterman and		John Pardoe	-	5,000
Walker	-	John Pardoe, jun.	-	5,000
Bellingham Mauleverer	1,000	Henry Pearson and Co.		10,000
Marsh and Creed	3,000	John Powell	-	20,000
Samuel Marsh	-	Thomas Preston, Stratford		5,000
Israel Mauduit	-	Edmund Pepys	-	4,000
Edward Moore	-	Thomas Philips	—	4,000
Paul Maylor	-	Alderman Plumbe	-	10,000
Colin Mackenzie, Throg-		John Peché	—	2,000
morton-street	8,000	Pugets and Bainbridge	-	25,000
Francis Mint, jun.	2,000	William Power	—	5,000
William Minshull	8,000	Anth. Parkin	—	2,000
Francis Martin	-	George Paterfon	-	10,000
James Madan	-	S. Pope, Fleet-street	-	1,000
Richard Moleworth	5,000	Henry Porter	—	2,000
				Thomas

Thomas Pruen Gloucester	2,000	Shairps and Maude	- 18,000
Edward Payne	- 60,000	Thomas Shuttleworth	- 20,000
Thomas Pratt	- 9,000	George Slack	— 5,000
Thomas Potts	- 5,000	Isaac Joseph Saportas	- 5,000
Robert Prior	- 26,000	Arthur Shakespear	- 8,000
Palmer and Hodgson	- 10,000	Reuben Salomons	- 2,000
John Perins	— 30,000	Rt. Stevenson, Leadenh. str.	15,000
Gen. George Preston	- 1,000	Wm. Smith, War-Office	10,000
Thos. Walley Partington	20,000	Gabriel Steward	- 20,000
Benjamin Porter	- 15,000	William Sanders	- 5,000
Dr. Lucas Pepys	- 5,000	William Strahan	- 10,000
John Philips	- 3,000	Joshua Smith	— 20,000
Thomas Pemberton	- 5,000	Thomas Stevenson	- 2,000
Thomas Parsons	- 5,000	Samuel Smith and Son	37,000
Christ. Pottinger	- 20,000	William Steer	— 10,000
Pierrepoint & Waddington	5,000	Richard Seaman	- 2,000
William Robertson	- 8,000	William Smith	- 2,000
Rivier Crawley & Aguiton	50,000	John Sayer	— 1,000
William Raikes	- 15,000	Robert Simmonds	- 8,000
George Rose	— 5,000	Robert Smith	- 1,000
Thomas Rumsey	— 3,000	Francis Stevens	— 2,000
Morgan Rice	— 5,000	John Christian Splitgerber	50,000
W. Rabone & Lew. Crinson	5,000	Colonel Edward Smith	10,000
Rimington and Langton	8,000	Salomon Salomons	- 5,000
Jas. and Peter Richardson	10,000	Edward Stanley	— 8,000
Rev. Ebenezer Radcliffe	5,000	Peter Anthony Sapte	- 5,000
Robert Randall	- 5,000	Isaac Jacob Salomons	- 2,000
Gilbert Ross	— 8,000	Lieutenant Colonel Saxton	3,000
John Rogers	— 4,000	Mark Smithson	— 2,000
William Rawlins	- 2,000	John Stephenson	- 20,000
Robert Rolleston	— 20,000	Thomas Shewell	— 10,000
Alexander Raby	- 2,000	Benjamin Smith	- 10,000
John Read	— 2,000	John Staples	— 3,000
Joseph Richards	— 2,000	John Rudolph Staul	- 3,000
John Rosier	— 2,000	Joseph Salvador	- 5,000
John Rose	— 10,000	Francis Sykes	- 10,000
Sir Chas. Raymond & Co.	20,000	George Stackpole	- 5,000
Milward, Rowe, and Co.	12,000	Sir Richard Symons	- 20,000
Benjamin Rodgers	- 10,000	John Stokes	— 10,000
William Ross	— 3,000	Sadler Guillaume, &c.	- 11,000
Dr. Thomas Reeve	- 10,000	William Speer	- 6,000
Giles Rooke	— 4,000	Jere Sneyd	— 5,000
John Roberts	— 18,000	James Snyers	- 2,000
Richard Robinson	- 2,000	John Snaith	— 12,000

Westgarth Snaith	-	8,000	Anthony Villion	-	8,000
Robert Stephenson	-	2,000	Charles Van Notten	-	15,000
Abel Smith	—	50,000	Gysbert Van Voorst	-	8,000
John Stonehouse	-	10,000	Wolft. Van Hemert	-	5,000
Stapel, Coxo and Meilan	92,000		John Vaughan	—	1,000
Peter Stapel	—	10,000	Abraham Vickery	—	5,000
Thomas Smith	-	33,000	Charles Vann	—	1,000
Henry Spencer	-	30,000	Isaac Warner	—	2,000
John Smith	—	5,000	Henry White	—	10,000
Edward Seward	—	6,000	Christopher Willoughby	—	2,000
Thomas Sedgwick	—	7,000	Charles Wray	—	5,000
Thomas Stead	—	2,000	Edward Wilford	—	5,000
John Skinner Stock	-	2,000	Tho. Wright, Sher. of Lon.	10,000	
Sales Pollard and Yates	5,000		Jonathan Wathan	—	3,000
Thomas Stanton	—	5,000	Charles Williams	—	3,000
John Sutton	—	5,000	Martin Whish	—	2,000
Samuel Smith	-	2,000	William Webster	—	2,000
John Scott	—	5,000	Nathaniel Webb	—	20,000
Smith, Payne and Smith	90,000		Richard Wood, Gloucester	2,000	
Steele, Gray and Son	30,000		Thomas Wilkiefon	-	150,000
Merrot Stephens	-	2,000	William Williams	—	5,000
Peter Thelluffon and Co.	350,000		James and David Webster	10,000	
Lewis Teffier	—	50,000	Samuel Worrall	—	1,000
William Thompson	—	6,000	Peter Waldo	—	10,000
William Tatnall, jun.	2,000		Robert Willing	—	5,000
Richard Till	—	5,000	George Wade	—	2,000
James Tierney	—	8,000	Daniel Webb	—	5,000
Anthony Todd	-	25,000	Christian Woesthoven	-	3,000
Harry Thompson	-	25,000	Anthony Wright and Son	20,000	
Andrew Thompson	—	15,000	Charles Wilsonn	—	5,000
Elias Tuckett	-	4,000	William Watfon	—	1,000
Francis Tomkyns	-	4,000	John Wellford	—	2,000
Thomas Thompson	-	3,000	John Wetherell, Darlington	10,000	
Thomas Torr	—	2,000	John Wells	—	2,000
John Vickaes Taylor	-	8,000	Chas. Weston, Norwich	5,000	
James Taylor	-	5,000	Dr. Richard Warren	-	10,000
William Turner	—	2,000	Francis Wood	—	20,000
Peregrin Treves	—	5,000	John Whitehead	—	24,000
Richard Twining	-	9,000	Benjamin Winthorp	-	10,000
Isaac Thompson	-	4,000	John Wright	—	65,000
Charles Teffier	-	3,000	Isaac Walker	-	20,000
Thomas Trundle	-	2,000	Thomas Wall	—	10,000
Vandermulen and Jowett	10,000		William Wilfon	—	10,000
Robert Udny	-	15,000	Robert Wilsonn	—	10,000
Peter Van Notten	-	35,000			

A. 1780.

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Joseph Ward	—	5,000	Timothy Yeates	—	15,000
Thomas Wood	—	5,000	Jacob Yeats	—	2,000
John Willan	—	6,000	Thomas Young	—	21,000
George Wheatley	—	10,000			
Francis Williams	-	10,000			12,000000
William Wheatley	-	50,000			
Daniel Whalley	-	2,000			

A. NEWLAND, Chief Cashier.

June 4.

No Debate.

June 5.

Sir James Lowther informed the House that he had the *Sir James Cumberland* Petition under his arm, but, previous to his pre-*Lowther*.
 senting it, he begged leave to say a few words with regard to
 the Petition itself, and the County from whence it came. He
 then described Cumberland as one of the most northern and
 most respectable counties in the kingdom, and asserted that it
 paid a very considerable proportion of the public burthens, and
 was for many reasons entitled to the attention of that House.
 The Petition, he said, was signed by a very large number of
 the first characters in the county he had the honour to repre-
 sent; that at the time of preparing it, he was at a conside-
 rable distance from the county, and consequently that he nei-
 ther led the petitioners, nor suggested the mode of their appli-
 cation; the petition in his hand was the voluntary act of the
 subscribers, and when they had desired him to present it to the
 House, he told them, that he held it his duty as often as
 he was requested, to state the sentiment of his constituents to
 Parliament, even when he himself entertained a different
 opinion of the subject matter of their application, but that
 he always should in that House act for himself, and give his
 own opinion, after delivering that of those whose represen-
 tative he was, begging the House, however, at all times to
 pay a greater regard to the opinion of his constituents than
 to his own sentiments. With regard to the petition, his
 opinion exactly coincided with that of his constituents; the
 grievances they complained of struck him in the same point
 of view, in which they had impressed their minds, they cal-
 led loudly for redress, and at the same time that he produced
 the petition, he thought it right to say he had considered of
 the possibility of a remedy, and was thoroughly persuaded
 Parliament both could and ought to apply it. If the House
 should turn a deaf ear to the voice of so respectable a body
 as the subscribers to the petition he was about to present,
 they

they would right themselves, and would refuse to pay the taxes. He was aware, that ministry might attempt to dragoon them into the payment of them, and endeavour to coerce the county to pay their quota of the public expences. Such a measure struck him as like to produce such horrid consequences that he did not imagine ministers would think of putting it in practice. Perhaps a legal course might be adopted for the enforcement of the tax act. In that case, let ministers consider who would be the juries; where the trials would be held, and whether they were likely to obtain a single verdict? Upon the whole the wisest way would be the shortest, viz. to listen to the petitions, and remedy the grievances of which they complained.

Mr. Fletcher.

Mr. Fletcher supported his colleague, and in a short speech pointed out the respectability of his constituents.

Lord Nugent.

Lord Nugent complimented the subscribers to the petition for Cumberland, as persons who were certainly of a description so respectable, that they well deserved the notice and attention of that House. He wished, however, that gentlemen would not adopt within those walls, language which not only tended to direct the conduct of persons without doors to violence and opposition to law, and which could do no good, but might be productive of infinite mischief, but which also wore the complexion of a menace to Parliament, and in effect went to awe that House, and deter it from the full and free operation of its own wisdom and judgment. When he said this, he declared, he meant not to insinuate in the most distant manner that the honourable baronet had any such intention. He was sure he had not. He was convinced, he was the last man living who would think of holding out a threat to that House. He had sat there too long not to be equally aware of the indecency and impropriety of such a line of conduct.

The petition was ordered to be brought up, was read and, upon motion, referred to the committee appointed to take the petitions, already presented, into consideration.

Sir Watkyn William Wynne.
Lord Verney.

Sir Watkyn William Wynne also presented a petition from the county of Denbigh, and *Lord Verney* a petition from the county of Bucks. *Lord Verney* spoke to the Buckingham petition before he presented it, and was supported by his colleague, the honourable Mr. Thomas Grenville.

Lord *North* moved that the order of the day be read for the second reading of the bill for the commission of accounts. Lord *North*.

The order being read, the bill was read for the second time; after which Sir *Philip Jennings Clarke* rose, and gave notice of his intention, when the bill was referred to a committee to move a clause, enacting, "That a committee of members of Parliament be appointed to superintend the proceedings of the commissioners appointed under the act." Sir *Philip* said, this was by no means a new idea, he believed there were precedents for such a committee, and he hoped the noble Lord would move to have the bill committed for such a day, as should allow the House time to prepare to discuss it with that degree of knowledge of its parts, which a bill of so much importance really deserved, and which the noble Lord certainly would not refuse, if he seriously meant the bill to be of public service. Sir *Philip Jennings Clarke*.

Sir *George Yonge* started a few objections, which he said, he should enlarge upon in the committee. Sir *George Yonge*.

Lord *North* declared, he had no wish to hurry the bill in an improper manner through the House; that he certainly meant to give full time to gentlemen to consider of the bill, and should therefore after the question was put for its being committed, move, that it stand committed for next Wednesday. Lord *North*.

The bill was committed.

The *Secretary at War* then moved the order of the day for the army estimates, which being read, he moved that the papers on the table, entitled the army estimates, be referred to a committee. The *Secretary at War*.

Sir *Philip Jennings Clarke* opposed this motion. He directed his objections principally to the new levies, and in particular to the regiment over which Mr. North was appointed to command, declaring that in his opinion, the appointment vacated the honourable gentleman's seat in that House. That it was evident the whole business was a job of the minister, that it was an insult to the army, and might lead the way to most mischievous consequences. He declared he had no objection to the noble Lord's son, nor any suspicion that the regiment would be improperly employed under the honourable gentleman's direction. The honourable gentleman was every way a respectable character; but if men not bred to the army, and who were not possessed of one military idea, were of a sudden to be preferred to the command Sir *Philip Jennings Clarke*.

command of regiments, there was an end of military system, and those who deserved best of their country from long service, would loudly complain of the gross injustice and partiality of such conduct. Every good officer must be expected to retire in disgust, and thus the country would be deprived of all the advantage their army could receive from being commanded by officers of knowledge in their profession and experience in the art of war. Sir Philip enlarged upon the dignity and advantage of being a colonel; shewed that interested men might put a large sum of money into their pockets from holding such rank, by selling the commissions of the officers under them, and called upon the House to support him in interfering in the very beginning of the mischief, and put a stop to a business founded upon a mere jobbing idea, and which could do no good, but might do a great deal of harm. In order to effect this purpose he formally objected to the papers in question being referred to a committee.

The Hon.
Mr. North.

Hon. Mr. North, [Lord North's son] rose for the first time since he sat in Parliament, and said he would not have troubled the House, but as the honourable member had pointed a great part of his speech personally at him, it might be thought necessary for him, out of respect to the House, to say a few words; still however he should have remained silent, had not the whole of the honourable gentleman's argument been founded upon a complete mistake, as far as it regarded the regiment at the head of which he had the honour to be. The honourable gentleman had said a great deal about rank and emolument; in answer to which he could only declare, that he was neither to have permanent rank nor any pay; and that his appointment could be attended with no advantage to him whatever, further than the honour which he derived from the circumstance of contributing by his personal service to the defence of his country in a moment of public danger and alarm. With regard to the doubt which the honourable gentleman entertained respecting the vacating of his seat in consequence of his being appointed colonel of the regiment in question, the hon. gentleman perhaps was not aware that his regiment was one of the fencible regiments, upon the same footing with the militia, and that the officers of the fencible regiments were by two clauses moved by the right honourable gentleman, opposite to him [Mr. T. Townshend] exempted from vacating their seats by the act of Parliament.

Lord

Lord North, in confirmation of Mr. North's assertion, Lord North. moved that the clauses referred to by his honourable relation be read; after which his Lordship gave the House a detail of the regiment (as lieutenant colonel of which his son would have a commission when the corps was completed) being raised, and the mode of raising it. He stated that by the new militia law, the cinque ports were exempted from the provisions of that act. That as matters stood previous to the beginning to raise the regiment his son commanded, the cinque ports, which were more liable to attack than any part of the kingdom, were left defenceless, and that they contributed in no share to bear the burthen of the public defence. That they could not arm but under the old militia law, which had been exploded in that House, and which would have been exceedingly difficult to the cinque ports, and when carried into practice of little or no use. That thinking they ought to contribute their share towards the public defence, he had conferred with the inhabitants of the cinque ports, and had offered to contribute a considerable sum towards raising a regiment of fencibles. That upon their agreement, they had made a tender of such a regiment; that the offer had been graciously accepted by his Majesty. The regiment was now nearly completed, and though it had cost the cinque ports some expence, and had cost him a great deal; it had not been any expence to the public. That such a regiment was of very essential service in defence of the country, and could produce him no sort of advantage, nor any return for the large sum it had cost him. In no sense therefore did it merit the name of a job. With regard to his son's having the command of it, that matter had taken place in consequence of the gentlemen of the cinque ports having applied to him, and desired that one of his family might be at the head of it. His son was not to receive any pay, neither was he to gain rank by it. He was merely doing his duty to his country, in such a manner, as he had thought it became him to act, and which surely could not be imputed to him or his son as a matter of blame, by any man of candour, or any man who saw the thing in its true light. The regiment was, as he had said, a fencible regiment, and there were several young gentlemen, not older than his son at the head of regiments of the militia; he could not therefore think that the honourable gentleman would, after what he had said, object to the papers being referred to a committee, on the single ground

ground of his son's being appointed to the command of the regiment now raising for the defence of the cinque ports, since it was one of the cheapest to the public ever raised, and had not even cost them the levy money of a guinea a man, paid to the militia.

Sir Philip
Jennings
Clerke.

Sir Philip Jennings Clerke acknowledged he was not aware that his Lordship's regiment was a fencible regiment, having ever considered the term *fencible* as applying solely to the regiments raised in Scotland. He said he was well aware in what manner the noble Lord's other regiments were raised, but he had not before known the particular conditions on which his regiment of red coats had been raised.

Mr. T.
Townshend.

The right honourable T. Townshend agreed with the noble Lord in the blue ribband, that most certainly the seat of the honourable gentleman, the noble Lord's near relation, was not vacated, as his appointment came directly within the meaning of the two clauses, which he had the honour to move in the act of Parliament, and which had been just read by the clerk at the table. His honourable friend near him, notwithstanding the ground of objection which he had started to the papers being referred to a committee, had been done away, deserved the thanks of that House, and of the public, for having called the attention of gentlemen to the new levies, which certainly were of a very serious nature, and claimed the notice of Parliament in an eminent degree. Before, however, he proceeded further, he begged the House in general to know, that though he meant freely to canvass the subject then under consideration, he had no intention to give personal offence to any man, or any description of men; he meant to do his duty as a member of Parliament; and in doing that, he should not pay any regard to the doctrine of its being necessary to keep within bounds. Every thing which exceeded the proper freedom of debate, he certainly should avoid, but that freedom he ever would maintain. Having said this, he began to canvass the propriety of an honourable gentleman, who had never been in the army, and who knew nothing of military life [Mr. Fullarton] being appointed to the command of a regiment. He said it was a cruel injury to the army, and a most unjustifiable matter in itself. As well might the honourable gentleman be appointed to the vacant deanery of Salisbury, or the vacant seat on the bench of the court of common pleas. He complained of the general partiality in accepting the offers to raise regiments, in almost every one of which,

which, the army had been grossly ill used, by having either very young and inferior officers raised to high commands, or those appointed to them, who had never served before, and were total strangers to the army. He instanced the cases of Colonel M^cCormick, Colonel Keating, Colonel Stanton, and others, whom he had on prior occasions mentioned in debate, and then compared the favour shewn to them, with the conduct that had been held to the Earl of Derby, Major Stanhope, and the Earl of Harrington; the latter of whom was sent to the West-Indies, and subjected to the command of a superior officer, who but the other day was only a lieutenant on half pay. He instanced the hard fate of Colonel Meadows and Colonel Musgrave, the latter of whom he described as coming home, and asked if he was to have no reward for his long and gallant services but his many wounds and a ruined constitution? He placed Colonel Fullarton's appointment in every possible disadvantageous light, but confined himself entirely to the Parliamentary rules of debate, and repeatedly avowed his having no intention to give personal offence, and his thorough conviction of the honourable gentleman's respectable character. He loudly reprobated what he deemed an unfair partiality to the Scotch, declaring, at the same time, that he abhorred national reflections as much as any man; that he was ready to own a Scotchman would make as good an officer as an Englishman. All he meant to object to, was, the exclusive appointment of the Scotch to the command of the new regiments. If a Scotchman was once appointed to the command of a regiment, from that hour, he asserted, Englishmen were excluded from the regiment, for no English officer could hold a commission in it. This he termed a hardship and a partiality, which however invidious his mention of it might appear, he felt it his duty, as a member of Parliament, to state to the House. He asked if the English officers were to attempt to get commissions in the regiments raised in Scotland, would they be permitted? Why then were Scotch colonels to have their head quarters at Derby? Was the service of the honourable gentleman's regiment such as no English officer would undertake?—He was sure there were many who would most readily undertake it, and who would have gladly accepted of the same commission on the same terms. For these and other reasons he objected to the papers being referred to the committee.

Mr.

Mr. Eden.

Mr. Eden next said, that a particular friendship for Colonel Musgrave, induced him to set the House right as to a fact, which he thought material, only because a few points of military conduct are matters of indifference to military men. It had been stated by the right honourable gentleman, that the officer alluded to, was coming home with wounds, and without promotion, and this in a manner which implied, that he was coming home in disgust. Mr. Eden added, that however great Lieut. Col. Mulgrave's pretensions might be, he would ever be most unlikely to quit actual service from any consideration, but the possible one of ill health: He had reason to hope however, that Lieut. Col. Musgrave was not coming home, but was very lately appointed quarter-master-general by the excellent officer now commanding in the leeward islands. As to Colonel Musgrave's merits, he would not attempt to do justice to them; indeed it was not within the compass of any eloquence in the House to give any encomium to that officer which was not amply deserved.

Mr. T.

Townshend.

Mr. Townshend answered Mr. Eden by saying, the honourable gentleman had misconceived him; and in order to prove this, he re-worded what he had said respecting Colonel Musgrave.

Mr. Fuller.

Mr. Fuller rose in behalf of his relation Colonel McCormick, and proved, that he had been long in the army, and had many years ago rose to the rank of Captain, but had since sold out.

The Secretary at War.

The Secretary at War, in reply to Mr. Townshend, shewed that various noblemen and others who had never been in the army, had been suffered to raise regiments, and command them last war. [Being called on by Colonel Barré to name them.] He mentioned Lieutenant-General Frazer, General Morris, and several others. With regard to the partiality to the Scotch, which had been complained of, he produced a long list, whence it appeared that the complaint was ill-founded. In answer to the attack upon Colonel Fullarton's appointment, he spoke of the honourable gentleman's offer to government in very high terms, and said, that when gentlemen of active minds and enterprising spirits, made a tender of their abilities, and pointed out particular services of the first importance, it surely would be indefensible in government to have turned a deaf ear to their offers, especially when the conditions, on which they tendered their regiments, were much cheaper to the public than those of other persons. That the

service for which the honourable gentleman's regiment was destined, would, when a proper time for its being known came, he doubted not, sufficiently apologize for the appointment, which had now been so much complained of.

General *Burgoyne*, in answer to the Secretary at War, said, General *Burgoyne*. that the appointment of Lieutenant-General Frazer, to a high command last war, had been a political, not a military measure. That the idea was a very wise one, as it was with a view to endeavour to reconcile some of the northernmost clans, which had entertained old prejudices against the government; that it answered its end, and as well as serving to raise some brave regiments of hardy soldiers, it effectually rooted out the ancient animosities of those parts of the Scotch nation, which had been most inveterate against this country. The General spoke a good deal at large upon the topics touched upon by Mr. Townsend, and contended that an army without discipline, was of no service whatever; and that a regiment of raw recruits, headed by an inexperienced leader in martial matters, was not likely to carry any enterprise through with success.

The *Secretary at War* rose again, and re-explained those Secretary at War. points upon which General Burgoyne in the course of his speech expressed doubts.

Mr. *Byng* was against referring the papers, and complained Mr. *Byng*. of the gross injustice, of appointing persons who had never been in the army to the command of a regiment, while so many brave officers, who had served for many years, were unemployed. He reprobated the plea for the appointment of the honourable gentleman, that he was of an enterprising and active spirit, asserting that such a declaration was an illiberal attack upon the army, as it was neither more nor less than saying, that there were not among those already in the army, men equally enterprising, and ready to undertake whatever service the honourable gentleman's regiment might be sent upon. Mr. Byng stated the custom of the army when he belonged to it, and said, that had he continued in it, he should now have been twenty-seven years in it, without attaining the command of a regiment, whereas the honourable gentleman was, if the present estimates passed, to be promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel at a single step. He complained of the great partiality shewn to the Scotch, and said he did not envy that nation, he only wished his own countrymen might be put on an equality with them, and share with them the favours of government.

Mr. *Fox* threw out a variety of pointed sarcasms on clerks Mr. *Fox*. and commis being suddenly converted into officers of high rank

rank, and ridiculed the idea of the appointment of the honourable gentleman being excused, on the plea of its being merely during the war, and that when peace came, he and other gentlemen preferred to the rank of Colonels at once, would become private men again. He asked whether the time of war was not the time when officers of experience were most wanted by their country, and rank in the army most estimable? What did it signify, in time of peace, who was a Colonel, or who was not? Rank then, was only the instrument which procured officers, whose services merited reward, a comfortable and honourable provision. The army was at all times an object, of which, it well became that House, to be extremely jealous; but most particularly so, when new regiments were raising in such abundance, and the commands so extraordinarily bestowed, that it warranted a suspicion that sooner or later the army was intended to be employed against the liberties of the people. There had scarcely been an offer accepted, or an offer rejected, within the last eighteen months, which did not prove either a scandalous partiality, or a most unwarrantable refusal. Let gentlemen consider the handsome offer of the Earl of Derby, to raise a regiment, and the manner in which it had been refused. Let them recollect that the only objection insinuated, was the Earl's having desired permanent rank, but that he had afterwards waved that claim. As an evasion it had been said, there was no letter from the Earl of Derby, specifying that he had so waved it; and though it was allowed that he had made the declaration publicly in the House of Lords, it was pretended that no notice could be taken by office of what was there said. This, however, would strike every man of candour as a pitiful quibble, and would make the conduct of ministry appear rather worse than better. Let the House remember the answer given to Major Stanley who died as much in the service of his country as if he had lost his life in action at the head of his regiment! Let them remember likewise the refusal to Lord Chatham, and the refusal given to Mr. Grenville, brother to Lord Temple and Mr. Wyndham, brother to Lord Egremont, both ensigns of the guards, ! What had been the plea in their cases?—That they were in the army, and could move but one step at a time, so that the absurd system now pursued in the military line was, that those who, from having been bred up in the army and having served, were best qualified for high command, had no chance of obtaining them, while unprofessional men employed as under secretaries of state, and in civil capacities all their life time, might have them for asking for.

He declared he objected to various parts of the papers then under consideration. If the men who had been raised on one condition to serve in the troop of horse [Colonel Holroyd's] and who were afterwards put upon a different footing, and re-attested, as he understood, for that purpose, had not had a free alternative of either being re-attested or discharged, as they thought proper, they had not been fairly treated.

Mr. Fox entered into an argument on the respectability and antiquity of the family of the Earl of Derby, and others, whose offers to raise regiments had been refused deducing from the premises, that such men were best attached to the constitution, and most likely to preserve the liberties of the people; inferring, that he was warranted to suspect from their offers having been rejected, that the new regiments were designed to do something adverse to those liberties. He took occasion in this part of his speech, to advert to the antiquity of the Scotch families, and ridiculed them. He said further, that he had no objection to the Scotch; that among his friendships, many of them were with gentlemen of that country whom he esteemed and loved; but still he could not help now and then reflecting on what had past in former times. Forget and forgive, was an easy maxim to speak, but a hard matter to practice. When he considered what had happened twice within a century; that the most dangerous attacks on the constitution had come from the northern part of the kingdom, he could not but be alarmed, when he saw the partiality daily shewn to Scotchmen. He could not but recollect, that at one time, in order to obtain power, the Scotch had agreed to give up what they held most dear, their religion, and to swallow popery, such was their eagerness to establish an absolute monarch, and to exercise their love of tyranny. Reflecting on these matters therefore, he owned, he was alarmed at the number of Scotch officers, who had of late got into the army, more especially the number of those who had obtained the commands of new raised regiments. He concluded with declaring that he should vote against the papers being referred to a committee.

Col. Holroyd, said, he believed the best method of replying to what had been insinuated, would be by a short account how the corps happened to be raised. Last summer, during the time invasion was most talked of, he said he wrote to the Secretary at war, acquainting him, that if more light troops were wanted, he thought it was in his power to raise them. He mentioned at the same time, that he merely wished to be

useful ; that his situation as Major of the Suffex Militia was as agreeable to him as any military situation could be. He never applied to any minister, he never had before the least intercourse with the Secretary at War, or chief in command. He only wrote by the post, in the stile of a man offering his assistance, not thinking of acquiring advantage to himself. He received an answer that the King accepted his offer. The regiment was raised in a very short time, both men and horses, and he believed those who had seen them would say there were not finer in the service, without one farthing expence to the publick. He had neither stipulated for permanent rank nor half pay for himself. He would presume to say, the public, or government, or whatever they pleased to call it, was infinitely more obliged to him, than he was to government. There was nothing in the gift of government could make him amends for the neglect of his private affairs, the desertion of his family, the desertion of his home, a home to which he was as much attached as any man in that house possibly could be ; a home however, which he had scarce seen since the war with France began. But those were the thanks to be expected from those honorable gentlemen, who (called to order). As to the business of re-attesting the men, that was strangely misrepresented. It was not till the corps was raised that he was informed, it was intended as a sensible corps. He did not know that such corps existed out of Scotland.^a He represented to the Commander in chief the disappointment it would be to his officers, who came from old regiments. He was told his regiment should be put on the establishment to serve at large, if his men would re-attest for that purpose. He went to the regiment, explained the business fully, and all, except a very few, immediately consented to re-attest. The change was very disadvantageous to him, he subjected himself to go on any service, although there was not a man in England to whom it would be more inconvenient. He said he should only add therefore, that there was not in that house, or in England, a more independent man than he was, either from principle, disposition, or situation. He found, however, the part he took in the Milbourne-Port business, was considered by some as a mark of his dependance : but he had infinite satisfaction in the opportunity of proposing such an act of justice ; his intention, was to support the minister, as the servant of the public.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox in reply to Colonel Holroyd, desired to know whether the men of his regiment had been allowed the fair alternative of being discharged in case they did not like to be re-attested or not.

Colonel

Colonel *Holroyd* would not answer, but said no member was warranted to interrogate him.

The *Lord Advocate* [*Dundas*] said, the honourable gentleman [*Mr. Fox*] had, when he was younger, been much wiser; there was a time, and he might very well remember it, when he sat on the treasury bench, and maintained, that the voice of the people was to be collected no where but in the House of Commons; but he doubted not a time would come, ere long, when the honourable gentleman would be wiser again, and agree with him in opinion, that the present mode of proceeding used by opposition could be productive only of anarchy, disgrace, and confusion.

Mr. Fox rose, he said, in answer to the attack that had been so personally directed against him, by the learned gentleman who spoke last. He expected that such an attack would be made, and that it would come from such a quarter. The learned gentleman had talked of what he was totally ignorant, since the assertions to which he alluded were made before he had a seat in the House. He had been misinformed, and he had spoken agreeable to that misrepresentation. No man who was in the House at the time, and who heard the opinion that he gave, would have dared to misrepresent him in such a manner; but speaking in consequence of the report which he had received, he had dared to do it, and he was excusable, because he did not know whether he was right or not.

In the second or third speech which he had ever made in his life, and at a time when he was only one and twenty years of age, perhaps expressions might drop from him which were loose and undefined; but it would be very unusual indeed to examine such expressions with rigour. He however wished that every assertion which he had made should be fairly tried; all that he wished for was that his words should be fairly represented, and that men who were not in Parliament at the time should not take the report of newspapers, nor of informers as evidence against him.

He appealed to the recollection of every man in the House who was present at the time, whether he did not, in the opinion which he gave in the affairs of the Middlesex election, build all his argument in the power of the people. Every topic which he urged was founded on this popular and proper doctrine, and was intended to maintain the power of the people in opposition to that of the crown and

the House of Lords. On this ground he had changed no opinion; but he said that the voice of the people was to be collected in that House; and in the newspapers it was added, that he had said that the voice of the people was not to be collected in petitions.

Such an expression could not fall from him: it would have been as inapplicable as unjust. There were not any petitions then before the House. There was no topic relating to such a subject; but that the voice of the people was to be collected in that House he had said, and he still said so. It was to be collected in that House, until they acted in opposition to the voice of the people in the original capacity. In all ordinary cases it was the most practicable and expeditious means of declaring the sense of the people; but when the representative body did not speak the sense of the constituent, the voice of the latter was constitutional and conclusive. This had been his opinion, and it would still be so. He said there was no man who had been more systematic in his opinions, and in his conduct, than himself. The noble Lord in the blue ribbon would do him the justice to say so. It was his fault, and his misfortune to be too stubborn in his temper, indisposed to the courting of popularity, and too much matched and wedded to his opinions when formed. He would be bold to say that the noble Lord in the blue ribbon would not assert that he had ever heard his public doctrines at variance with his private, though he knew well that he had often been surprised at opinions which that noble Lord had given in public after hearing his private sentiments. The honourable gentleman remarked with infinite humour on what the learned gentleman had said respecting himself, and his countrymen in general.

Lord George
Gordon.

Lord George Gordon said he would not answer any thing that had fallen from the last member, as it respected only himself, nor what came from the Lord Advocate; for though he had spoken half an hour, he had not said a syllable to the question. His oratory indeed was very fine. He had given the House English hopes with a Scottish accent: "*Lingua Tuscana in voce Romana.*" It was, however, of very little value, and however elegant it was, nothing more nor less than what was denominated in Scotland "the gift of the gab." It was as little regarded, however, in Scotland as it was in that House, and there were even some of his speeches for which he would be torn to pieces in Scotland. He owned that many of the nobility and the gentry of Scotland, the

sixteen peers and the forty-five members were dependent on the crown and adherents of the minister. The poor, the industrious part of the people, were the only dependent of the Scotch nation.

General *Conway* returned to the question, and said he could not object to going into the committee, because he could not object to the estimate in the gross; but to the particular corps which a gentleman was appointed to command, who had no military skill and no military rank. He had no objection to the corps of Colonel Humberston. He was entitled to it by his rank; but though he highly esteemed the private character of Mr. Fullarton, he thought it an injury to the army that he should have the command of a regular regiment, when there were so many veteran majors, who had the pretension of wounds, experience, and service to plead for preference.

Lord *George Germain* said, that Mr. Fullarton had been actuated by pure zeal and spirit on this occasion, as to his knowledge, he had given up a much more lucrative employment, that he might serve his country in this arduous and critical moment. No insult or injury had been offered to the service by accepting of his offer to raise a regiment. It was wanted for a special purpose on a sudden; a very gallant and advantageous offer was made, and at that time there were no other offers, so that other men could not be preferred.

Mr. *Burke* answered the noble Lord, and said, it was exceedingly singular that he should rise in vindication of a gentleman who had not been attacked, and say nothing in defence of ministers against whom the whole strength of the debate had gone. There were no other offers then made—was that a reason for accepting this? No other offers for this particular provision could be made, as the nature of the service was only known to Mr. Fullarton. It was a most direct injury to the army, and violated every rule and principle of the service. He went at large into the topic which had been much insisted on during the debate, of prejudices on the one side and partiality on the other with respect to Scotland. He detested all general imputations—all marked partialities—all determined proscriptions. They were dangerous and fatal. We ought to be united in heart and affection as well as in interest, and to have but one common undivided claim to favour.

He

He would be as great an enemy to an Irish partiality, to a Southern partiality, as he was to a Scotch partiality. In the infancy of their union with this country there was cause for partiality and favour, since the principal men, by feeling the advantages of a well regulated and a free government, would tend to conciliate the affections of the whole. But must they be always in their infancy? Must they still be fed and nourished to keep them quiet and reconciled? It was the marked partiality which he condemned, not the country. He paid them high compliments, as an ingenious and an enterprising people. As to the particular regiment, raised so unaccountably and so contrary to the rules of the service, he must give his vote against it, and he wished to go into the committee on purpose.

Mr. George Onslow.

Mr. *George Onslow* said that these expressions might have a tendency to raise heats and animosities in the army. He observed that in the last war several regiments were raised by peers, by the Duke of Rutland, the Duke of Kingston, and others who had no rank before; and why then should objections be made to this. It would be invidious to begin here.

Lord North.

Lord *North* said a few words to shew that the present plan of temporary rank was preferable to that of the last war, when permanent rank was given.

The question for going into the committee now passed, and the Speaker left the chair.

Mr. Secretary at War.

Mr. *Secretary at War* moved that the sum of 33,300*l.* and odd, be granted for the expence of the troops raised in the year 1780. This was for all the corps. The expence of Mr. Fullarton's corps by itself was 8,700 and odd pounds, so that those who wished to oppose that vote, would move that the sum of 24,000*l.* and odd should be granted.

Mr. Thomas Townshend.

Mr. *Thomas Townshend* rose, he said, to oppose the vote for Mr. Fullarton's corps from the firmest opinion of its being contrary to every rule and regulation of the service. He, for his own part had no prejudice to any part of this country. He thought that the Scotch were very able officers, and their zeal and their enterprize did them honour. But he did not nor could he support so evident and marked a partiality as appeared in favour of that country in the present reign. He thought English officers just as good as Scotch; he thought Scotch officers just as good as English. Several

Several offers had been made equally spirited and equally advantageous with those of Mr. Fullarton and Major Humberston, and when he saw a Colonel Meadows and a Colonel Musgrave unemployed, he could not be patient when such appointments were made. He would be bold to say, that in the new-raised corps, there were four or five Scotch officers for one English. The Yorkshire Rangers were all officered by Scotch; and Major Stanhope, who had a natural interest in the county of Derby, had been refused a regiment. Mr. Duburgh, a gentleman of family in Ireland, was also refused permission to raise a corps. Lord Ross, of the kingdom of Ireland, who was a major general, was refused; and another gentleman, who was a colonel in the service. Their offers were as noble and advantageous; for they only desired the continuance of their own rank.

Mr. Fox said, that of all men breathing, no one entertained fewer prejudices than himself. He detested them. He had many valuable friends in Scotland, and he had the pleasure to say that many noble persons in that country went hand in hand with England on the present occasion. He wished, for his part, to unite every part of the empire, and to lose, if possible, the very names of distinction. It had been the system of this unfortunate reign to maintain itself by division and discord. *Divide et impera* had been its favourite plan. It had accomplished the *divide*, but the *impera* he hoped would never follow. Ireland had been divided from England, England from Scotland, and America from Great Britain.

This system of division and discord had set brother against brother, man against man, and connexion against connexion. He wished to see that system superseded by one family and concord, which had an eye to every part of the empire, and proscribed nothing but inability and demerit.

At eleven o'clock, the question was put upon the sum for Colonel Holroyd's dragoons which was agreed to without a division. The question was next put upon the sum for Mr. Fullarton's corps, when the committee divided.

For the question	-	-	102.
Against it	-	-	66.

The question was then put on Colonel Humberston's corps, which was agreed to without a division. The whole sum voted for these services being 33,300 and odd pounds.

April

April 6.

The following county petitions were presented: that of *Lord George Derby*, by *Lord George Cavendish*. His Lordship observed, that the petition was the united voice of the whole country; that it originated spontaneously from the people themselves; that no person whatever, supposed to have weight or consequence in the county, offered to lead or dictate; that a considerable period had intervened between the time, several other counties had called meetings, and agreed to petitions; and though he and his friends were convinced of the necessity and propriety of petitioning, they were of opinion that it would be more proper to leave the county to judge for itself. He spoke likewise of the committees and associations; and feared, if the petitions and prayers of the people were not attended to, that very alarming or fatal consequences might follow.—He further observed, that though the meeting had not met till Saturday se’nnight, nevertheless a very clear and decided majority of the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of that county had signed their names to it.

Mr. D. Coke. *Mr. D. Coke* said, he was as ready to support the right of petitioning as the noble Lord, or as any other person in that House. He was further convinced, that the grievances set forth in the petition existed; he felt them himself, as an individual; and he was persuaded that the petition which the noble Lord had in his hand contained the genuine sense of the freeholders of the county of Derby. If he had not thought so, he would never have taken the part he had in the business, both at the meeting and since. He knew that the petition was delayed, merely to take the sense of the county. He was applied to by the Sheriff, to deliver it into the hands of the noble Lord. He waited on purpose, and as soon as it was given into his possession, he came off with it express, and arrived in town the preceding evening.

Lord Edward Bentinck. *Lord Edward Bentinck* moved for leave to bring up a petition from the county of Nottingham.—He prefaced his motion with a few words; said it was agreed to at a very full and respectable meeting almost unanimously, and had been signed by upwards of 3500 names.

Sir Richard Sutton. *Sir Richard Sutton* went into a kind of topographical description of the county: denied, that one half of the freeholders had signed it; spoke of the parish in which he resided, where, out of twenty-seven gentlemen, only six had subscribed their names. He pursued his political itinerary to Fordingham, Newark, &c. contending throughout, that, upon

upon an average, not more than a fourth had signed, and in some towns and parishes not one.

Lord *Edward Bentinck* said, he could not tell from whence the honourable gentleman drew his information; but this he could affirm, that out of 4000 freeholders, 3500 had signed the petition. Lord Edward Bentinck.

Sir *Richard Sutton* replied, that that number included all those who paid taxes, as well as those who had a right to vote. Sir Richard Sutton.

Lord *Edward Bentinck* rejoined, that he could not exactly pledge his word, that every person whose name was signed the petition was a freeholder; but he understood, the petition was a petition from the freeholders of the county of Nottingham. Lord Edward Bentinck.

Sir *Richard Sutton* was again going to rise; but a general murmur of disapprobation being expressed from every side of the House, he sat down. Sir Richard Sutton.

Mr. *Morgan* presented a petition from the county of Brecknock, which he declared to be the genuine sense of the county. Mr. Morgan.

Lord *Algernon Percy* presented a petition from the county of Norththumberland, which he was well informed contained the general sense of his constituents. He was seconded by Sir William Middleton, in a short speech, to the same purpose. Lord Algernon Percy.

Hon. Mr. *Marshall* presented a petition from the county of Kent; said, there were upwards of 3500 names already signed to it, and that there were two or three other skins of parchment, containing the names of upwards, he believed, a thousand more, which had not been transmitted, but were in town probably at the time while he was speaking. He assured the House, that he had taken no public or private part in the business; that the petition which he had in his hand, nevertheless, contained his sentiments; and though he cautiously abstained from any interference, as a representative, nevertheless, as both a petitioner and a member of that House, he approved of committees and associations; for it was infinitely ridiculous and absurd, in his opinion, to allow the right of petitioning for redress of grievances, and at the same time to contend, that in case redress should be refused by that House, that the petitioners were thereby concluded, and were incompetent to seek it by every legal and constitutional means in their power. He acknowledged, that the petition in his hand did not contain the united unanimous sense of the county; that he had a counter petition to present from a part

of his constituents, many of whom were men of as high rank, credit, reputation, independency, and integrity, as any other within or without that House; but while he was delivering his own sentiments on the present occasion, he thought it incumbent both to such of his constituents as had signed the petition which he was about to present, and himself; that on one point there was not a second opinion in the county, that of recommending œconomy in the expenditure of the public money. To that point both petitions went; and likewise, though the sentiments contained in the petition which he held in his hand was not the unanimous sense of the county of Kent, it was the sense of a very cided, clear, and unequivocal majority of the freeholders.

Mr. *Honywood*.

Mr. *Honywood* confirmed every thing which had been asserted by the honourable gentleman who spoke last. He observed, notwithstanding the county of Kent presented such a length of coast, full of ports and harbours, swarming with custom-house, revenue, and coast officers; notwithstanding it contained an archbishopric and bishopric, and of course that species of influence, attached to those kind of establishments; notwithstanding the noble Lord in the blue ribbon was Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Governor of Dover Castle, and went down in the county, surrounded with the double weight of Minister and Lord Warden; notwithstanding there were two royal docks (Deptford and Woolwich) in the county, to which so much influence and patronage were inseparably annexed; and that many persons, some of whom were of the first weight and influence in the county, enjoyed high posts, places, and emoluments, under government; notwithstanding all these sources of never-failing influence, the petition in his honourable friend's hand, including the two or three skins of parchment not annexed, amounted to upwards of 4000 names, while the other petitioners could not, with their utmost efforts, muster more than 1870.

Sir *Horace Mann*.

Sir *Horace Mann* said, he was one of the petitioners alluded by his honourable friend. He meant one of those who disapproved of many parts of the petition which the honourable gentleman held in his hand. The petition which he had signed, and which his honourable friend said he would present, contained his sentiments so fully respecting the committees and associations, that it was needless for him to add any thing upon the present occasion. Since he was up, however, he said he could not help declaring, *viva voce*, that he thought the

the committees and associations had a most dangerous and alarming tendency ; that they threatened anarchy and public confusion ; that they might be productive of the worst, but could be productive of no good consequences ; and without looking further than the avowed sentiments which they contained, they called for the disapprobation, if not detestation, of that House, because they went to establish a controul over that House, repugnant to the scheme and spirit of the English constitution. They said to Parliament, you must do this, or we will adopt measures to compel you. This was a doctrine he should ever set his face against ; it amounted to a direct subversion of the constitution, and as such, should be resisted by him in every form, and upon every occasion, both in that House and out of it.

He was ready to say, in the language of the petition which he had signed, that at no preceding period in this country was public œconomy more necessary. We were engaged in a dangerous and expensive war with the united branches of the House of Bourbon. We were engaged in a contest with a very considerable part of our own subjects. The burdens necessary to bear us out in such a dangerous contest, must be great ; and it was the indispensable duty of ministers to give every possible satisfaction to those who were destined to bear these burthens ; that the money raised upon them, in order to support the great cause in which the country was engaged, and on which its very existence as an independent nation depended, was faithfully and œconomically expended. So far therefore as the petitions of the people went to the great object of public œconomy, no man would support the more chearfully.

He replied to several passages in Mr. Honeywood's speech, particularly respecting the supposed existing influence in that county. He could say for himself, that no man was more independent. He did not desire any credit for a bare assertion : he appealed to his line of conduct in that House, as well as without. The noble Lord in the blue ribbon was no stranger to both. His Lordship, he dared to say, did not look upon himself under any great obligations to him in his ministerial capacity. He should be sorry to be considered fickle, inconstant, or desultory. He knew his conduct with those who knew him not might admit of such an interpretation. Be that as it might, he acted from a sense of his duty. He might be wrong, but he could sincerely declare, that he was never so premeditatedly. Upon the point of influence

existing in the county of Kent, he was free to say, that he believed there never was a petition signed in that, or any other county, which contained the sentiments of the people who had signed their names more than that to which he had been alluding.

As soon as he came to his place he opened the contents of the other, or counter-petition. He observed, that the petition now in his hand, as well as that he had just presented, agreed precisely in the same principle of national œconomy. It was his duty to present it as being the sense of a very numerous and respectable part of his constituents. It contained his own so far as it went; and where it fell short of the other petition he could not help again repeating, it fell short of his own public and private sentiments.

Mr. *Mar-*
sham.

Mr. *Marshall* then brought up the petition, which, as a matter of course, was referred to the committee.

Sir *George*
Cornwall.

Sir *George Cornwall* presented the Herefordshire petition. He prefaced it with a few words, assuring the House, that it contained the sentiments of a very great majority of the freeholders of the county he had the honour to represent, and as such, had been signed by a very great majority of them.

Mr. *Crisp*
Molyneux.

Mr. *Crisp Molyneux* presented a petition from the county of Cambridge. He entered into a narrative of the meeting, the great number of freeholders who attended it, the unanimity which prevailed there, not one person having rose to oppose the principle, though one or two had objected to the committees and associations.

He begged leave to acquaint the House how he came to be the person pitched upon to present it to that House. When the petition was read and agreed to, one hand only being held up against it, a motion was made that said petition be presented by the county Members. They had before expressed their disapprobation of the contents, consequently the freeholders, upon motives of common sense and common prudence, thought it extremely improper that those who avowed their disapprobation should be entrusted with enforcing the prayer of it in Parliament. The question was however, put on the motion, that the county Members do present it, which passed in the negative by a prodigious majority. He believed from doubts having been raised, and reasons urged, the same question was proposed upwards of twenty times, and as often clearly rejected, by the sense of the meeting, a very few hands only excepted. In the course of those altercations, the county Members were called upon to say, whether or not they would support the petitions in Parliament? But they declined

declined to give any specific answer. He then launched forth into an eulogium on Whig government in general, on the glorious administration of the late Earl of Chatham, during the late war, and made use of several strong expressions, reproaching the system formed at the commencement of the present reign, which he affirmed had been nourished, supported, and rendered successful, merely through the undue, corrupt, and unconstitutional influence of the Crown.

Sir *Sampson Gidron* (one of the county Members) said, he *Sir Sampson Gidron.* had attended the meeting, with an intention of supporting the petition to the House, recommending a faithful and economical expenditure of the public money; but, that he was much surprized and disappointed to find, that so necessary and salutary a measure was accompanied with other matters, which he could by no means assent to, either as a Member of that House, or a private individual; namely, committees and associations. So far as the petition was directed to the point of reeconomy, it was intitled to his entire and hearty approbation; but when associations and committees, purposely established to controul and direct the proceedings and judgment of that House, formed a part of it, he thought it his duty to express his dissent. What was this, but menacing those to whom the petition was addressed? and, instead of calling for a fair and dispassionate determination, directly stating what the House should determine, and threatening them with the consequences in case of refusal.

Mr. *Wilkes* contended, that the honourable gentleman, he *Mr. Wilkes.* presumed, forgot the circumstances which he had with so much confidence related. The fact was not that he approved of the petition, and only disapproved of the Committees and Associations, but that he disapproved of the petitioning at all, as a measure improper, while we continued to be engaged in a dangerous, expensive war.

Sir *John Hinde Cotton* endeavoured to hold out the meeting *Sir John Hinde Cotton.* in a very contemptuous light; said it was a market day at Cambridge; that persons of every description had forced themselves into the hall, people who were not freeholders, sizers, and scholars; in short, he believed there were not an hundred freeholders present at the meeting. He knew the persons of the greatest part of his constituents, and he could affirm that there was not an hundred of them present, as far as he could judge.

It is true there were a few respectable persons who attended. There was particularly a noble Duke, who had deservedly great interest in the county, and is chairman of the committee

mittee [Duke of Rutland.] There was present another noble Duke, [Manchester], a person of great influence in his own country, of great respect every where as an individual : but at the Cambridge meeting, who could have no particular weight, as he did not know that he possessed a foot of land in the county. These, a noble Lord called to the chair, [Duncannon, son to the Earl of Besborough] the honourable gentleman who held the petition in his hand, and a very few others, were all the persons of any consideration, who appeared as promoters of the petition. His period of life, and state of health, had determined him not to offer his services ; but this he could sincerely declare, that had he any intention of again standing for the county, the appearance and complexion of the meeting would not have deterred him from again offering his services ; for though every person present at that meeting had opposed his future election, he would nevertheless have been pretty confident of success on the poll.

He said it had been proposed that he and his worthy colleague should be desired, at the request of the meeting, to present the petition, but that was over-ruled, as the honourable gentleman had stated, by a majority ; but what was that majority composed of ?—Of market-folks, the townsmen, and the rabble of Cambridge, collected together, he presumed, for that purpose. This, he was entitled to say, could never be construed as conveying the sense of the county, whatever respect there might be justly due to some of the individuals who assisted at that meeting.

Mr. Wilkes. Mr. *Wilkes* contradicted the assertions of the last speaker. He insisted that no rudeness nor improper behaviour had been shewn to the honourable gentleman or his colleague ; but that the sense of the meeting, as a matter of course, was as strongly against intrusting the county Members with the delivery of the petition, as unanimous in carrying into execution its whole tenor and contents.

Mr. Molyneux. Mr. *Molyneux* replied to several matters which had been asserted by the county Members, and said, that the names signed to the petition afforded a sufficient answer to every contemptuous expression made use of by the honourable Baronet who spoke last. The truth was, that the meeting was not composed of a rabble ; so far from it, that 1200, though the time was so short, had subscribed their names to the petition, which he believed was a clear decisive majority of the freeholders ; such a majority as the honourable Baronet would not be inclined to meet at the approaching election. He was

astonished

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astonished to hear the honourable Gentleman describe so respectable a body of his constituents under the denomination of a rabble. There was besides a circumstance attending that meeting, almost peculiar to itself, which was its being convened at the request of the yeomen of the county, a most independent, and in every sense, as to the purposes of the meeting, a respectable body of men. They were neither to be influenced to answer the purposes of faction, nor deterred from their duty from any corrupt motives. They appeared there as men free and independent, and though not persons of great consequence or weight, did not deserve to be treated in so contemptuous a manner.—The petition was brought up, and of course referred.

Sir *Charles Bonbury* presented the Suffolk petition; vouch-
ed for its containing the genuine sense of his constituents, *Sir Charles Bonbury.*
and moved that it be referred to the Committee.

At ten minutes after five, the order of the day was called *Mr. Dun-*
for, to take the petitions into consideration, and the titles of the *ning.*
said petitions read, in all forty in number, when *Mr. Dunning*
rose, and said, it was unnecessary to observe that the subject
matter to be taken into consideration, was the subject matter
contained in the petitions. Independent of the great objects
which the petitions recommended to the care and attention
of Parliament, which had been according to the particular
ideas of the several classes of petitioners of a various nature,
there was one great fundamental point on which they hinged,
that of setting limits or pairing down the encreased, dangerous,
and alarming influence of the Crown, and an æconomical
expenditure of the public money. In one point of
view, both these objects might be fairly consolidated into one
great principle. For instance, if the public money was faithfully
applied, and frugally expended, that would reduce the
influence of the Crown; if, on the other hand, the influence
of the Crown was restrained within its natural and constitutional
limits, it would once more restore that power which the
Constitution had vested in that House, the enquiring into
and controuling the expenditure of public money; but nevertheless,
though the principle embraced one great object, a necessity arose,
that the principle should be divided; that is, the remedy should,
in pursuance of the objects held forth and recommended in
the petitions, be directed to two points.

Before he proceeded any further, therefore, he should
take it for granted, because the fact stood so stated in the
petitions on the table, that a reform of the public expenditure

ture, and limiting and restraining the encreasing influence of the Crown were the two great objects which must draw the attention of that House, and necessarily force those two important subjects into discussion.

These being the evils set forth in the petition, it was his duty, however unequal he might be to the task he had undertaken, to apply what he deemed specific and distinct remedies to them both; that was, to propose some remedy, or frame some resolution, which would serve as a basis, on which he might afterwards erect a system of measures, to answer the purpose, and comply with the wishes of the petitioners.

Before he proceeded any further, it would be necessary for him to state and remind the House of what had been done, as it was supposed, in consequence of the petitions now on the table, and how far those attempts had or had not succeeded; because such an enquiry would partly point out the resistance already made and avowed to the great objects of the petitions; and would have this important effect; it would shew, that no redress could be, or was meant to be given to the petitioners, by the modes already tried; and at the same time prove precisely, nay literally, in what particulars those who were supposed to lead and direct the majorities of that House, meant to resist and defeat the prayers of the petitions.

An honourable gentleman behind him [Mr. Burke] had produced a bill partly upon the plan of the petitions. It might not embrace every object described, or pointed to in the petitions. But he believed no person, on any side of the House, would dispute with him, that the bill contained nothing but what was consonant to the letter and spirit of the petitions, nor excluded or determined against a syllable of their contents.

He should not attempt to do that gentleman justice for his unwearied endeavours on that occasion, because, with the very best disposition to do it, he found himself totally unequal to the undertaking. He knew it would be painful to his honourable friend to hear his sentiments while present; but as an act of duty, which he thought himself bound to discharge, however irksome to his honourable friend, he could not pass over in silence, what must remain as a monument to be handed down to posterity, of the uncommon zeal, unrivalled industry, astonishing abilities, and invincible perseverance of the honourable gentleman. He had undertaken a task big with labour and difficulty; a task that embraced a variety of the most important objects, extensive, various, and complicated; yet such was the eminent and unequalled abilities,

abilities, so extraordinary the talents and ingenuity, and such the fortunate frame of the honourable gentleman's mind, his vast capacity and happy conception, that in his hands, what must have proved a vast heap of ponderous matter, composed of heterogeneous ingredients, discordant in their nature, and opposite in principle, was so skilfully arranged as to become quite simple as to each respective part, dependent on each other; and the whole at the same time so judiciously combined, as to present nothing to almost any mind tolerably intelligent to divide, puzzle, or distract it. This was a true description of his honourable friend's bill. He trusted that he would permit him to use that appellation, and it was his peculiar pride to be permitted to do so.

But what was the consequence of such a bill, brought forward by such a man? Upon its being first proposed, the united approbation of, he believed, every individual in that House. The highest, and, in his opinion, the best deserved eulogiums of every part; and he believed most sincerely, its genuine sentiments at the time, for he could safely make a distinction between the real sentiments of that House permitted to act according to its own immediate feelings, and the impressions afterwards made upon it arising from without. The House, he believed, expressed the former, on the occasion alluded to; when other opinions seemed to prevail, he most sincerely believed, and was firmly persuaded, that the latter temper and disposition which appeared towards his honourable friend's bill, originated out of that House, and not within these walls.

Such being the reception of the bill, or of the proposition for introducing it, what was its reception when it was introduced?—Doubts were immediately started as soon as it made its appearance. A shew of candour, a kind of mock approbation was to be preserved. It might contain some matter worthy of consideration; but it was shortly avowed by the noble Lord, who is supposed to lead the majorities of this House, that the bill, as to the great objects which it proposed to attain, was fundamentally wrong. What were those objects? Almost the very objects proposed to be obtained by the petitions now on your table; a reduction of the undue and unconstitutional influence of the Crown, and an enquiry into the expenditure of the Civil List, the abolishing sine-cure places, exorbitant salaries, &c.

Whatever dexterity may have been used, some matters came out in the course of this contest, which have in fact

been the occasion of the trouble I am now going to give this House.

In the course of this very important discussion, two fundamental points came into controversy; but more of that as I proceed. The first clause in the honourable gentleman's bill relative to the office of a third Secretary of State, pursued the idea of the petitions; it went to the reduction of the public expenditure, and to the abolishing of an useless office. The noble Lord in the blue ribbon, and an honourable gentleman of great abilities, and of great supposed weight in this House, met both principles fairly, in argument; but at the same time contended, that the place was not useless. The noble lord in the blue ribbon said, that the influence of the Crown was not too great; another noble Lord [Nugent] contended, that the influence of the Crown, as stated in argument, was constitutional and necessary; and the honourable gentleman to whom I have just alluded [Mr. Rigby] met the other point insisted on in the petitions, the enquiry into the expenditure of his Majesty's civil list revenue, by saying it was not competent to this House. The honourable gentleman was challenged to bring his question forward; the noble Lord shrunk from the contest, under the same pretext that I foresee he will endeavour to defeat, or evade the resolution which I shall have the honour to move; and the honourable gentleman seemed himself not so sanguine, when the matter was decided by a question moved to take the sense of the House.

Be that as it may, my honourable friend's clause was lost, under the pretence that the office proposed to be abolished was not useless, or, if it was, that no evidence of its being useless had appeared. I foresee, likewise, that I shall be called on, for evidence of the truth of what I shall move in this committee.

The next clause, relative to the abolition of the board of Trade, was opposed on the same ostensible ground, of its not being useless. The minister however, besides the ostensible ground, maintained both the other doctrines, that the influence of the Crown was not too much, and that the Parliament had no right to controul the civil list expenditure; but the House was not to be drove. The House revolted, and the clause was carried by a small majority.

What was the fate of the next clause? That was openly opposed in principle; which principle was supported, in one shape or other, by a great majority of this House. The

King's

King's household was deemed sacred, it was not to be touched; a distinction was made by those who gave the minister that majority; useless places which relate to the functions of the state may be abolished, but the King's revenue for the support of his household is his own private personal revenue, with which Parliament neither have, nor can have, any thing to do. Here, I may say, my honourable friend's bill was put an end to.

The next attempt made in pursuance of the prayers of the petitions, was by an honourable friend of mine, [Colonel Barré] with whom I have long lived in habits of the greatest intimacy and friendship. My honourable friend suggested the propriety of instituting a committee of accounts. This went to another part of the prayer of the petitions, the mode of collecting, transmitting, receiving, and issuing the public monies. My honourable friend with great labour and indefatigable attention, aided by the ability and experience he is confessedly known to possess, spared no pains to render his plan as perfect as possible. A very few days had not intervened, before the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, foreseeing that many things extremely irksome and unpleasant to his Lordship might come out, should such a commission be instituted, run a race with my honourable friend for the bill; and without any private communication or previous information, snatched the bill from out of the hands of my honourable friend, where it had been placed by the unanimous voice and approbation of the House. But my honourable friend by this act, which wore in its first aspect a very suspicious appearance, and in every respect a very uncandid ungentlemanlike appearance, had no reason to complain. Neither should I think, or care about who performed the duty to the public, so it had been well and faithfully performed. Was that the case? By no means. It is true his Lordship has brought in a bill, but what is it? A bill appointing commissioners to inspect the public accounts, not the accounts in general, but some particular accounts, something relative to ballances. Who again are to be the commissioners appointed to execute this business? Not members of this House; but persons out of it, to be appointed by the noble Lord himself. A bill of a similar nature was passed in the Second of William and Mary. In that bill it was provided, that all the public accounts, including the civil list, should be enquired into, the privy purse, and secret service money alone excepted; and this exception not to extend to persons in this House enjoying pensions. Here the civil list expenditure is totally omitted; and though it were not, no enquiry could extend

to members enjoying pensions here, because the list of those pensions have been already denied by the noble Lord.

Another effort was made to diminish the influence of the Crown, in this House, by an honourable gentleman [Sir P. Jennings Clerke] by excluding persons holding contracts, made privately with any of the official boards, which was attended with more success than either of the other two I have mentioned ; so that the whole of what has been done, in consequence of that pile of parchment now on your table, containing the sentiments, the prayers, and petitions of above one hundred thousand electors, amounts, in the whole, to a single clause in my honourable friend's bill, which standing naked, as it does, is of little or no importance ; the proposition snatched out of my other honourable friend's hands, by the noble Lord, and only matched to insult you in this House, and mock your constituents out of it, and the contractors bill, which ministers, or at least their friends and confidants, pretend to predict, will miscarry in another place ; or, should that not happen to be the case, boast that it will answer no one purpose of those who have framed and supported it. Such is the manner the dutiful and respectable petitions of the people of England has been treated. I trust, however, that the people of England, knowing how they have been treated, will resent the insult put upon them by those, who, to oppression and neglect, have added mockery and contempt.

I would add a word or two, respecting my honourable friend below me, [Colonel Barré] for the faithful and disinterested performance, respecting his duty in this House ; how has he been treated by some of his opponents ? He has been called a dependant ; I presume, alluding to the honour he enjoys in the friendship and intimacy of a certain noble Lord, a member of the other House [Lord Shelburne]. If that intimacy and friendship be a state of dependance, I am happy in classing myself among that noble Lord's dependants. I will assure those who have alluded to what they call dependance, that it is a state of dependance, accompanied with perfect freedom. It is true, my honourable friend has been honoured with the noble Lord's friendship, for upwards of twenty years ; but I think I know the frame of mind and disposition of my honourable friend too well, to be persuaded that he would purchase any man's intimacy upon any terms short of a perfect equality, and mutual confidence ; and I think I may likewise add, that if any person should attempt to purchase the noble Lord's friendship, by mean or improper concessions, there is not a man on earth would more readily

dily

dily see through or despise it. I know the noble Lord to be a great private, as well as public character. I know my honourable friend to possess a spirit of true independence. I am persuaded of the noble Lord's great and acknowledged talents as a senator and a politician ; and I can add, great as he may appear in a public light, his private character is no less amiable and worthy of general admiration.

Having endeavoured, as far as lay in my power, to describe what the petitioners mean, and what administration mean, on the other hand ; give me leave to recur to the ground of my present proposed resolutions.

I have already observed that the great objects of the petitioners have been resisted both in argument and by public avowals, by the minister and his friends. They have told you that the influence of the Crown is not too much, and ought not of course to be lessened ; the petitioners have asserted the direct contrary. Ministers have told you, that it is not competent for this House to enquire into the expenditure of the civil list ; the direct contrary are the sentiments of the petitioners. To talk of petitions or redress is vain, idle, nugatory, and ineffectual, while these two points are maintained by those who had the majority of the House. To bring both these points fairly to issue, I mean to frame two propositions, abstracted from the petitions on your table, and take the sense of the committee upon them. I mean that they shall be short, and as simple as possible, so as to draw forth a direct affirmative or negative. If the committee should agree with me in the resolutions, I mean to follow them up with real, substantive, practicable measures, if such, but that should they disagree or dissent, or endeavour to evade or procrastinate, there will be at once an end of the petitions, and a full answer to the petitioners.

It may be asked, are my propositions to be taken from the petitions on the table ? Are they to be worded in the language of this or that petition ? By no means. Some may be more extensive, others may be more full and specific ; it will suffice that my propositions will not differ from any, as to the principle, though copied from none.

My first resolution will be, " that the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." My second, " that it is competent for this House to reform the civil list, or any part of the public expenditure."

He then proceeded to argue the question on the ground of notoriety, that the influence of the Crown was increased, and ought

ought to be diminished, having first regularly moved it. He supported his argument, not upon proof, which he said it was idle to require, and must be decided by the consciences of those who as a jury were called upon to determine what was or was not within their own knowledge. He could affirm upon his own knowledge, and pledge his honour to the truth of the assertion, that he knew upwards of fifty members in that House who voted always in the train of the noble Lord in the blue ribbon; that confessed out of the House, that the influence of the crown was increased, and dangerously increased. He adduced several arguments of a similar nature, and sat down, he said, with this consolation, that the minority of that House, nor the people at large, would no longer be mocked and insulted with this or that management or trick, this or that evasion; for the certain alternative would be, that the decision on the question now proposed by him would declare, whether the petitions were to be really attended to, or finally and totally rejected.

Lord Nugent.

Lord *Nugent* observed, that the honourable gentleman had founded his motion on the petitions then lying on the table. He had, from time to time, attended to the contents of said petitions, and did not recollect any part of which accorded with the two resolutions stated by the honourable gentleman. He acknowledged, that some of the petitions stated one grievance, and some another, but none of them any thing resembling the proposition moved, or the other proposition opened by the learned gentleman. They did not go so far as many of the petitions, and they went farther than others. Some of the petitions were confined merely to the economical expenditure of public money; some to the abolition of sine-cure places, unmerited pensions, exorbitant salaries, &c. and many of them proceeded on the idea, "that the influence of the crown had increased to a degree dangerous to the liberties of the people." Such being the real state of the petitions on the table, he recommended to the learned gentleman to modify his motion, so as to take up the specific prayer of some one petition, or frame it so as to make it an aggregate of them all; otherwise, the resolution now moved must be considered to be the learned gentleman's own opinion on the subject, and not that of any one set or class of petitioners.—In the course of discussing the resolution therefore, it would not admit of the matter contained in said petitions being more than collaterally introduced into the debate. Would the honourable gentleman say, that the influence

influence of the crown was, or was not, dangerous to the liberties of the people? If not, the proposition, which he called upon the committee to resolve, could not be considered in any other light than as the individual opinion of the learned gentleman.

Mr. *Dunning* said, he thought he had sufficiently explained *Mr. Dunning* himself in the course of his speech. His own sentiments, he assured the noble Lord, went the full length of such of the petitions as asserted, "that the influence of the crown had increased to a degree dangerous to the liberties of the people." Some other petitions did not go so far; but he believed, nine out of ten of the petitions on the table contained this geneneral proposition, "that the influence of the crown was increased, and improperly and unconstitutionally increased; and that a reform in the expenditure of the civil list revenue was become absolutely necessary. So far, therefore, his two propositions were meant to go; namely, to the prayer of every petition, and to contradict none. They contained an abstract of the whole of the petitions on the table, and formed a great principle of union, importing, in the gross, what was prayed for by each separately. Such as the propositions were, he was perfectly satisfied with them. He was much obliged to the noble Lord for his proffered aid upon the present occasion, though, for the reasons both before and now given, he must decline making use of it.—The proposition before the committee, and now moved by the way of resolution, be it his private opinion or not, must stand or fall upon its own merit; it was not an abstracted proposition; though, as he foresaw at the opening, he should not be surprised to hear it called an abstract proposition.

Lord *Nugent* said, he thought the resolution now moved, *Lord Nugent* clearly an abstract proposition.—The learned gentleman had said, that he would not inform the House what further measures he intended to graft upon his two intended resolutions. This he always understood to be the true definition of an abstract question. There were to be sure instances in the records of Parliament, in which abstract questions were moved and agreed to, but they were very improper examples or precedents to be followed; but in general, even then they related to some previous proceeding in the House, some disputed point, some subject of controversy under discussion, in which the sense of the House was particularly called for. When this happened not to be the case, the person who

who came to desire the House to vote an abstract question, having a prospective view to measures which were to be ingrafted in it, was bound by the nature of the requisitions thus made, to explain to the House what those measures were intended to be; otherwise, one of those two things might happen, that either the House might agree to an abstract question, to no manner of purpose, or, having resolved it, might be obliged to negative the measure so ingrafted, though it bore a strong seeming relation to the antecedent resolution agreed to.—It was the established usage of Parliament to do so; it was a duty in point of candour incumbent on the member who made it; and it was every way agreeable to the wisdom and justice of that House.

In this point of view, the question now proposed was an abstract one, because it was not connected with any one measure whatever; it pointed to no remedy, nor was it apparently designed to avert any evil. For instance, many gentlemen in that House might think, that the influence of the crown was increased; some, that it was increasing; and others, that it ought to be diminished. Nevertheless, if the proposition should be resolved, when the measure which the learned gentlemen meant to follow it up with came to be considered and divided upon, the same gentlemen, who agreed with the question in abstract, might totally disapprove of the remedy to be applied; whereas, if the measure of correction accompanied the fact of abuse, the same gentlemen who might vote the question in abstract, would many of them probably reject it, when they should be acquainted with the use or end proposed by voting it to be true.

Upon the proposition itself, he could fairly say it was not founded. He had more than once given it as his sincere opinion, that the influence of the crown was not encreased, neither comparatively encreased, or improperly encreased. He had long sat in Parliament, and he could affirm, he never recollected a period in which influence was less felt, than since his noble friend in the blue ribbon came into his present situation; but allowing that the influence of the crown had been gradually on the encrease since the period alluded to by the learned gentleman, as quoted from the words of an ingenious political writer [Mr. Hume] would the learned gentleman, or any other gentleman, lay his hand fairly on his heart, and declare, that he thought this was the time, and peculiarly the time, which called for its im-

mediate

mediate diminution? At a time when America was lost, he would speak out, he feared irretrievably lost. [A loud cry of hear him! hear him!] He was willing to repeat his words, America was lost. The American war proved a wrong measure. He supported the war. He was not ashamed to own that he was wrong himself. [Another loud cry from the opposition benches.] He did not mean to say that it was wrong in principle, for in a similar situation he should adhere to his former conduct; but what he wished to convey to his auditors was, that from a succession of untoward accidents, unexpected events, and a want of success, that it was wrong, because the event proved unfortunate. But after such a series of disappointments, followed by a war with France, and closely followed again by a war with Spain, with great loans, heavy taxes, and all the unpopular consequences incident to such a state of things, to contend that the influence of the crown was increasing and ought to be diminished, was, in his opinion, to the last degree preposterous. The people were heavily burthened; they foresaw an increase of those burthens daily approaching; they felt the loss of America; they were disappointed and out of temper; consequently it was idle to talk of the dangerous influence of the crown. But supposing the argument which he had heard frequently urged in that House of late, that the encrease of taxes, of the influence arising from a state of war, in the military departments of government, had thrown a sudden weight into the hands of the crown; would not every gentleman present acknowledge that this influence could only have temporary duration; that it must cease with the cause, the continuance of the war; and that as soon as peace was restored, things would flow into their old channel? Yet those who maintain the propriety of reducing the influence of the crown, are so absurd to apply a remedy which they mean shall operate perpetually, while they acknowledge that the chief cause of the evil is but of a temporary nature, and will cease to operate with the duration of the present war.

The learned gentleman has produced a proposition, that the influence of the crown "has encreased, is encreasing, and ought to be diminished." Has he produced, or so much as promised, a tittle of evidence of the facts so alledged? Not a word of that: but he has said a great deal about the opinions of speculative men, of an eminent lawyer lately deceased, and of two ingenious political writers [Hume and Blackstone.]

Blackstone.] The former says, the influence of the crown began to shew itself in or about the year 1742. I was in Parliament before that period, and remember, that clamours and speculations of that kind prevailed long before the year 1742; but I protest that I thought then as I think now, that they were totally unfounded; and I can fairly affirm, that I never felt it myself, nor gave a single vote under any influence whatever, but what was necessary for the support of government. [A loud murmur.]

But I will go one step further, and take the two first assertions in the honourable gentleman's proposition as proved, that the influence of the crown has encreased, and is encreasing; will the learned gentleman's conclusion follow? May not this encreased influence be necessary? Has he ventured to state that it is not? By no means; he declines the fair allegation that it is improper or unconstitutional, and takes a leap to his conclusion, by inferring that it ought to be diminished.

On the whole, the learned gentleman has desired the committee to vote an abstract question, declaring his intention of holding back the point which should be the proper subject of debate; he has taken facts as proved, without offering any species of proof whatever; and finally, he has drawn a conclusion not by any means deducible from the premises stated in the resolution. It is true, he has argued much on the ground of notoriety; for the greater part depending on the authority of the writers which I have mentioned; a very extraordinary medium of proof, in my opinion, to found a resolution of Parliament upon: and the honourable gentleman has further adduced the contradiction between the conduct of gentlemen in that House, who vote with the ministers, with the language held by the same person out of it. He says, that they vote within these walls that no such unconstitutional influence exists; and without them, acknowledge that it does exist to a dangerous degree. I do not know well how to contradict this assertion of the honourable gentleman; but this I will affirm, that if there be such abandoned wretches within these walls, that they merit the contempt of every honest man within and without this House, and the indignation, reprobation, and detestation of mankind: they are wretches indeed; they are no less profligate than shameless; they at once convict themselves, and glory in their infamy. I hope there are not any such, not only in this House, but in any place else; for I am sure they are not.

fit for human society. I am inclined to hope, that the learned gentleman is rather mistaken, or has exaggerated their number. This I will say, however, that if there be any such at this side of the House, that I hope they will, in the course of the evening, go over to the other side; for I will ever be of opinion, that the cause which is supported by such men ought to be abandoned; and, as one, I call upon them, "Go you worst of men, be your hearts and motives ever so corrupt, preserve some appearance of principle and decency, and support those sentiments in public, which you approve of and secretly avow in private."

Mr. *Dunning* rose and said, he thought it his duty to say a word or two in answer to what had fallen from the noble Lord. His Lordship doubted of the fact relative to the contradictory sentiments entertained by some gentlemen in that House. He believed it would be extremely improper to mention names; but though he confined his description to fifty, he believed he might with truth extend it to a much greater number. He mixed much with mankind; his habits of life and profession gave him frequent opportunities of being acquainted with the sentiments of many persons in that House, when they were out of it; and he could declare upon his honour, that he was fully warranted in the assertion he had made, that he knew fifty members in that House, and the most of them within his hearing, who totally reprobated and condemned, out of the House, the measures they supported and voted for in it; and though no man held private conversation more sacred than he did, if the issue of the present debate was to depend upon naming them, and that it was the pleasure of the House to desire it, he could and would name them.

Mr. *G. Rous* said that gentlemen on the other side of the House had rested their arguments for some time past chiefly on two points; that it was necessary the Crown should have influence both within and without that House; and that gentlemen who composed opposition were instigated by motives of ambition. He thought it was necessary to grant both propositions, in order to explain the true grounds on which they stood.

For his part he was one who thought that the Crown ought to have an influence in that House; but what species of influence? Not surely a corrupt one. By no means; a fair constitutional influence; an influence arising from a confidence in government; originating in a full conviction that

the measures proposed by its subordinate ministers were founded in wisdom; were calculated for the prosperity of the community; for the purpose of internal prosperity and external strength; in a thorough conviction that the persons entrusted with the exercise of the executive power were selected for their integrity, talents, and public virtue. This was the influence, and the only influence that should ever be felt in that House; but on the other hand, when the opposite qualities were those which encouraged persons to be the candidates for places of the highest trust and consequences under government, who could, without a mixture of indignation, and the most ineffable contempt, listen to such as maintained in argument that the friends and supporters of such an administration were not under the dominion of the most corrupt and unconstitutional influence? The matter admitted not of a moment's controversy; it was indeed totally absurd to spend a moment's discussion on the subject.

As to the other point, relative to ambition, he would make a similar distinction. As far as he could judge, the fact was acknowledged. The gentlemen on his side of the House were ambitious; he hoped they were; but he was persuaded that they were actuated by a noble and laudable ambition; an ambition to serve their country, to restore it to its lost state of former dignity, power, and glory; of putting themselves into situations of trust and honour, in which they could render themselves truly and effectually serviceable at so perilous a crisis; to snatch it from the ruin which threatened, and to render the best services that their Sovereign and their fellow subjects could derive from an union of great integrity and correspondent talents! Was this a corrupt or factious ambition? He hoped not. He hoped it was a species of ambition every man at that side of the House felt, because it was only by such an ambition that the salvation of this country could be effected.

Mr. Martin. Mr. *Martin* spoke at the same side. He contrasted the state of this country when his Majesty came to the throne with its present deplorable and humiliating situation; and observed, how directly repugnant and contradictory the events were which marked the conduct, and formed the leading occurrences of the administration of the late Earl of Chatham, and of those who directed the affairs of this country at present.

The noble Lord who spoke lately [Nugent] had emphatically asked, whether the late Lord Chatham had not influence,
or

or if the influence of the Crown was not very considerable during his administration? Most certainly it was; his wisdom, his abilities, his love of his country, procured him an ascendancy in his Majesty's councils; he was the minister of the people as well as the Sovereign. He had their confidence, and the blessings and advantages of his administration were fully commensurate to both. The influence of the crown was indeed immense during his administration. Why was it so? Because that influence was directed to, as it was productive of the happiest, most beneficial, and glorious consequences. How was the influence of the Crown now exerted; To produce consequences in every respect the direct reverse.

He then entered into a general argument, to prove that the present influence of the Crown was founded in corruption; that instead of strength it only produced imbecility; instead of glory, disgrace; and instead of benefits and advantages, a train of nothing but measures tending to national ruin, and that by a variety of means; heavy taxes, a loss of national honour, and a confirmed system of corruption, leading to a final overthrow of the constitution, and he feared of the nation, as an independent state.

Sir *Fletcher Norton* said, his situation in that House rendered it extremely irksome to him to rise upon the present occasion, as it might be thought that his situation carried with it some degree of influence, and that it was his duty to keep the scale even, and not to take any decided part respecting the contrariety of opinions which prevailed in that House; but however cautious he ought to be from obtruding his own opinions on it, there were instances in which it would be criminal in him to remain silent. The present he deemed one of them; and should therefore make no further apology for stating his sentiments to the committee. Sir *Fletcher Norton*.

He said, that House and the people at large lay under the highest obligations to his learned and honourable friend, for bringing the present question under discussion. He for his part returned him his most sincere and hearty thanks. It was a question of infinite consequence, and on whatever side it might be determined, he was happy in the opportunity it afforded him of discharging his duty as a member of that House, to his constituents and his country in general.

The noble Lord had called it an abstract question; in this he begged leave to totally differ from the noble Lord. It was by no means an abstract question; it was a question of fact. What were the facts? It desired the House to resolve in

in the first instance, that the influence of the Crown has increased; who would doubt the truth of that fact? That it is increasing; could any man doubt of that, either? He believed not. If there was any such person present, he was sure he was not that person. He had seen many instances of both since he had the honour of a seat in that House, sufficient to say that the influence of the Crown has increased and is increasing. The petitions on the table averred the fact; it was the duty of the House to say whether it was or was not so. It was an allegation which called for no proof; it did not indeed admit of any. It could only be known to the members of that House, as they were the only persons competent to resolve it; if proved by evidence, such were the circumstances of the affair, that they only could know whether it was true or false. They were bound as jurors, by the conviction arising in their own minds, and were obliged to determine accordingly.

The noble Lord [Nugent] said, though the facts so stated had been true and acknowledged, the consequence by no means followed from the premises; because, though the influence of the crown had increased and is increasing, before the conclusion could be drawn, that it ought to be diminished, it should have been stated, that this influence was dangerous, unconstitutional, or improper, or some other cause shewn why it ought to be diminished. For his part, he could never subscribe to the truth of this argument, nor admit its force; for the first part of the proposition clearly looked back to some antecedent period, in which the crown possessed a certain species of influence; the test of what the influence of the crown ought to be, was referred to that period by the two assertions, "has encreased," and "is increasing," and consequently the facts so stated implied an innovation, or charge, which was the foundation of the premises from whence the conclusion was drawn. If the facts were granted, the deduction was inevitable: they are generally asserted, and the conclusion was made in the same general terms. It does not say how much the influence of the crown has increased, or is increasing, nor does it mete out the degree in which it ought to be diminished. That will be the business of my learned friend, when he comes to apply the remedy to the evil.

The noble Lord talks of the necessity of proof; for my part, I think the petitions contain a full proof, so far as the same relate to the question, at least they oblige those who controvert the allegations contained in them, to bring proof of

of the contrary ; they are bound to shew that the influence of the crown has not increased; nor is increasing, and of course ought not to be diminished.

Every person in that House must come within one or the other of the following descriptions. Such as thought the influence of the crown was increased, but not too much ; that it is not enough increased ; or who were of opinion, that it stood precisely at present at the point it ought to stand. It would be incumbent on those who thought the first, to prevent its further increase ; of the second, to shew in what instances the hands of the crown called for additional strength, and of the last, to fairly draw the line, to prevent a further increase.

No man had an higher veneration for monarchy than he had ; he meant that species of it established in this country, " a monarchy limited by law." He did not intend to enter into an abstract disquisition of the advantages such a mode of civil government had over all others, but this he would say, that it was the form best suited to the genius and disposition of the people of this country. They had lived under it for many centuries, and whatever changes had happened in the revolutions of time and successive ages, they had hitherto preserved their liberties. Such a government, he was free to say, required no assistance but what it derived from the constitution and the laws. The powers vested in the executive part of the government, and in his opinion wisely placed there, were ample and sufficient for all the purposes of good government, and without any further aid, were much too ample for the purposes of bad government ; and he thought himself bound as an honest man to say, that the influence of the crown had increased much beyond the ideas of a monarchy strictly limited in its nature and extent.

He appealed to the feelings and experience of gentlemen who heard him, if the influence of the crown had not increased, and was not daily encreasing, and whether it was not the duty of the House to limit it ? He professed to be a friend to the legal and constitutional prerogatives of the crown, which he contended was the only legitimate influence it could have, or ought to exercise ; and asked the House, whether it was not a very vain and idle thing to limit or mete out the prerogatives of the crown, while they permitted another, and much more alarming, because a concealed influence, to operate in its stead.

He had, and ever would be, a true friend to constitutional prerogative, and maintain the personal political rights of the Sovereign.

Sovereign. He would be equally anxious to preserve and protect the rights and privileges of the people ; but whatever his reverence and attachment to his Sovereign might be, he would, before every other consideration, prefer the interest of his country. When the claims of both were properly attended to and understood, they substantially meant the same thing.

It might possibly be very galling to the committee to be informed of their duty by the petitioners, but they should consider that it was their own fault. He was sorry, in one sense, to behold those petitions on the table, because he thought the House, conscious of what ought to be done, should have prevented the necessity. What the petitioners now demanded, should have originated within these walls ; and what now would bear every appearance of force and compulsion, would then have been received with gratitude on one side, and with credit to the other. They were then sitting as the representatives of the people, and solely for their advantage and benefit, and in duty stood pledged to the people, who were their creators, for the faithful discharge of their trust.

His honourable friend's motion was, he presumed, to be followed up by subsequent measures to be framed in the form of a bill or bills. What those might be he was a total stranger to, not having any communication with his learned friend on the subject. He had every reason to suppose that they would be well suited to answer the designed purpose, and would answer every end which he proposed.

Much stress had been laid, by the noble Lord, on the supposition that the proposition moved by his learned friend did not contain the sense of the petitions. He was much surprised to hear the objection made ; for, if he understood the purport of the petitions, the proposition amounted to a most full and comprehensive abstract of them. The petitions stated the dangerous and encreasing influence of the crown ; they recommended a reduction of that influence ; and an enquiry into and reduction of the civil list expenditure. What was this but an exact counterpart of the proposition, expressed more at large and in detail ? As to the influence complained of, it was seen and felt every where, within and without that House ; not now and then fluctuating and temporary, but fixed, uniform, and determined.

No man would say that the people of England, both in their constituent and collective capacity, had not a right to

petition

petition that House; and were entitled to redress when they did it in a peaceable constitutional manner. The whole of what they sought, as he observed before, was concentrated in one focus; the proposition now made by his honourable friend. Indeed the ground of the petitions, at least the great principle maintained in them, had been clearly admitted, else why the various measures now in different stages of their progress through that House? On the whole, the alternative stated by his learned friend was perfectly just and correct; the committee must agree with the resolution now moved, or at once reject the petitions; if any there were who felt themselves prepared for the latter part of the alternative, he wished them much joy of going down to their constituents with that opinion; after having voted in that House the allegations made by many thousands of the people of England, to be false and ill-founded.

Mr. Poulet said, he highly approved of the petitions in some particulars; among others, that part of them which recommended public œconomy. He thought a general reformation was much wanted; but he could not approve entirely of the honourable and learned gentleman's motion, because he thought there was not sufficient evidence before the committee for its coming to such a resolution. He was satisfied, at the same time, that the influence of the crown was greatly encreased. In such a situation, therefore, as he stood, not regularly informed of the grounds of the fact which he was called upon to vote, and yet satisfied that the influence stated in the proposition existed, he could neither give it an affirmative or a negative, and found himself consequently under the necessity of quitting the House without voting on either side.

The Lord *Advocate of Scotland* spoke very warmly against the motion. He seemed to speak in a strain of strong irony, of the respect the opinion of the honourable and learned gentleman, who presided in the chair of that House, was entitled to upon all occasions, particularly relative to matters of constitutional proof, or points known to him in the way of his profession; but however great the learned gentleman's abilities were, or confessed to be, or extensive his knowledge, he looked more to the matter than to the authority of the person who delivered it.

The Lord
*Advocate of
Scotland.*

He contended, if ever there was an abstract proposition, the one moved now by the learned gentleman who opened the debate, was one; though, the other learned gentleman,

upon what ground he could not tell, called it a matter of fact; and that the fact was denied, as it was in the present instance, was not proof necessary to the establishing the fact so stated? If the proposition consisted of assertions, having no reference to any thing already proved, nor connected with any intended measure, what could it be called but a mere naked, unconnected, abstract proposition? Idle and unnecessary in itself, because to be voted for no avowed purpose, at least for no purpose specifically avowed.

After having urged this argument in a variety of shapes, he then observed, that the present mode of carrying on the government of this country had continued the same exactly from the revolution downwards; and unless some proof were shewn that an influence, whatever that might be, existed at present, different from that which was supposed to exist in former times, the present vote would be replete with danger to the constitution, because it would tend to alter the system of government, which had been established by our forefathers, and had been approved of and continued through several succeeding generations.

It would besides appear, if the present resolution be adopted by the majority of the House, at least to the people without doors, that the influence stated in the resolution had originated under the present administration, and was daily increasing under them, which implied a censure of a very severe nature, and called for very sound and substantial proof to support it; whereas if any such influence existed at all, it existed before the present ministers were born, and was supported by no argument even to distinguish the present administration from any other during the present reign. Consequently, as no evidence whatever, more than the opinion of two speculative writers, and some conversations held without doors by the honourable gentleman who framed the motion, stating that several gentlemen who voted with the minister in this House held a contrary opinion out of it, as the question was an abstract question, founded on no antecedent fact, nor pointing to no future specific measure publicly avowed; or if not an abstract question, but a question of fact, of which no proof had been given; and that supposing there had, that the conclusion drawn from the premises were neither connected with nor deducible from them: it was a proposition to which he could never give his assent. He was persuaded himself that it was unfounded; but as no proof had been adduced for or against it, he thought, according to the rule of parliamentary proceeding,

proceeding, that it ought not to be resolved one way or the other, but should be postponed.

He and the learned gentleman on his side of the House were called upon by the learned gentleman who moved it, to come forward and oppose it in a fair, direct, and manly manner; to give it a direct negative, or affirmative; perhaps if he were to follow his own sentiments, he would have determined to do so; indeed he did not entertain a single doubt himself on the subject; but as other gentlemen who disapproved of the resolution as much as he did, might think differently of the proper mode of disposing of it, he thought it would be more proper to move the previous question. He was not very conversant in the forms of the House, but he understood so much, that it was not regular to move the previous question in a committee. He would therefore move, "that the chairman do leave the chair, and report progress," [a prodigious loud laugh] "or that the chairman do report progress, and ask leave to sit again." [Another laugh.] Here he was whispered, and prompted by some of the gentlemen on the treasury bench—"or that you do now leave the chair."

He was informed by Mr. T. Townshend, and one or two members from the other side, that a motion having been made in the committee, no amendment could be moved on that motion; consequently, that he must either agree with the resolution, by putting a direct negative, or by moving "that the chairman do now leave the chair."—The Lord Advocate then moved, after having a second time consulted with Lord North, "that the chairman do leave the chair."

Mr. *Pitt* replied, and instanced the present possession of Mr. *Pitt*. office by the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, as an indubitable proof of the enormous influence of the crown. He asked whether that noble Lord had not lost America? Whether he had not spent millions of the public money, and wasted rivers of blood of the subjects of Great Britain? And yet, the noble Lord, now that the whole country with one voice cried out against, and execrated the American war, held his place. To what was this ascribable, but to the increased influence of the crown; The noble Lord had sunk and degraded the honour of Great Britain; the name of an Englishman was now no longer a matter to be proud of; the time had been when it was the envy of all the world: it had been the key to universal respect, but the noble Lord had contrived to sink it almost beneath contempt. He had rendered his countrymen and their country despicable in the eyes of every other power.

power. He declared, the noble Lord would not have been so long at the head of administration, but for the efforts of the opposition: it was their regular contest against the fatal measures that had marked the noble Lord's administration, which had kept the noble Lord in office.

The whole business of the minister, for a series of years, had been to make excuses, and to devise expedients; to find supplies from year to year, without inventing any method in finance, any scheme of supply, comprehensive or permanent. The people would bear taxes, though enormous, when they heard of victories and an extension of commerce and territory; but were apt to judge of ministers, not from ingenious excuses made for their conduct either by themselves or others, but from the success that followed their measures.

Mr. Pitt noticed the silence of ministers on the present question, and concluded with asserting, that the influence of the crown was most offensively increased. The people of England, he said, saw it, and were alarmed. They had expressed their sense of it in their petitions, and begged that it might be diminished. To comply with that request, was the duty of that House, and if something effectual was not done upon the present occasion, the consequences that might follow, would probably be such, as the bare thought of, made him tremble at.

Lord North. Lord North said, he should probably be thought inattentive to what became himself, and what was due to his own character, if he did not rise and say something in reply to the direct personal attack that had been made upon him, and he should undoubtedly be deemed wanting in that respect, which he owed the committee, if he did not speak to the present question, and assign his reasons for not rising earlier in the course of the debate. As the motion had been made upon its own single ground, and was, as his learned friend near him had described it, an abstract proposition, perfectly inclusive, and altogether un consequential, he had sat silent so long, in order to hear if any thing could be said in support of it, sufficient to justify the committee in departing from the rule long since established by the wisdom of Parliament, never to vote abstract propositions. In regard to what had been said by the honourable gentleman who spoke last, relative to his conduct, he begged the committee to remember that he never had insinuated, that his abilities were equal to his situation; he had always declared himself ready to retire, whenever his Sovereign and the public should wish it: if, however, it was true, as the honourable gentleman had alledged, that he was

kept in office by the efforts of opposition, he certainly could not but suppose he owed his continuance in place to the efforts of those, who had formerly contended against the rights of the people of Great Britain, and who were now pursuing measures likely to overturn the constitution. [Called to order.] His Lordship avowed his words, and said, am I to hear myself charged as the author of our present misfortunes? and—

[Many gentlemen cried across the House, “You are, you are.” Others called out, “take down the words,”] considerable confusion ensued.

Sir *William Meredith* said, that every man in that House had a right to charge the noble Lord as the author of the American war, and all its consequences. It was perfectly constitutional and parliamentary so to do. He told the committee that they could not then take down the words of the noble Lord. Sir William Meredith.

Lord *North* went into an explanation of his meaning when he used the words which had occasioned so much disturbance, and declared he was very far from thinking himself indebted to opposition for their repeated efforts against him; therefore, if it was to be thrown out, that those efforts had kept him in office, he thought he had a right to say, it was because the people at large considered them as dangerous to their liberties, and dangerous to the constitution. With regard to the American war, and the various measures pursued relative to it, they were not his measures as a minister, they were all grounded on acts of the legislature; some of the bills had been proposed by him, and some by others, to which he had given his consent in common with the majority of the representatives of the people. In proposing and consenting to those bills, he had acted as a member of Parliament, and as such only was responsible. His Lordship, after settling this point, proceeded to examine the doctrine laid down by Mr. Dunning in his opening speech, as a proof of the prevailing influence of the crown, and particularly answered the charges relative to the East-India company, the new loan, and the customs. With respect to the first, he had repeatedly disavowed having either acquired, or desired to acquire, any patronage. The fact was so, but he was perfectly aware, that let him say what he would respecting it, gentlemen of the other side would not give him credit for his assertion. As to the new loan, his constant custom was to take down the names of all who offered to subscribe, and ultimately to make a fair distribution of the whole, allotting to each his proportion Lord North.

tion as far as the sum would go, without any other distinction, than that of giving the preference to those, who were at all times most ready to assist government with their money, and this distinction he held to be fair and due to those, in whose favour it was made. As to the customs, about which the honourable gentleman had said so much, and had asked whether our trade was increased, as new searchers had been appointed, he could only say, that if we were to judge by the business of the custom-house, it was very greatly encreased. The new searchers had been appointed, not as the honourable gentleman had imagined as a wanton instance of the power of influence, but on the repeated suggestion made to the treasury board by the commissioners appointed to superintend the business of the customs, that more searchers were necessary, and that the duty of the custom-house could not be conveniently carried on without an additional number. Having fully explained these matters, his Lordships shewed that many parliamentary measures were then in agitation, all of which were grounded on the petitions upon the table; he mentioned his own bill for a commission of accounts; Mr. Burke's bill for reforming the civil establishment; the contractors bill that had passed the Commons, and others, whence he argued, that precipitately to take further steps on the ground of the petitions was equally unnecessary and improper.

Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Pitt replied, and said, that when he had thrown out, that the noble Lord had been indebted to the efforts of those gentlemen with whom he acted, for his long continuance in office, he thought he had spoken very intelligibly. That what he alluded to, was an idea which he really entertained, that if the noble Lord had pursued other and wiser measures, he would not have been continued in place. The line followed by the noble Lord was, he was perfectly aware, the only line that could procure him favour in a certain quarter, and had he acted with a greater deference to the opinions of those who had opposed him, which opinions had been as uniformly sanctified by subsequent events, as the noble Lord's measures had failed of success, he verily believed the noble Lord would long since have been obliged to retire. Mr. Pitt entered into a most severe animadversion upon the whole conduct of administration for a series of years past, mentioning the want of foreign alliances, the insufficiency of naval strength, &c. &c. and declaring, that the noble Lord's name was the subject of contempt and ridicule in every court in Europe.

General

General *Conway* denied that the House had no right to vote abstract propositions. He said, they might vote them whenever they chose it, and by an instance from the reign of King William, proved that they had voted them, and that, where the matter was immediately an abstract proposition, which he contended the present motion was not, because it was to be found expressly stated in the petitions, and was confessedly designed to be the ground of other resolutions, in compliance with the prayers of the people. The General gave it as his opinion, that the influence of the crown had encreased of late, and that to an alarming extent; he therefore should vote for the motion.

Sir *Horace Mann* made a short speech in favour of the motion, declaring that though by his having proposed the petition from the county of Kent, reprobating committees of association and correspondence, it might be thought that he was not as ready to comply with the prayer of the petitions as others, no man in that House thought those petitions better founded, nor was more firmly convinced that the influence of the crown had encreased, and ought to be diminished.

Governor *Pownall* said, he had observed that the objections made to the proposition, now offered to the consideration of the committee, turned upon arguments drawn from the impropriety of the proceeding. First, as the motion brought a mere abstract proposition forward, to be discussed by the committee; and secondly, as it was proposed to come to a resolution upon the matter, in order to report from that committee to the House such an abstract proposition, neither of which were agreeable to parliamentary debate, nor to the proceeding of the House. These objections were groundless, both in the reason and nature of the business, and in the actual matter of fact: in the first place, the proposition was not an abstract proposition detached from matter and business.—It was drawn from the petitions, in every one of which it would be found, and was there in those petitions of the people, as an allegation of fact, on which they grounded the prayer of their petitions. It was an allegation of the people of England, as to a fact which the honourable and learned gentleman had moved the committee, upon consideration, to agree with the people in, as the ground to proceed, agreeable to their petitions, in the redress of grievances. That the thus drawing out from the petitions, the sense of the petitioners, in order to make declaration of that sense of the people to the House, was so far from being contrary to the proceeding of Par-

Parliament, that it was a proceeding conformable to a case directly in point to the minutest instance, as that case and proceeding stood in the journals of the House.

There never was, he said, but one period when there were so many petitions of this sort preferred to the House, as at present; that was now just one hundred and forty years ago. In the year 1640, there were petitions of this kind preferred in this manner to the House. If instead, he said, of suffering ourselves to be told, that we are now going on contrary to the proceedings of the House, we look to the precedent of that time, we shall find that the House, on the 10th of November, appointed a committee "To draw out of the petitions presented to the House, some such declaration as may be a fair representation of the sense of the petitioners." He spoke, he said, from memory, he fancied pretty near the matter, and would not give the clerk the trouble to fetch the journal, nor to read it. Now, said he, what the honourable and learned gentleman has done, is exactly and minutely conformable to this precedent. He has drawn his proposition out of the petitions, and proposed to the committee to come to a resolution upon it, in order to report it to the House for their concurrence with the sense and allegations of the petitions of the people, to be there taken by the House, as a proper ground for their proceedings.

He ventured, therefore, to assert, that the committee would hear no more of these objections, of the proposition being a mere abstract one; nor of the proceeding of the committee being contrary to the usual mode of proceeding in Parliament.

*Attorney
General.*

The *Attorney General* opposed the motion; but with respect to his learned friend [the Lord Advocate] he did not understand what he meant, when he moved for the chairman to leave the chair, that the business should not be resumed at another opportunity. He believed his learned friend did not intend any such thing as that of putting an end to the consideration of the petitions, but that his motion was merely in the nature of a motion to postpone it.

Ld. Ongley.

Lord Ongley spoke in support of the original motion.

Mr. Turner.

Mr. Turner spoke to the same effect, a full justification of committees and associations.

*The Lord-
Advocate.*

The *Lord Advocate* said, he by no means wished to put an end to the business; but would rather that it should come

on again, at a future opportunity. He would therefore desire to withdraw his motion for the chairman to leave the chair.

After some debate, leave was given accordingly; and the Lord Advocate then moved, by way of amendment to the main motion, that there should be inserted, after the word committee, "That it is necessary to declare." The main question was thereupon thus, "That it is necessary to declare, that the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished."

Mr. Fox said, he could have no objection to this amendment; for if gentlemen should think it necessary to declare it, they would not refuse to say that the influence of the crown had increased, and ought to be diminished. The honourable gentleman averred, that no former reign whatever had brought so many distresses upon the people as the present one; and insisted upon it, that unless the motion should be agreed to, not only the committee, but the House, should never sit again.

At twelve o'clock the committee divided. For Mr. Dunning's motion two hundred and thirty-three: against it two hundred and fifteen; majority 18.

Mr. Dunning made his next motion, which was, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is competent to this House to examine into, and to correct abuses in the expenditure of the civil list revenues, as well as in every other branch of the public revenue, whenever it shall seem expedient to the wisdom of this House so to do."

Mr. Rigby opposed the motion; said it was one of the curiosities of the present age to see a minister in the minority. He said he had intended to have made a motion, which was, "That it was unjust in Parliament to diminish the civil list revenue, without proof of some abuse of it;" and this second motion of Mr. Dunning's was not at all inconsistent with it.

Mr. Burke rallied Mr. Rigby a good deal upon his curiosity; he also thought the minister a curiosity, but he was more fit for the British Museum, than the British House of Commons.

Lord North expressed his wishes very strongly, that the committee would not go on.

Lord George Gordon spoke: after which the question was called for, and the motion was agreed to without a division.

Hon. T.
Pitt.

Hon. *T. Pitt* made the third motion in the committee, which was, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is the duty of this House to provide, as far as may be, an immediate and effectual redress of the abuses complained of in the petitions presented to this House, from the different counties, cities, and towns in this kingdom."

Lord *North*. Lord *North* again implored the House not to proceed. No other objection being made to the motion, it passed unanimously.

It was then moved by Mr. Fox, for the said resolutions to be immediately reported to the House, which was opposed by Lord *North*, as violent, arbitrary, and unusual, but was, notwithstanding, agreed to by the House; and Mr. *Hussey* reported accordingly, That the committee had come to the said resolutions severally. It was then

Resolved by the House,

That this report be now received. The report was then made by Mr. *Hussey*, and read and agreed to by the House.

Mr. *Rigby*. Mr. *Rigby* then moved for the House to adjourn to tomorrow, but it was carried for the House to adjourn to the 10th.

The House sat till half past one o'clock in the morning.

A LIST OF THE DIVISION.

For the Motion.

Lord Ongley	Bedfordshire
Earl of Upper Ossory	Ditto
Samuel Whitbread	Bedford
Sir William Wake	Ditto
John Elwes	Berkshire
H. W. Hartley	Ditto
Fr. Annisly	Reading
Hon. Augustus Keppel	Windfor
Hon. John Montagu	Ditto
Earl Verney	Buckinghamshire.
Thomas Grenville	Ditto
James Grenville	Buckingham
Robt. Waller	Wycombe

John

John Aubrey
 Sir J. Borlase Warren
 William Clayton
 William Drake, jun.
 William Drake
 Benjamin Keene
 Richard Croftes
 Sir Robert Cotton
 J. Crewe
 Rd. Wil. Bootle
 Sir W. Lemon
 Edward Elliot
 Samuel Salt
 George Boscawen
 George Hunt
 J. Amyand
 Philip Dehaney
 Sir James Lowther
 Henry Fletcher
 Walt. Spe. Stanhope
 James Adair
 Lord George Cavendish
 Lord Frederick Cavenish
 Dan. Parker Coke
 John Parker
 J. W. Rolle
 Robert Palke
 Lord Viscount Howe
 Richard Hopkins
 Humphrey Minchin
 Sir George Yonge
 J. E. Wilmot
 Sir Philip Jennings Clerke
 James Amyatt
 Hon. Richard Fitzpatrick
 Sir Charles Bampton
 Humphry Sturt
 George Pitt
 Chafin Grove
 George Rous
 Hans William Mortimer
 Joshua Mauger
 Sir Thomas Clavering

Aylesbury
 Marlow
 Ditto
 Ditto
 Agmondesham
 Cambridge
 University
 Cheshire
 Ditto
 Chester
 Cornwall
 Ditto
 Leskeard
 Truro
 Bodmin
 Camelford
 St. Ives
 Cumberland
 Ditto
 Carlisle
 Cockermonth
 Derbyshire
 Derby
 Ditto
 Devonshire
 Ditto
 Ashburton
 Dartmouth
 Ditto
 Oakhampton
 Honiton
 Tiverton
 Tortness
 Ditto
 Tavistock
 Exeter
 Dorsetshire
 Ditto
 Weymouth and Melcombe
 Regis
 Shaftesbury
 Ditto
 Poole
 Durham

John Tempest	Ditto
John Lambton	Ditto
Sir George Savile	Ebor
Edwin Lascelles	Ditto
Lord John Cavendish	York
Charles Turner	Ditto
William Baker	Aldborough
Sir James Pennyman	Beverley
G. F. Tufnell	Ditto
Beilby Thompson	Heydon
Hon. T. L. Watson	Ditto
Lord George Henry Cavendish	Knareborough
Savile Finch	Malton
William Weddell	Ditto
Daniel Lascelles	Northallerton
Henry Peirse	Ditto
William Norton	Richmond
Charles Dundas	Ditto
Charles Lawrence	Rippon
Earl Tyrconnel	Scarborough
Sir Thomas Frankland	Thirsk
Thomas Frankland	Ditto
David Hartley	Hull
John Luther	Essex
Sir William Guise	Gloucestershire
Sir William Cordington	Tewkesbury
J. Martin	Ditto
Charles Barrow	Gloucester
Sir George Cornewall	Herefordshire
John Scudamore	Hereford
William Plumer	Hertfordshire
Thomas Halley	Ditto
John Radcliffe	St. Albans
Earl Ludlow	Huntingdonshire
Hon. Charles Marsham	Kent
Thomas Knight	Ditto
Robert Gregory	Rocheſter
Sir Horace Man	Maidſtone
Richard Milles	Canterbury
Thomas Stanley	Lancaſhire
Lord Richard Cavendiſh	Lancaſter
Sir George Warren	Ditto
General Burgoyne	Preſton
Sir William Meredith	Liverpool
Richard Penant	Ditto

Thomas Lyfter	Clitheroe
Sir John Palmer	Leicestershire
J. P. Hungerford	Ditto
Hon. Booth Grey	Leicester
John Darker	Ditto
Sir John Thorold	Lincolnshire
Charles Anderson Pelham	Ditto
Lord Lumley	Lincoln
John Wilkes	Middlesex
Thomas Wood	Ditto
John Sawbridge	London
Frederick Bull	Ditto
George Hayley	Ditto
John Hanbury	Monmouthshire
John Morgan	Ditto
Sir Edward Aftley	Norfolk
Thomas Wenman Coke	Ditto
Hon. Thomas Walpole	Lynn
Chrip. Molineux	Ditto
Thomas Powes	Northamptonshire
Lucy Knightly	Ditto
Richard Benyon	Peterborough
Sir George Robinson	Northampton
Hon. Wilbraham Tollemache	Ditto
Fred. Montagu	Higham Ferrers
Sir William Middleton	Northumberland
Sir Matthew White Ridley	Newcastle
Sir John Trevelyan	Ditto
Jacob Wilkinson	Berwick
Lord Edward Bentinck	Nottinghamshire
Charles Meadows	Ditto
Sir William Howe	Nottingham
Sir Cecil Wray	E. Retford
Lord Viscount Wenman	Oxon
Sir Roger Newdigate	University
Thomas Noel	Rutlandshire
Noel Hill	Shropshire
William Pulteney	Shrewsbury
John Corbet	Ditto
Hugh Pigot	Bridgnorth
Thomas Whitmore	Ditto
Sir H. Bridgeman	Wenlock
George Forrester	Ditto
R. H. Cox	Somersetshire
Edward Phillips	Ditto

Hon.

Hon. Temple Luttrell	Milbourne Port
Clement Tudway	Wells
Robert Child	Ditto
Benjamin Allen	Bridgewater
Thomas Pownall	Minchhead
Edmund Burke	Bristol
Henry Cruger	Ditto
Alexander Popham	Taunton
Jervoise Clarke Jervoise	Hampshire
Sir H. St. John	Ditto
Robert Kingsmill	Yarmouth
Edward Morant	Lymington
Sir J. G. Griffin	Andover
Benjamin Lethieullier	Ditto
Lord Midleton	Whitchurch
Right Hon. Thomas Townshend	Ditto
Sir Abraham Hume	Petersfield
Lord Irnham	Stockbridge
Hon. James Luttrell	Ditto
J. Fleming	Southampton
Sir John Wrottesley	Staffordshire
Hugo Meynell	Stafford
George Anfon	Litchfield
Sir Ger. Vanneck	Dunwich
T. Staunton	Ipswich
Sir Patrick Blake	Sudbury
Right Hon. H. S. Conway	Bury
Sir Charles Davers	Ditto
Sir Joseph Mawbey	Surrey
James Scawen	Ditto
Sir Robert Clayton	Bletchingly
The Speaker	Guilford
Nat. Polhill	Southwark
Lord George Lennox	Sussex
Sir Henry Gough	Bramber
Thomas Thoroton	Ditto
Charles Goring	Shoreham
Thomas Edwards Freeman	Steyning
Filmer Honeywood	Ditto
Sir Thomas Miller	Lewes
Thomas Hay	Ditto
Hon. W. Keppel	Chichester
G. L. Newenham	Arundel
Sir Thomas Skipwith	Warwickshire
Sir Michael le Fleming	Westmoreland

James Lowther	Westmoreland
Philip Honeywood	Appelby
John Edward Foley	Worcestershire
John Rushout	Evesham
John Andrew Foley	Droitwich
Edward Winnington	Ditto
Walsh	Worcester
Thomas Bates Rous	Ditto
Charles Penruddock	Wiltshire
Ambrose Goddard	Ditto
Mr. Hon. Isaac Barré	Calne
John Dunning	Ditto
Samuel Marth	Chippenham
John Charles Fox	Malmesbury
Dawkins	Hindon
Thomas Pitt	Old Sarum
Winkney Wilkinson	Ditto
William A Court Ashe	Heytesbury
Samuel Estwick	Westbury
Robert Scott	Wotton Bassett
Lord George Gordon	Luggerhall
John Trevannion	Dover
Charles Brett	Sandwich
William Nedham	Winchelsea

Wales.

Lord Bulkeley	Anglesea
Sir Hugh Williams	Beaumaris
Charles Morgan	Breconshire
Alston Smith	Carnarvonshire
Glynn Wynne	Carnarvon
Sir Watkin William Wynne	Denbighshire
Sir Roger Mostyn	Flintshire
Wat. Williams	Flint
L. Vaughan	Merionethshire
George Venables Vernon	Glamorganshire
Sir Herb. Mackworth	Cardiff
Lugh Owen	Pembrokeshire
Lugh Owen	Pembroke

Scotland.

George Dempster	St. Andrews
Sir Laurence Dundas	Edinburgh
John Johnstone	Kinghorn, &c.
Sir Gilbert Elliot	Roxburghshire
Thomas Dundas	Sterlingshire
33 Teller, George Byng,	Wigan

Against

Against the Motion.

J. Dodd	Reading
John Mayor	Abingdon
Sir Robert Barker	Wallingford
J. Cater	Ditto
Ant. Bacon	Aylesbury
Hen. Drummond	Wendover
Thos. Dummer	Ditto
Sir Sampson Gideon	Cambridgeshire
J. Buller	Launceston
Edw. Gibbon	Leskeard
Thomas Potter	Leftwithiel
Bamber Gascoyne	Truro
Sir James Laroche	Bodmin
F. C. Cuff	Helston
Hen. Strachey	Saltaish
John Buller	Eastloo
William Greaves	Ditto
Sir William James	Westloo
J. Rogers	Ditto
Rd. Alworth Neville	Grampond
Sir Ralph Payne	Camelford
Sir George Osborne	Penryn
William Chaytor	Ditto
Lord Newborough	St. Ives
Lord Shulldham	Fowey
Benjamin Langlois	St. Germain's
James Peachey	Ditto
Francis Hale	St. Mitchel
John Stevenson	Ditto
Richard Bull	Newport
John Frederick	Ditto
Earl Nugent	St. Maws
Hugh Boscawen	Ditto
William Skrine	Callington
George Stratton	Ditto
Anthony Storer	Carlisle
Charles Boone	Ashburton
Richard Vernon	Oaxhampton
Lord Vis. Lewisham	Plymouth
Sir Charles Hardy	Ditto
Sir H. F. Drake	Beerallston
J. Durand	Plympton
William Fullarton	Ditto

Right

Right Hon Richard Rigby
 William Devaynes
 William Ewer
 Hon. Henry Fane
 Right Hon. Welbore Ellis

Gabriel Stewart
 John Purling
 Christopher D'Oyley
 John Jenkinson
 John Bond
 Hon. William Hanger
 Charles Mellish
 Lord Robert Manners
 Hon. Rich. Savage Nassau
 J. Strutt
 Hon. Geo. Aug. North
 T. B. Chester
 J. Whitshed
 Samuel Blackwell
 G. Aug. Selwyn
 Right Hon. Thomas Harley
 Sir R. Symonds
 Lord Viscount Bateman
 Frederick Cornwall
 John St. Leger Douglas
 — Bayntun
 Sir Richard Sutton
 John Calvert
 Lord Hinchinbroke
 Sir George Wombwell
 Finch Hatton
 Sir Charles Frederick
 Sir William Rawlinson
 Hon. Charles Finch
 Lord Newhaven
 Sir Thomas Egerton
 Ashton Curzon
 Sir George Howard, K. B.
 Henry Cecil
 Peregrine Crust
 Robert Vyner
 Lord Malden
 Vol. XVII.

Tavistock
 Exeter
 Dorchester
 Lyme
 Weymouth and Melcombe
 Regis
 Ditto
 Ditto
 Wareham
 Corfe Castle
 Ditto
 Aldborough
 Pomfret
 Hull
 Malden
 Ditto
 Harwich
 Gloucestershire
 Cirencester
 Ditto
 Gloucester
 Herefordshire
 Hereford
 Leominster
 Ditto
 Weobly
 Ditto
 St. Albans
 Hertford
 Huntingdonshire
 Huntingdon
 Rochester
 Queenborough
 Ditto
 Maidstone
 Canterbury
 Lancashire
 Clitheroe
 Stamford
 Ditto
 Grantham
 Lincoln
 Westminster

Sir

Q q q

Sir T. Stepney	Monmouth
Hon. Charles Fitzroy	Thetford
Robert Mackreth	Castle Rising
John Chet, Talbot	Ditto
Edward Bacon	Norwich
Matthew Wildbore	Peterborough
Timothy Caswall	Brackley
William Egerton	Ditto
Peter Delme	Morpeth
J. W. Egerton	Ditto
Lord. J. P. Clinton	E. Retford
Lord Charles Spencer	Oxon
Francis Page	University
Lord Robert Spencer	Oxford
William Eden	Woodstock
Lord Parker	Ditto
Lord North	Banbury
Charles Baldwin	Shropshire
Lord Clive	Ludlow
Alexander Wedderburne	Bishop's Castle
William Clive	Ditto
O. S. Brereton	Ivelchester
Nathaniel Webb	Ditto
Charley Wolfeley	Milbourne Port
Hon. Ann Poulet	Bridgewater
John Sebright	Bath
Henry Fownes Luttrell	Minhead
Henry Penton	Winchester
Lovell Stanhope	Ditto
General Monckton	Portsmouth
Sir William Gordon	Ditto
Sir Richard Worsley	Newport
Hans Sloane	Ditto
Charles Ambler	Newton
Edward Maux Worsley	Ditto
James Worsley	Yarmouth
James Harris	Christchurch
J. Fuller	Southampton
Sir William Bagot	Staffordshire
Richard Whitworth	Stafford
Thomas De Grey	Tamworth
Anthony Chamier	Ditto
Lord Trentham	Newcastle

Thomas

Thomas Gilbert
 Rowland Holt
 Barne Barne
 Lord Beauchamp
 Hon. Robt. Conway
 Richard Combe
 Martin Fonnereau
 R. B. Phillipson
 Hon. J. St. John
 William Adam
 Robert Mayne
 Peter Burrell
 Sir Charles Cocks
 George Onslow
 James Wallace
 John Ord
 Hon. Hen. Seymour Conway
 Lord George Germain
 Hon. Charles Greville
 Hon. Robt. Greville
 J. B. Holroyd
 Lord Westcote
 James Sutton
 Hon. J. Brudenell and Sir J.
 Long
 Sir Ed. Bayntum
 William Strahan
 J. Dewar
 J. Macpherson
 Archibald Macdonald
 Hon. W. Gordon
 Hon. T. Wenman
 Hon. Henry St. John
 Lord Melbourne
 Charles Herbert
 Sir Philip Hales
 Robert Shaftoe
 Lord Cranborne

Litchfield
 Suffolk
 Dunwich
 Orford
 Ditto
 Aldborough
 Ditto
 Eye
 Ditto
 Gatton
 Ditto
 Haslemere
 Ryegate
 Guilford
 Horsham
 Midhurst
 Ditto
 Grinsted
 Warwick
 Ditto
 Coventry
 Bewdley
 Devizes

Marlborough
 Chippenham
 Malmesbury
 Cricklade
 Ditto
 Hindon
 Heytesbury
 Westbury
 Wotton Bassett
 Luggershall
 Wilton
 Downton
 Ditto
 Bedwin

Cinque Ports.

John Hennicker
 Rt. Hon. Charles Jenkinson
 Lord Viscount Palmerstone
 Sir Charles Farnaby
 William Evelyn

Dover
 Hastings
 Ditto
 Hithe
 Ditto

Sir Edward Dering
 Richard Jackson
 Hon. Tho. Onslow
 Wm. Dickenson
 Philip Stephens
 Lord Vis. Gage
 George Medley
 Charles Wolfran Cornwall

Romney
 Ditto
 Rye
 Ditto
 Sandwich
 Seaford
 Ditto
 Winchelsea

Wales.

Sir Charles Gould
 Lord Lisburne
 Thomas Johnes, junior
 John Vaughan
 John Adams
 Whitshed Keene
 Lord Kensington
 Thomas Johnes, senior
 Edward Lewis

Brecon
 Cardiganshire
 Cardigan
 Carmarthenshire
 Carmarthen
 Montgomery
 Haverfordwest
 Radnorshire
 Radnor

Scotland.

Sir Ad. Fergusson
 Adam Livingstone
 Sir J. Patterfon
 Adam Drummond
 Sir Archibald Edmonstone
 Sir Robt. Laurie
 Henry Dundas
 Francis Charteris
 Lord William Gordon
 Staates Long Morris
 R. Henderson
 Earl of Panmure
 William Nisbett
 Lord Adam Gordon
 William Stewart
 Andrew Stewart
 Sir W. Aug. Cunningham
 John Campbell
 Sir James Cockburne
 Hon. James Murray
 Hon. J. S. M'Kenzie
 Hon. Fred. Stuart
 J. Craufurd
 Lord Fred. Campbell
 Hon. James Wemys

Airshire
 Argyleshire
 Berwickshire
 Brechin, &c.
 Dunbartonshire
 Dumfriesshire
 Edinburghshire
 Dunbar
 Elginshire
 Elgin
 Fifeshire
 Forfarshire
 Haddingtonshire
 Kincardenshire
 Kircudbright
 Lanerkshire
 Linlithgowshire
 Nairnshire
 Peebles, &c.
 Perthshire
 Rossshire
 Rothsay
 Renfrewshire
 Glasgow, &c.
 Sutherlandshire

J. Grant

Tayn, &c.

Sir H. W. Dashwood

Wigtown

Teller, John Robinson,

Harwich.

April 10.

Mr. *Hartley* gave notice that on Tuesday next he should *Mr. Hartley* bring forward his propositions respecting the state of the war; that he had thought it a motion proper to make, but, from information he had lately received, it was now absolutely necessary. As a motion, it not only concerned the well-being, but the very being of this country.

Governor *Pownall* called upon him, and begged, that if *Governor Pownall* his motion was of the importance he said it was, he would be explicit, and say what it was; that he would not bring matters of such importance suddenly upon the House, and and gentlemen unprepared to give it due consideration. He did not speak for himself: for that the honourable gentleman could bring no matter forward in which he did not conceive himself fully prepared; but that he spoke for the rest of the House, who might not have had the same opportunity that he had.

General *Conway* also called upon him to say what his motion was, and whether he meant that part of the war respecting America? That this country was brought into such difficulties and perplexities by that war, that he did not see how it was possible to extricate ourselves, unless some measures were taken that should first put an end to that war, and therefore he hoped that the matter might not be delayed till Tuesday, but that it might come on the first open day. *General Conway*

Mr. *Hartley* explained that the principal part of his propositions did respect the American war, and the consideration of such means as might lead to peace, but at present did not chuse to open what the purport of them were. *Mr. Hartley*

Governor *Pownall* replied, that he did not mean to interfere with the honourable gentleman, or to take any thing out of his hand; but that if he did not precisely and directly make some propositions that should lead to peace with America, he took that opportunity to give notice that he would propose to the House some matters that might become preliminaries whereon to ground a negotiation of peace; and that he would propose nothing which he would not undertake to execute.

Sir *Philip Jennings Clerke* moved, "that there should be *Sir Philip Jennings Clerke* laid be laid before the House a complete return of the army, made up to the last month."

A debate being likely to take place upon this motion, *Mr. Byng* Mr. *Byng*, though he had no kind of objection to it, represented

sented the more important business there was before the House, meaning the adjourned consideration of the petitions on their table, and therefore submitted it to the judgment of the honourable member, whether it would not be better to defer the business he had entered upon, and wait a more convenient opportunity for introducing it.

The Secretary at War. The *Secretary at War* said, he could not by any means consent to the motion; as an account of the army being laid before the House, and therefore made public, could tend only to inform our enemy of the military strength of this country; the question had, he said, been frequently made, and as frequently rejected, as extremely improper and injudicious.

Mr. Byng. Mr. *Byng* proposed to get rid of it by moving the order of the day.

Lord North. Lord *North* objected to this, considering it to be of the nature of a previous question, and that the House would, should it be negatived, be obliged to return again to the motion for a list of the army. His Lordship pronounced it highly improper to agree with the requisition contained in the question, and was of opinion, that as it must be contrary to the sense of the House, the sooner it should be decided upon, the better it would be.

Sir Philip Jennings Clerke. Sir *Philip Jennings Clerke* observed, that he did not wish by any means to obstruct the order of the day, and would very readily withdraw the motion he had made, if the noble Lord, or Secretary at War, would promise to the House, that the expence of the army should not exceed the money voted for that particular service.

The Secretary at War. The *Secretary at War* gave the House to understand, that as far as his knowledge went, the charge of the army would not be more than the amount of the money ordered for it. The conversation was therefore given up by both sides of the House.

Sir *William Meredith* then called the attention of the House to an event for which he hoped there was no foundation in fact; he hoped it was an idle, vague, and groundless story, fabricated to injure government, and therefore he wished to hear a full and flat contradiction to it from the great officers in the war department. The report was, that upon the assembling of the citizens of Westminster, orders had been issued to double the King's guard, and furnish them with six rounds of powder and ball; and that a great quantity of ammunition was sent to the guard rooms; that the third regiment of guards was mustered at the barracks, provided

vided likewise with six rounds of powder and ball, and kept under arms till late at night, and that they were told they must go to the Parliament House.

Sir William wished to know if such orders were given, what grounds there were for possessing the King's mind with fears and apprehensions from the mere circumstance of citizens assembling in a legal manner, and for a constitutional purpose; and whether it might not be expected, that if the citizens were to meet again, they would not, in turn, come prepared with necessary arms for their defence, now they knew that the third regiment of guards was to be drawn out against them.

Mr. *Jenkinson* denied that any order went from his office, Mr. *Jenkinson* either for doubling the guard, or calling out the third regiment; but that if any civil magistrate had suggested to the King's Ministers the danger or apprehension of a riot, he thought the orders very proper.

Sir *Richard Wrottesley* denied that any such orders had been given; and Sir *George Osborne* said that no unusual orders had been given.

Mr. *Dunning* took up the matter with great warmth, and observed, that the manner in which Mr. *Jenkinson* had denied that the orders went from his office, but not denying that such orders actually went, at the same time justifying the orders, if given, convinced him, that such orders did really issue from some other office; that he wished to bring that minister to light who filled the King's mind with an apprehension of danger from an assembly of loyal and free citizens, who in expressing their zeal for defending the liberties of Englishmen, thought they were manifesting in the best manner possible their duty to their sovereign.

Sir *John Griffin* defended the horse guards, but Sir *William Meredith* assured him they were not included in the orders.

The order of the day was then called for, and at six o'clock the House resolved itself into a committee, Mr. *Hussey* in the chair, for the further consideration of the petitions on the table.

Mr. *Dunning* moved, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that, in order to secure the independence of Parliament, and obviate all suspicions of its purity, that within seven days after the meeting of Parliament, every session, there be laid before this House, by the proper officer, an account of all monies paid out of the civil list, or any part of the public revenue to or for the use, or in trust for any member

ber of Parliament since the last recess, by every person who shall have paid the same."

Mr. Dunning.

Mr. *Dunning* after saying however clear the House might be as to the reality of the charge, there was out of doors a suspicion and an imputation brought actually home to the House of gross and corrupt venality arising from the undue influence of the crown within those walls. It became necessary for the House to purge itself from such suspicions, which could only be proved by its being publicly known what money did find its way into the pockets of members of Parliament, and in what manner it came there. If no one had a shilling of the public money in his pocket which he was not able to explain, no difficulty could be made in acceding to his motions. If there were any such, his motion would distinguish them.

Lord North.

Lord *North* said he should not oppose the motion, but doubted whether the Lords might approve of it, as Commons coming to resolutions, which, in fact, were tests for them, might create some disagreements between the two Houses.

Mr. Dunning.

Mr. *Dunning* replied.

Mr. *Cornwall*, Mr. *Wedderburne*, and Mr. *Welbore Ellis*, spoke to the same purpose as Lord *North*, and hinted at some difficulties in understanding the purport of the motion, and carrying it into execution.

However no other objections being made, the motion passed unanimously.

Mr. Dunning.

Mr. *Dunning* now moved, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that the persons holding the offices of treasurer of the chamber, the treasurer of the household, the cofferer of the household, the comptroller of the household, the master of the household, the clerks of the green cloth, and the deputies of them, be rendered incompatible with a seat in this House.

He recapitulated what the House had already done, as the ground for what he had to propose, and what the House had done respecting Mr. *Burke's* bill; and took notice, that when it was proposed by a clause in that bill, to abolish certain offices in the household, the House had rejected that proposition, for reasons; which, not being present, he had not heard; and if they were what he had read, they were the worst he ever met with. However, that having been decided, the next best thing was, and it was consonant to the sense of the people in their petitions, to take care that the undue influence of the crown should no longer operate in that

that House by means of those places, and, therefore, that the motion he should make was, that the holding of any of those places, and a seat in Parliament at the same time, should be rendered incompatible. He was sensible, it would be asked, why he fixed upon those places alone, and did not go further. His answer was, that he did not mean to go further? But that he had fixed upon those particular places for his present motion, from the particular predicament in which they stood; and that if any other places in the same bill should be found in the same predicament, he should make the like motion upon them. It might likewise be asked, why he did not bring in a bill? His answer was, that he thought it the fairest way to consider the proposition first, and if it was agreed to, he should then bring in a bill.

The Lord *Advocate* spoke next. His principal argument The Lord
Advocate. was to distinguish the difference between Mr. Burke, who was for abolishing the places, and Mr. Dunning, who was only for incapacitating them from sitting in Parliament, but whether they agreed or not, he should give a direct negative to the motion, as it contained a proposition to alter the constitution.

Mr. *Burke* defended his conduct in his procedure on his bill; said that he maintained his first opinion, and was convinced it was the best thing that could be done. He justified himself against various reports that had gone out against him; and then said, if he could not have the best thing, he would take the next best, and should most cordially support the proposition of his honourable, learned, and respected friend.

Mr. *Wedderburne* affected to approve Mr. Burke's bill, Mr. Wed-
derburne. against which he voted, rather than the proposition of the learned gentleman, and ran a long comparison between them, not only to shew how they disagreed, but to make them discredit each other; said that this disfranchising any persons holding such offices was a violent alteration of the constitution, both as it respected the persons who might properly hold those places, and as it respected the constitutional influence of the crown, as one branch of the legislature, ought to have upon the other two branches, in like manner as they ought to have upon each other; for that mutual influence was the chain by which they were linked, each to the other, and all to all.

Mr. *Pitt* answered the several objections that had been made, and stated his opinion of the propriety of diminishing the influence of the crown in this instance, and said if that

House could be made virtuous, he should care very little about the other House.

Mr. Dunning.

Mr. *Dunning* replied, by a recapitulation of the arguments which he had used before, and reminded the gentlemen who had made their objections, without attending to those arguments, they might have prevented him from obtruding himself upon the House.

Upon this the question was called for, the Ayes were 215, Noes 213.

April 11.

Mr. Gregory.

Mr. *Gregory* brought in a petition from 2900 persons, inhabitants of Rochester, praying that leave might be given to bring in a bill for the repeal of the act passed a sessions or two since in favour of the Roman Catholics.

The petition was presented, and after being read, upon motion made, that it lie on the table,

Lord George Gordon.

Lord *George Gordon* rose, and in a speech of some length expressed his satisfaction at seeing the present petition brought in. His Lordship expatiated on the necessity of that House taking as active a part relative to the religious establishment, as they were taking from day to day in political affairs. He lamented, that although there were two churches and one cathedral at Rochester, there were few of the clergy who had signed the petition; it was their peculiar province, he said, to guard against the inroads of Popery, which was making hasty strides to re-establish itself generally throughout the kingdom, and threatened extirpation to protestantism. He begged leave to read a memorial or resolution, descriptive of Popery, and all its horrid consequences, which was drawn up in Ireland in the year 1626, and signed by the Archbishop of Armagh, and the other prelates of the Protestant church in that kingdom. As it was but short, he begged the House would give him their attention. Having finished reading, he said, our bishops ought to come to a similar resolution, but the time-serving priests, the popish episcopalians of the other House, were more intent on other objects, and objects less worthy the attention of Christian prelates. He ran into a strain of vehement attack on those in power, for not doing their duty in religious matters.

Mr. Turner.

Mr. *Turner* said, he could not sit still and hear the noble Lord run on at that rate. The noble Lord, he said, was perpetually interrupting business, and introducing matters directly personal. The noble Lord had got a twist in his head, a certain whirligig which ran away with him, if any thing

thing relative to religion was mentioned, and made him expose himself perpetually. He declared, he said this, out of friendship and respect to the noble Lord. He wished the noble Lord well; the noble Lord was a staunch whig, an enemy to the American war, and a friend to the liberties of the people; he could not bear, therefore, to see the noble Lord render himself a laughing stock, and become the make-game of the whole House. He respected the noble Lord, and the House ought to respect him on account of his noble family. Mr. Turner having said this, went into an argument, to prove that religious jealousies were equally illiberal and unjust. That a Protestant would not plough the ground better than a Papist, nor a Papist better than a Protestant, and as long as the Roman Catholicks demeaned themselves decently, and conformed to the laws of the country, they had a right to expect and to receive every possible indulgence.

Lord George Gordon rose again, and in order to elucidate his former argument, pulled out an Irish newspaper, and read two extracts from Father O'Lary's letter, against the principles of Wesley; he afterwards read some passages from Wesley's reply, and contended that another massacre of the Protestants, like to that in Ireland, was to be dreaded, if something was not done conformable to the wishes of those of the established church. He said such as came up to him as a member of Parliament, had told him, that they already considered themselves absolved from their allegiance to his Majesty. They had not yet determined to murder the King and put him to death; they only considered that they were absolved from their allegiance. He declared the Lord Advocate knew very well what was the opinion of the people in Scotland respecting Popery, and that what he had now said, he had not thrown out as any idle threat; he meant to put ministers on their guard, to warn them to do what was right in time. For this purpose he had been twice to court to tell his Majesty what he knew upon the subject, and now rose to tell it ministers.

Mr. Gregory declared, that to his knowledge those who had subscribed the petition which had been just read, were not of such sentiments as the noble Lord had described. They were firm in their loyalty, as good and as peaceably inclined as any of his Majesty's subjects, and so high was their love and zeal for their prince, that there was not one of them who

would not willingly lay down his life and fortune in his service.

The petition was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. Burke.

Mr. Burke called the attention of the House to a very particular matter. He said, they sat there to make laws for the subject; that the laws which chiefly came under their consideration were laws of civil polity, but those which most claimed their attention and care were the criminal laws. The first only regarded mens' property, criminal laws affected mens' lives, a consideration infinitely superior to the former!

In making criminal laws, it behoved them materially to consider how they proceeded, to take care wisely and nicely to proportion the punishment so that it should not exceed the extent of the crime, and to provide that it should be of that kind, which was more calculated to operate as an example and prevent crimes, than to oppress and torment the convicted criminal. If this was not properly attended to in the criminal laws which passed that House, they forced his Majesty to violate his coronation oath and commit perjury, because his Majesty, when he was crowned, and was invested with the executive government, had solemnly sworn to temper mercy with justice, which it was almost impossible for him to do if that House suffered any penal laws to pass on principles repugnant to this idea, and in which justice, rigid justice was solely attended to, and all sight of mercy lost, and foregone. He said, the matter which had induced him to make these reflections, was the perusal of a melancholy circumstance stated in the newspapers of that morning. He hoped to God the fact was mis-stated, and that the whole relation had no foundation in truth. It had, however, made a very strong impression on his mind, and he conceived it of a nature sufficiently interesting to merit the notice and attention of that House, because if it should turn out to be true, he thought it would be incumbent on that House to take some measure in consequence of it. The relation he alluded to, was that of the unhappy and horrid murder of a poor wretch, condemned to stand in the pillory the preceding day. The account stated that two men had been doomed to this punishment; that one of them being short of stature, and remarkably short-necked, he could not reach the hole made for the admission of the head, in the awkward and ugly instrument used in this mode of punishment; that the officers of justice, nevertheless, forced his head through the hole, and the poor wretch hung rather than walked as the pillory turned

turned round; that previous to his being put in, he had deprecated the vengeance of the mob, and begged that mercy, which from their exasperation at his crime, and their want of considering the consequences of their cruelty, they seemed very little to bestow. That he soon grew black in the face, and the blood forced itself out of his nostrils, his eyes, and his ears. That the mob, nevertheless, attacked him and his fellow criminal with great fury. That the officers seeing his situation, opened the pillory, and the poor wretch fell down dead on the stand of the instrument. The other man, he understood, was likewise so maimed and hurt by what had been thrown at him, that he lay now without hope of recovery.

Having stated this to the House, Mr. Burke proceeded to remark, that the punishment of the pillory had always struck him as a punishment of shame rather than of personal severity. In the present instance it had been rendered an instrument of death, and that of the worst kind, a death of torment. The crime for which the poor wretches had been condemned, was such as could scarcely be mentioned, much less defended or extenuated. The commission of Sodomitical practices! A crime of all others the most detestable, because it tended to vitiate the morals of the whole community, and to defeat the first and chief end of society. Sodomitical practices was however of all other crimes a crime of the most equivocal nature, and the most difficult to prove. When criminals convicted of sodomitical practices were sentenced to the pillory, they were adjudged that punishment with a view to expose them to public reproach and contempt, not to popular fury, assault and cruelty. To condemn to the pillory with any such ideas, would be to make it a capital punishment, and as much more severe than execution at Tyburn, as to die in torment, was more dreadful than momentary death, almost without sensation of pain. He submitted it, therefore, to the consideration of the House, whether, if the facts turned out as they were stated in the newspapers, and as he had reported them to the House, on newspaper authority, it would not be right to abolish the punishment of the pillory since it was liable to such violent perversion, as to be rendered not the instrument of reproach and shame, but of death and murder. If no man would take the matter in hand, he would bring in a bill for this purpose; he saw, however, a learned and respectable gentleman in the House, from whose high character and distinguished

distinguished place, it was fair to infer that the matter would be much better lodged in his hands, and would be more properly conducted than it could be by him. He hoped that learned and respectable gentleman would take it up, and he hoped likewise that the House, if the facts should turn out to be true, and the poor wretch to have been murdered, as he had mentioned, would direct the learned gentleman to proceed against those to whose neglect, or to whose cruelty, the murder was ascribable.

The Attorney General. The *Attorney General* complimented Mr. Burke on his having stated the matter to the House with those striking features of humanity which distinguished and characterized his conduct on every occasion; he said, most certainly a tale of so extraordinary a nature merited the attention of that House in general, and his attention in particular. He should do the honourable gentleman the justice to pay immediate regard to what he had said, and though he had the utmost respect for the House, and should on every occasion most readily pay obedience to its commands, it did not strike his mind that their interference was necessary on the present occasion. If the facts were as the honourable gentleman had stated them to be, the matter immediately called for legal enquiry, in order to lead to a conviction and punishment of those who were guilty, and had been accessory to the murder. The judges who sentenced the men to the pillory, were clearly innocent of the guilt of their deaths, because, undoubtedly, they had done no more in condemning them to that punishment, than they were obliged to do by the laws now in being, and could have no idea that they were sentencing the criminals to a punishment that would affect their lives. There were two descriptions of persons who were the objects of punishment in the present case, those who by neglect of duty had suffered the criminal to be murdered, and such of the mob as were most immediately concerned in the murder, if they could be come at. It was unquestionably proper that offenders, guilty of such an atrocious crime, should be convinced that what they had done was within the reach of the laws of the country, and that no men, however they might be misled by ill-judged indignation, would be suffered to commit such enormities with impunity. In doing this, however, proper care must be taken that in endeavouring to answer the ends of justice, injustice was not committed. It certainly was necessary for the officers, appointed to put the sentence of the law in execution upon criminals, to

do their duty with a certain degree of spirit. He should therefore first institute an enquiry in order to substantiate the facts, and then proceed regularly upon them. With regard to an alteration of the law as it stood, the honourable gentleman would give him leave to pause upon it a little, and before he took any step for that purpose to consult those more conversant with the nature of criminal punishments, than he was himself.

Sir *Charles Bunbury*, in confirmation of the perversion of the punishment of the pillory, stated the case of a man convicted of sodomitical practices at Bury, who had been recommended to mercy by the jury, and in whose favour application had been made to the judge who tried him. This man had been sentenced to the pillory, and having been a respectable housekeeper, had the greatest dread of that punishment, from a conviction that the populace would be so exasperated against him, that they would take his life. The man had stated his fears to him, and he had been the person who applied to the judge in the criminal's behalf. The judge was a very distinguished character, and a man of true benevolence, whose loss every man had lately had cause to lament, and whose name would always be remembered with respect. The judge had told him, that he thought the law required alteration, but as it stood, it was impossible for him to sentence the man to any other punishment. When this was reported to the prisoner, it threw him into despair, and so great was his dread of the pillory, that the night before the sentence was to be put in execution, he took poison. The next day, however, he was placed in the pillory, and as he had predicted, was so severely treated by the populace, that he died that night in jail, and whether he died from the poison, or in consequence of his ill treatment from the mob, had never been ascertained.

Mr. *Ord* brought up the army estimates; they were read a first and second time, and the third time being read distinctly article by article.

Sir *Phillip Jennings Clerke* rose and objected to the first estimate, viz. that of a specific sum for Colonel Fullarton's regiment.

This gave rise to a debate, in which a great deal of the same argument, that had been used against this estimate in the committee, was repeated.

The speakers were, Sir *Phillip Jennings Clerke*, the Secretary at War, Mr. *Townshend*, Lord *North*, Colonel *Barré*,

Barré, General Burgoyne, Mr. Fox, Mr. T. Grenville, General Frazer, Mr. Byng, and General Conway.

The chief of the new matter which came out in the course of the debate, was as follows :

Mr. T.

Townshend.

Mr. T. *Townshend* warmly contended against the appointing a gentleman who had never been in the army to a command. He complained of gross partiality in the distribution of commissions and employment. He asked why old officers who had served well, and distinguished themselves last war, were unemployed, while young gentlemen unpossessed of a single military idea, who bought their men at Charing-cross, were put at the head of regiments? Why were many other officers of merit, passed by? Why was Colonel Meadows, who had distinguished himself in America, refused promotion? Mr. *Townshend* concluded with calling upon the Secretary at War to tell the House who it was, that had recommended an appointment so insulting and unjust to the army, as the appointment of the honourable gentleman for whose regiment the present estimate was given.

The Secretary at War.

The Secretary at War declared it was not him that recommended the appointment; that he knew very little of the matter, and never presumed to give an opinion on military affairs. That his Majesty had a military minister, an officer of as high reputation in the army, as any one man that ever served in it. That he had received his Majesty's orders for the appointment of the honourable gentleman in question through that noble Lord's hands.

Lord North.

Lord North declared that the honourable gentleman was neither to have permanent rank nor half pay; that he had only asked for the rank he held for a particular service, that his rank was not even to continue so long as that of any other colonel in the new levies; it was not to last during the war, but was to cease as soon as the particular service for which his regiment had been raised was finished, or if it should even be dropped, the honourable gentleman did not desire to hold it. That he had raised his regiment with great dispatch, and without any expence to government, and that he was not going out chief in command, but second to an officer of professional knowledge and high character.

Col. Barré.

Colonel Barré reprobated the idea of one of the *corps diplomatique* coming at once into the army at the head of a regiment,

regiment, and going out into an unhealthy climate on an enterprize of importance, where if the gentleman chief in command should chance to die, the command would devolve on him. The Colonel disclaimed any intention to give the honourable gentleman offence, he meant none, and the honourable gentleman was too high in character to merit disrespect. He could not, however, as a man who had served in the army for many years, but feel himself wounded at an appointment which was an insult to the army in general. If men, who by a connection with a minister could thus get upon the staff at once, without having ever served, it was in vain for officers to toil on for many years, fighting for their country, and doing hard duty. The Colonel desired to know, who had recommended the appointment? He would undertake to say, that the noble Lord at the head of the army [Lord Amherst] had neither advised, nor did he approve of it? He wished to know who it was that had? He asserted, that Lord Amherst was to his knowledge too strict an observer of rule and seniority, ever to countenance so extraordinary an appointment. He knew this from his own experience last war, when serving under him. The noble Lord had then refused him promotion upon that single ground, and the noble Lord had been justifiable in so doing. The Colonel stated the nature of appointing to commands in France, and said, that though the gentlemen of the long robe went into the army there, he desired any man to give an instance of their having been put at the head of corps, and given command. There were, he stated, 50,000 noble families in France, out of which the French army was officered. After a long detail of facts of this kind, he returned to the subject, and having mentioned some gross partialities shewn to men who had served in Portugal, since the war, particularly to a gentleman who had been a Lieutenant in his own regiment, he said he should give his hearty negative to the estimate.

General *Burgoyne* also condemned the appointment as an General insult to the army. The General stated a number of officers *Burgoyne* who had served long and could not get promotion. He mentioned the partial conduct of ministers respecting his relation the deceased Major Stanley, and dwelt on it for some time.

Mr. *Fox* enforced the same idea, and called upon Mr. *Fox*. Grenville to inform the House the particulars of the ill treatment he had received on his application for preferment.

Mr. *Grenville*, in a very correct and neat speech, stated to Mr. *Gren* the House, that having been an ensign in the guards for *vills*.

a twelvemonth, and the next step in the guards being to a captaincy, he applied to the commander in chief to be made a captain in an old regiment; the answer he received was, that there were many old lieutenants who had applied for that promotion before him. Satisfied with this, he remained content till his friend the Duke of Rutland offered him a captaincy in his new raised corps. He applied again to the commander in chief, and was refused, upon the plea that he could not take two steps at once. He then applied for a lieutenantancy in the Queen's regiment, which happened to be vacant, and all the ensigns of which petitioned in his favour, but he was again refused, unless he would specify what were the reasons which had induced the ensigns of the Queen's regiment to recommend him, and to give up their own claims in his favour. He was an applicant another time to be a captain of one troop of an honourable gentleman's horse, who had raised the corps on condition of appointing his own officers; this likewise he was refused, till at length finding that he was singled out for ill-treatment, he felt himself disgusted, desired to resign his commission, and quitted the service.

Secretary at War

The *Secretary at War* produced a paper, which he said had been put into his hands by the noble Lord at the head of the army, in which that noble Lord had assigned his reasons for every refusal of the honourable member's applications. He had refused the suffering him to move to a captaincy, because the honourable member had only been an ensign in the guards one year; and he had refused his having the lieutenantancy in the Queen's regiment, because the ensigns of that regiment had recalled their recommendation of him, and desired that one of themselves might have the promotion.

General Frazer.

General *Frazer* spoke warmly in praise of Mr. Grenville, and in the instance of Mr. St. Leger, proved that Lord Amherst did not always so rigidly adhere to rule, because Mr. St. Leger had been allowed to rise rapidly from ensign to lieutenant, from lieutenant to captain, and from captain to major.

General Conway.

General *Conway* deplored the bad management of the army, when any gentleman could be so persecuted as the honourable gentleman had been. He condemned the appointment of the honourable gentleman mentioned in the estimate, as highly unwise and improper. After he sat down, the general rose again, to recall the word *persecution*, which he said was

too strong an expression, and to defend the character of Lord Amherst.

The other estimates were then severally put, and were all agreed to, after half an hour's debate on that for granting 6997 pounds for bridges and roads in Scotland. In this debate Mr. Fox, Mr. Charteris, the Lord Advocate, General Howard, Sir George Yonge, and Mr. Gilbert took place.

A word or two also passed between Sir Philip Jennings Clerke and Colonel Holroyd, upon the estimate for that gentleman's additional corps.

April 12.

Lord *North* presented the tax bill, enacting, that an additional duty be laid on malt, low wines and spirits, foreign wines, brandy, and rum, coals exported, advertisements, a duty on receipts for legacies, and a duty on licences to be taken out by persons dealing in coffee, tea, and chocolate.

The bill was brought up and read a first time by breviate. It was then moved that it be read a second time.

Sir *Charles Bunbury* thereupon rose, and in a speech of some length, which was remarkably figurative, took a general review of the melancholy complexion of the public affairs, concluding with stating a few strong objections to the malt tax.

Sir Charles compared the state, as situated at present, to a vessel at sea, tost to and fro in a violent storm. Those who had been appointed to pilot the ship, had by a variety of instances, shewn their total incapacity to discharge the duties of their office. They had repeatedly avowed their own inability, and did not even pretend to be able to bring the ship safe into harbour. All they looked to was their own personal safety, and so far from attempting to direct the helm, they merely fastened to the handle of it, to prevent their being thrown overboard, by the exasperated crew. So unwise, so dangerous, and so fatal in their consequences had been the measures pursued by these state pilots, that they had created universal dissatisfaction, disgust and despair. Their great measure, the American war, had reduced this country from a state of unexampled glory, prosperity, power, and wealth, to a state of wretchedness, of weakness, of adversity, and of contempt, almost beyond the idea of the most melancholy visionary. The consequences that stared us in the face had in the progress of the war escaped the notice of many gentlemen, who were now forced to witness the gloomy scene; there were, in that House, those who were jovial spirits,

good companions, and friends of the bottle, who had carried a face of cheerfulness throughout the business, and if ever a quail came across their minds, on a morning after a debauch, a dinner had silenced its impression, and the jolly evening had totally distanced all remembrance of it; there were others who were men of a melancholy turn, men who thought of nights, and reviewed the business of each day, who had all along seen and dreaded the issue of that work, which appeared to them big with danger, big with ruin. Of those possessed of this irritable frame of mind, he was one; and he had not only stood long since self-convinced of the errors of the past conduct of ministers, but he had more than once brought them in view of the House, and endeavoured to induce others to feel in the same manner, in which he had long felt.

A lively French writer had said, that the most melancholy quarter of an hour in the whole twenty-four, was that in which the reckoning was to be paid. This was the time in which the public were called on to discharge the tremendous reckoning incurred by the American war, and in order to do it, gentlemen were desired to impose burthens of the most heavy and galling kind on their constituents. It was now a moment when men naturally examined the items of the bill, and were led to ask themselves, whether in ordering the dishes which had composed their entertainment, they had not thoughtlessly given way to their capricious appetites, rather than consulted their sober reason, and ordered such matters only as their bodily health required. He would venture to say, that now men had risen from the feast, extravagant beyond all example as it had been, it had not proved salutary or satisfactory to any one that partook of it. The time of remedy had unfortunately been suffered to escape unused; but the Speaker, he trusted, would do him the justice to say, that he had objected to the bill of fare originally, and had stated his reasons for disapproving of the most expensive dishes. That very costly one, an army large beyond all examples, had been a particular object of his dislike. A large army to an Englishman was always disagreeable; a large army for no use was still more disgustful. What proof had they that the army, which had been voted, existed, but that most disagreeable of all proofs, the being called upon to pay them? What had that army done for the immense sums that they had cost the public? What were they now doing? A short paragraph would comprehend the history of all their most memorable transactions. In 1778, the army evacuated Philadelphia;

Philadelphia; in 1779, they evacuated Rhode-Island; in 1780, the army was—no man knew where, and doing,—no man knew what. So that the idea of Mr. Bayes, which had hitherto been considered as a ludicrous one, was attempted to be seriously realized, viz. to keep a large army incog.

So disgusted and so exasperated at the rapid decline of the empire were some men, that in the hour of their displeasure they suffered themselves to be misled, and were inclined to ascribe the cause of the mortifying change of our condition to certain defects in the government itself, which only proceeded from a loose, a weak, and unwise administration of that government. These men were, in the blindness of their zeal to recover their former prosperity, attempting to alter and new model the constitution, that constitution, which from the days of his earliest infancy he had been taught to admire for the beauty of its structure, the fitness of its parts, and the uniformity and wisdom with which it was constructed and put together. That grand, and noble edifice, the British constitution, was thought by some men to have lost a share of its ornaments, to have grown rotten with age, and to stand in need of repair. Let such zealots be cautious, that in their attempts to give it additional decoration, they did not deface its beauty, and destroy its splendid appearance. In supporting those beams which they thought were ready to give way, let them take care that they did not bring the old mansion over their heads. The edifice was in his idea, not the less durable and strong, for the length of years that it had stood; it was of itself sufficiently noble; he wished, therefore, for one, that modern reformers would not rashly proceed in a business which might be fatal to themselves, and fatal to all who by birth-right were entitled to lodge in the mansion.

Sir Charles paid many ironical compliments to Lord North for having, by the weight of his arguments, brought the whole nation to their senses, and to a thorough conviction of their sick and calamitous condition. His worthy friends on the other side of the House must, he said, excuse him, if much as he in general admired their eloquence and oratory, he thought that the opening speech of the noble Lord, in proposing the taxes specified in the bill then under consideration, had weighed down all their arguments, able and admirable as those arguments had frequently been during the course of the last five years. What they said, had undoubtedly been well said, but it served chiefly to amuse; what the noble

Lord

Lord had lately uttered, tended immediately to convince. He could not but consider their oratory respecting the American war, as pleasant and agreeable wine which passed through the body without leaving any proof of its having been swallowed. The noble Lord's arguments, on the contrary, appeared to him to resemble medicinal draughts extracted from salutary drugs, which by rising in the stomach after they were taken, effectually reminded the patient of his disorder. That physician who declared the existence of the complaint, and made the declaration in such language as served to convince the sick of their malady, acted in the manner, which was most likely to open a way to recovery. The noble Lord had told them, that the nation was in great exigency, that he must raise large sums to pay the interest of the loan, and that those sums must be raised by new taxes to be imposed on the people, and which, as the exigency was such as to demand an immediate supply of money, must be laid on the necessities of life. This argument was of weight, it was an unanswerable proof of our distress, it carried conviction in it, it brought the jovial fellow to his recollection, and it made the melancholy, thinking man, perfectly sure that he had all along been right in his gloomy reflections on the consequences that must ultimately attend the measures that had been adopted.

Sir Charles said further, that he had been born to the title of a gentleman, a title which he had hitherto thought a high honour, but which he began now to fear, he should have reason to lament had ever belonged to him, from the appearance that there was, that he should not much longer be able to live in that rank in life which his birth had induced him to think he was intitled to hold. The forefathers of those whom the world called gentlemen, he was sure could have no idea, that this country in so short a time could possibly have been converted from a rich and flourishing country to a miserable, distressed, and despicable country; they could never have imagined that so much of the property they left their families, would have been taken away in taxes, or they would have all followed the maxim of Mr. Locke, and had their sons taught a trade, by which, in case of loss of fortune, they might be enabled to get their living. There was not now a single article or enjoyment of life which did not bring to the mind of every man in almost every hour of the day, a recollection of the distresses of the country, and the enormous burthen of the public taxes. Was he for an hour to forget the state we

were

were reduced to, to feel a temporary cheerfulness, and sit at his ease in his chair in his chamber, he was disturbed with the knock of the collector to demand the house tax ! Was he to go into his stable, the sight of the jockey boys reminded him of the tax on servants ! Was he to travel in a post-chaise, and look through the front window, the horses brought to his recollection the tax on travelling post. Even sleep would not drown the remembrance, for should he fall into a dose as the carriage passed along, he was awakened to a full sense of the tax by the turnpike-man's demanding the check ticket. The turnpikeman was, in his idea, like the beadle, who stood with his staff at the church door, and said, as the people came in, and went out of the church, " Pray remember the building of the church !" The turnpike-man in like manner, by demanding the check ticket seemed to say, " Pray remember the American war !" By the bill which had just been read, still farther occasions to remind him of the misery of his country were suggested. If he drank any of the wholesome beverage of England, he could not swallow the salutary draught without thinking of the additional tax on malt. Wine which had hitherto been said " to drive away care," would now produce an opposite effect, and bring care with every glass which was lifted to the lip. In short, there was no end to the mementos of public distress, and the only way of stopping the recollection of them that he knew of, would be by a toast. As the ministers he was aware, disliked long speeches, he would not make his much longer, but would end this part of it by suggesting a toast to his new friends, for so he must call them. The toast he meant to suggest, he begged most seriously to recommend to their attention, because it contained a maxim, which if fulfilled, would, he flattered himself, do them and their country more honour and more service than any other theoretical maxim which they could possibly reduce to practice ; his toast was, " Peace with America," and to this he begged to add another. " A less army and a stronger fleet." These two toasts would not only inspire universal hilarity, but would, in fact, conduce more effectually to restore the national health of body and happiness of mind, than any recipe that could at present be prescribed.

Having gone through a general review of the state of affairs, and traced them to the present moment, Sir Charles declared he had an objection to all taxes, and that from the manner in which the money arising from taxes had of late been employed, that natural objection had been considerably increased and

and strengthened. Ministers employed the money taken out of the pockets of the people in that most horrid of all purposes, the spreading war and desolation, and the destruction of our fellow creatures; this to any man possessing the proper feelings of humanity, and a due sense of religion, was a sufficient reason to make him detest and reprobate the idea of taxes. After this general remark, Sir Charles came to a particular consideration of the malt tax, which he described to be a heavy burthen, a burthen which would pinch the poor, and which was unequally and partially imposed, in consequence of the distinction made in favour of Scotland. The noble Lord in the blue ribbon, in proposing the additional malt tax, had stated it to the committee as not likely to oppress the subject, asserting that it would fall chiefly on the private brewers, who in general were families of wealth and property. He begged to tell the noble Lord that this was a fallacious and a mistaken notion; the tax would bear hard on the poor, it would press and goad the labouring villager, and his already sufficiently distressed family. In the county in which he lived, and which he had so long had the honour to represent in that House, Sir Charles said, there were many cottagers who lived in villages without an alehouse, and who always, from motives of oeconomy, brewed their own beer; these men already found it difficult to support their families by their industry and the sweat of their brow; that difficulty would now be considerably increased! The malt tax would affect all England, and it would be paid with the greater ill-will, from the glaring partiality to Scotland; in saying this, he hoped, he should not be suspected of entertaining any illiberal prejudices against the natives of that part of the island; so far from it, he always considered those, who were born north of the Tweed, as much his countrymen as those who lived near his own house; he wished them to enjoy the same liberty and freedom, to participate in all the blessings of our constitution, and to share the comforts and enjoyments afforded by the mild government of Great Britain. With these sentiments, could it be thought unfair in him to expect that those who lived north of the Tweed should contribute their share towards the public expence, and proportionably assist in sustaining the public burthens. The taxes ought, in his opinion, to be equal in Scotland and in England; and he wished to know from those who were best able to inform him [here he cast his eyes upon the Lord Advocate] why a distinction respecting the malt tax had ever been made in favour of Scotland.

Scotland. He was not to learn, he said, that at one time the country north of the Tweed was much behind the southern parts of the island in respect to cultivation and agriculture; so improved, however, he understood, was Scotland in those points now, that he was amazed to find, that a country from which was collected so large a crop of statesmen, of lawyers, and of military men, who kindly joined in advising the cabinet, in being the advocates of the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, and in conducting our armies in the field, should yield so small and so poor a crop of barley, and produce so little and such indifferent malt. It was not only in that subject of taxation that Scotland was unequal to England, but in almost every other. If the land of Scotland paid but forty thousand pounds, Yorkshire paid twice as much, Suffolk paid seventy thousand, and other counties infinitely more. Having stated this, Sir Charles recurred to the malt tax as it stood in the bill, and declared that it would distress the public greatly. He asked, if the beverage of the people was selected as the noble Lord's first object of efficient taxation, why did he not lay the tax equally, and take the beverage of the western counties, as well as the beverage of those near the capital, and near the north of the kingdom? Why not tax cyder? Cyder was a fair object of taxation, and though he was as unwilling as any man to assent to a measure, which tended to destroy the old English idea, that every man's house was his castle, and to preserve the dwelling of private families sacred from the rude entry of an unhallowed exciseman, he was convinced ways might be found of laying a tax on cyder, which might be so collected as to be free from this objection. Why not tax the cyder sold by the publican, which would, he was sure, produce a very large sum? He advised the noble Lord to do this, and to reduce the intended additional malt tax to 3d. a bushel in England, and 2d. in Scotland, which would be an allowance of one-third to that country, an allowance he presumed fully equal to the difference between their barley, and the barley produced in the home counties of England.

Sir Edward Astley supported the honourable Baronet's proposition, that the tax would fall heavy on the poor, and stated that the new duty would, with what the maltster would put upon it, amount to six shillings a quarter; an increase which the noble Lord probably had not dreamt of.

Sir George Cornwall rose to answer what the honourable Baronet, who spoke first, had said respecting the fairness and

Sir Edward
Astley.

Sir George
Cornwall.

probable advantage of imposing a tax on cyder. He declared the honourable Baronet was mistaken, if he imagined the county he had the honour to represent, did not pay its full share of the public taxes; in their county a great deal of barley was grown, and much malt made; great quantities of another ingredient in the composition of beer was also grown, viz. hops. His county, therefore, contributed very largely to the public revenue.

Mr. Rolle.

Mr. Rolle rose also on the same account respecting the county he represented. If the honourable Baronet, instead of proposing a tax on cyder had proposed a tax on horse-racing, and the sports of the turf, it would, he said, have done him more credit, because then a part of the burthen would have fallen on his own shoulders. He wished the honourable Baronet, instead of interfering with other counties, and attempting to disturb their peace, would content himself with endeavouring to take care and preserve the peace of his own county. *Mr. Rolle* added some farther personalities.

Sir George Yonge.

Sir George Yonge took up the argument solely on the ground of the inequality of the duty as intended to be laid in Scotland and England. *Sir George* entered into a circumstantial description of the sort of grain sown in Scotland, and said it was not barley, but called by some bear, by others big. It was inferior to barley, and certainly would not produce an equal quantity of malt. The very same grain was grown in the norther parts of England, and in many parts of Wales, in neither of which descriptions of place, either from the poverty of the soil, or from some other cause, would barley grow to any perfection. He contended, therefore, that if Scotland paid a less duty than in England, in addition to the duty already paid, that the same distinction ought in justice to be made in favour of Wales, and in favour of such parts of England (viz. Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, &c.) where big was produced. *Sir George* said, he would propose to amend the bill in the manner he had mentioned, when it should come into a committee. He also noticed the little share of the public burthens sustained by Scotland, declaring, that notwithstanding the small portion of land tax expected from that country, that portion, small as it was, was not paid; for that Lady Day, 1779, there was a deficiency in the account of 103,000*l.* and now a year having elapsed, there was consequently a much greater deficiency. He said, at the time he had mentioned, there was likewise a great deficiency in the land tax receipt of England, which, in consequence

sequence of some salutary steps taken by that House, was now almost wholly paid up.

Sir *Adam Ferguson* spoke in defence of Scotland's paying so small a share of land tax, and said that gentleman forgot, Scotland was herself at the whole expence of collection, and that the sum paid by that country, was the nett produce of the tax, which was far from the case south of the Tweed. Sir Adam answered the argument that Scotland was not equally taxed with England, by remarking on the different state of the two countries, and the superior wealth of England. Those Scotch who were possessed of large estates in their own country, for the chief part of the year resided here, where they paid the same taxes on what they consumed as any other persons. Sir Adam also said a good deal respecting the idea of making Scotland pay as large a malt tax as England; declaring that it ought first to be proved, that the barley from which the malt was made, was equal in quality to that which grew in England.

Mr. *Mayor* opposed the new duty to be laid on the malt, upon a different ground from any other member who spoke upon that occasion; in answer to Sir Edward Astley, who asserted that if the maltster was charged with the addition of 6d. per bushel, he would put on another 3d. therefore, it would be no hardship on the maltster. Mr. Mayor owned the great hardship that would be felt by a great number of individuals, but insisted upon it that the greatest inconvenience would fall upon all maltsters; that instead of their being able to raise the price of malt, it had already sunk, since this act had been in agitation; and that if the fact was as the honourable Baronet had stated it, he should not have received the letter he had then in his hand, signed by every maltster of the town he had the honour to represent, complaining of the partial injury which was certain to fall on them, if they might judge from the consequence of the last duty of 3d. per bushel. At that time malt immediately sunk two shillings a quarter, therefore the whole extra duty fell on the maltsters; this, he said, must undoubtedly be the case in the present instance, if the maltster was forced to market at the time of the year when the brewers are leaving off for the season. Therefore he hoped, if this act was to take place either at 3d. or 6d. per bushel additional duty—that every possible indulgence would be given to that trade, which was already a very unprofitable one, assuring the House, that upon the average of the last eleven or twelve years, the maltsters

sters had not made more than four per cent of their money, and that this additional duty would require for the same quantity of business, one sixth part more to be added to that very unprofitable capital, which he was afraid would entirely ruin the very extensive trade carried on in so great a barley country as Berkshire; and should that be the case, he did not know how the inhabitants were to come at firing, that coals were now double the price in the country, that they were in London, a very great burthen also to those maltsters at so great a distance from town, there being no probability of getting coals into the country, but by back water carriage. He hoped a very long time would be given, to pay for the stock in hand, and then offered for the consideration of the House, a mode, which he thought without any injury to the tax, might afford some relief to the just complaints of the maltster, and then proposed, that the maltster should be allowed the drawback on producing vouchers from the publick brewer, for the malt sold them, instead of the drawback being allowed on the beer, by which means the maltsters would be less time out of their money, and the brewery remain in its present situation.

*Sir Edward
Aspley.*

Sir Edward Aspley, in answer Mr. Mayor, said he had consulted the maltsters in his part of the country, who told him they must put on 9d. if they were charged 6d. Mr. Mayor insisted on the fact he before stated, that the malt absolutely did fall, and the public brewer bought it for two shillings a quarter less, when the last additional duty was laid on, in consequence of which the maltsters were the great sufferers.

*Lord George
Gordon.*

Lord George Gordon commented on some parts of Sir Charles Bunbury's speech, and declared, that undoubtedly his countrymen were as able to pay taxes as the inhabitants of any part of England. He imputed the noble Lord's making a difference in favour of Scotland, not so much to any doubt of the ability of the Scotch, or of the inferiority of beer and big to barley, but to a consciousness of resistance in case the noble Lord attempted to load them with as heavy a load of taxes as he was imposing upon England. The learned Lord Advocate, he said, well knew the spirit of the people, by their enthusiastic efforts against the introduction of popery, and they would be as ready to rise against other measures of the present popish ministry, and would, to a man, refuse to pay additional taxes. The noble Lord in the blue ribbon dare not lay the same taxes on Scotland as on England, if he did,

did, he was aware that neither he, nor his abettors, nor his excise officers, no, nor all the army could collect them.

The *Lord Advocate* rose to reprehend the noble Lord for throwing out any such ideas; he said it was neither proper nor fair for the noble Lord to argue in that way. His arguments were all ill-founded, for he would take upon him to assure the House, that his countrymen would be as ready to pay any taxes that House should think it wise and necessary to impose on the subject as any Englishmen could be. He declared, that when the noble Lord chose to indulge himself with talking about popery and such like fancies, he had no manner of objection, but he could not sit silent when the whirling took the noble Lord, and he thought proper so far to stretch his ingenuity, as to unite popery and small-beer together, and falsify a whole people. He might go on for ever in extolling the inferior Scotch before their superiors, and in preferring the forty-five self-created societies of Glasgow, to every other respectable and legally constituted body in Scotland, without interruption from him, but he would not suffer him to mislead the House in an important fact, which he was from his own knowledge enabled to contradict. Having said this, the Lord Advocate went into a long and circumstantial detail of the history of the malt-tax, as far as it regarded Scotland, stating its operation at different periods, and what were the effects of the different modes in which it had been imposed since the Union. He advised gentlemen [looking at Sir Charles Bunbury] not to indulge themselves in wild speculative fancies, and projects, without consulting the evidence of Parliamentary history, which would have taught them that those projects had already been put in practice, and found upon trial to be impolitic, and so far from answering their wished-for end, productive of a directly contrary effect. He stated, that by the act of Union, it was stipulated that Scotland should pay no malt tax during the then war, which, as England was at that time remarkably jealous of a malt tax, and that House for the most part determined that no malt tax should be imposed on England after the war was over, the stipulation was considered as a perpetual exemption from a malt tax in favour of Scotland. In proof how jealous the English were of a malt tax, he reminded them, that from the reign of Queen Anne to the present hour, the malt tax was not rendered a permanent and established tax, but was voted from year to year.

year. From 1713 to 1724 he stated that a malt tax was with great difficulty imposed on Scotland, that upon it a Scotch Peer had moved in the other House to dissolve the Act of Union, and on the division there were exactly 50 votes on each side of the question. That the produce of the malt tax from 1713 to 1724, was very little; in 1724 it was put upon the present footing, and became productive; it had now remained on that footing for near sixty years, and no man who was wise, or wished well to both countries, and to the revenue, would attempt to alter it. If it was altered, in all probability they would not encrease the duty, but induce the Scotch to encourage smugglers, substitute spirits for malt liquor, and neglect the brewery. He entered into an ample discussion of the nature of the grain produced in Scotland, and said, that in the county he represented, that Paradise of Scotland, the Lothians, there were certainly spots as fertile and as productive as many parts of England, but that in general barley would not grow to perfection in his country, and the reason was not so much the want of a fertile soil as the harshness of the climate, which, let agriculture be ever so much improved, would to all eternity prevent such barley as was raised in the southern parts of the kingdom, from being raised and ripened in Scotland. He said further, that the strong winds and wet season, the early commencement of winter, and its long continuance, prevented barley from growing to perfection north of the Tweed; that the farmers now were obliged to gather it before it was half ripe: and that if any man could go into a farmer's barn yard there, he would see stacks of barley as green as when it was growing. In this country he felt not such wind as in Scotland. On the contrary, he daily saw such houses built as would in Scotland be blown away in one night, like feathers before the wind. When he went every year to his own country, he found no beer that he could drink, it was such weak, disagreeable, and poor stuff. Here it was so fine, so pleasant, so swelling a liquor, that he little cared if he tasted no other beverage all the while he staid here. After going very fully into argument to prove that it would be idle to impose the same malt tax on Scotland as on England, because the country could not pay it, he spoke for a short time generally on the impropriety of opposing the taxes which had been voted in a committee, and agreed to by the House, contending that as the supply had

been voted, and the minister had made a large loan on the faith of Parliament, to pay the interest of which the Sinking Fund must be mortgaged, if the taxes proposed were not agreed to, or some others; the House was bound to agree to the taxes, and enable the minister to keep his conditions with the subscribers; he added, that gentlemen who opposed the present tax, ought, in candour, to suggest a fresh one equal-productive and more practicable.

Lord George Gordon, in reply to the Lord Advocate, said, Lord George Gordon. I verily believed the learned Lord was fond of that English beer, that swelling liquor, which he so well described; for he had swelled him up to such a degree, that he was exceedingly windy in that House, and made a great noise with the reports of those arbitrary and despotic principles he was ready to burst with, and was daily discharging under their very noses.

Mr. T. Townshend warmly took up the latter part of the Mr. T. Townshend. learned Lord's speech, declaring it was the first time he had ever heard it laid down as a Parliamentary principle, that no gentleman had a right to oppose a tax unless he suggested another in its stead. To find fit new taxes he declared to be the duty of the chancellor of the exchequer, and of no other person. Mr. Townshend also spoke about the Scotch beer, and said he had once lost a wager by laying that there was not as good beer brewed in Scotland as in England, his friend having sent to Edinburgh for a butt of beer from a Mr. Bell, which, when he tasted, he was forced to confess was as good beer as any brewed in England. As he praised very highly, his friend paid him a personal compliment, that he would leave the House to consider how sincere a commendation it was, when his friend told him he was a very handsome man!

The Lord Advocate rose to explain.

Mr. Fox, in a most animated speech, retorted on the Lord Advocate's argument about the House's being obliged to agree to ways and means, after they had voted a supply, and with great ingenuity applied it to Mr. Dunning's motions already voted, and those his learned friend still meant to propose. He said the vote of Thursday last was the supply which the House had voted in the case he alluded to, the two resolutions which passed the committee on Monday were the ways and means to make good that vote of supply. The best, the only ways and means that could answer that supply already voted to the people

The Lord
Advocate.
Mr. Fox.

people of England in compliance with their petitions! He hoped there the learned Lord's doctrine laid down this night would hold good, and that the House, when the report of the committee was made, would discharge their duty, and agree to the resolutions. If they did not, they failed in their duty, they deceived the people, by promising that they refused to perform, and it would be more manly to rescind the resolution of Thursday, than to let it stand. Mr. Fox declared he should vote against the malt tax, because he thought a better tax might be devised, less oppressive to the subject and equally productive.

Mr. Saw-
bridge.
Lord North.

Mr. *Sawbridge* spoke on the same side.

Lord *North*, in a warm speech, answered every objection that had been made against the tax, and shewed that it was a necessary tax, and that when it was rightly considered, it would not be found by any means oppressive to the poor. His Lordship repeated his opinion respecting a cyder tax, and said, if ever it was imposed, it must be in the same manner as it had been laid the last time, when it was so much objected to, notwithstanding that a composition of 40s. a-year would have entitled a family consisting of twenty persons, to consume as much cyder as they thought proper. His Lordship said, any little alterations that gentlemen had to propose in the mode of imposition or collection, would properly come under discussion, when the bill was referred to a committee.

After a few words from Sir James Lowther, the question, "That the bill be read a second time," passed without a division.

April 13.

The order of the day for the second reading of the bill for preventing revenue officers from voting at elections, was read.

Mr. *Crewe* rose, and shortly stated, that the object of his bill was to diminish the influence of the crown, and contribute towards securing the independence of parliament, two of the matters chiefly desired by the people in their petitions, and therefore purposes which that House were bound in duty to their constituents to fulfil, and which they had given a promise to fulfil by the resolution which they came to on Thursday last, "That the influence of the crown had increased, was encreasing, and ought to be diminished." Mr. *Crewe* said further, that his bill did not take away, as might be supposed, the franchises of persons holding offices in the customs, it only established it as a rule, that while they possessed offices

under the immediate influence of the crown, their right of voting for members to serve in parliament should be suspended. This he termed an effectual mode of restraining the influence of the crown without doors in one material instance; which he conceived ought to be their aim as much as endeavouring to restrain that influence within doors, or the work of reformation would only be done by halves.

The *Lord Advocate* said, he rose with a determined resolution to resist the bill, and declared he would resist all such bills, as long as he had a mouth to utter a sentence with, or legs to stand upon; because he considered the bill as an attempt to make a violent alteration in the constitution, without having first established proof that the constitution wanted alteration, or that, if it did, the matter suggested by the bill would be the sort of alteration that was fit or necessary. The bill appeared to him to be of a most dangerous and alarming nature; the principle of it was what he objected to altogether, and what he meant to oppose; for which reason he rose to oppose it on the second reading, without waiting till it got into a committee, which would be the proper time for those who approved the principle, but disliked the mode in which the provisions of it were drawn up and stated. The principle of the bill was no less than a total disfranchisement of a large body of the electors of Great Britain, without proof of their having committed any crime to render them deserving of so severe a punishment. It had been said, that the bill did not disfranchise the officers of the revenue, for if they chose to keep their right of voting, they might do it on giving up their places. Good God! what was this but reducing them to the most cruel of all possible alternatives—either to lose their franchises or to starve! Many of the revenue officers had for years followed the employ of their present situation, and maintained their families by their salaries. Many of them had left trades and occupations to which they could not now return, they must therefore either give up their daily bread or their franchise. Would any Englishman who would give himself time to reflect a moment on this true state of the case, say, he was prepared to give his vote in support of a measure so violent, so arbitrary, so inimical to every principle of freedom, and so unjust? What had the revenue officer done to merit such treatment from that House? And what right had that House to take a stride of that kind, and at one dash of the pen annihilate the franchises of a large body of the subjects, without any reason having been assigned farther than a mere assertion, that it was consonant to the prayer of the

The Lord
Advocate.

petitions for to do, and without any proof being adduced, which could at all tend to convince the House that such a step was any way justifiable. He hoped, and he trusted that gentlemen were not inclined to adopt every rash measure which might be proposed to them, merely because the person suggesting it, took upon him to assert, that it was what the people desired, but that they would join with him in giving a direct negative to the second reading of the bill then on their table.

Lord John
Cavendish.

Lord John Cavendish rose, and said he could not agree with the learned Lord, either that it was such a bill as he had described, or that it was such a bill as ought to be negatived. It struck him in a very different point of view. It struck him as a wise, a necessary, and a salutary step towards that reformation, that endeavour to diminish the enormous influence of the crown, which the people in their petitions universally complained of, and which that House, by a solemn resolution, had pronounced to be encreased to such a degree, that it ought to be diminished. He declared there was not a man living who held the franchises of the people more sacred than he did, nor who would be more scrupulous to touch them, but this bill did no such thing. It only held out an option to the revenue officer, either to quit his office, or to agree that this right of voting should be suspended during the time that he held his employ; and so far was this from being a hardship to that description of men, he would take upon him to assert, that it would be a great kindness to them, and the very best boon that House could possibly give them. The learned Lord talked a great deal of the value of the franchises of the officers of the revenue; did not the learned Lord know, did not every man who heard him know, that, in truth, the revenue officers had no franchise, and that it was absolutely impossible for them to give their votes freely and to the candidate whom they in their consciences approved, without endangering the loss of their places? The present bill, therefore, instead of doing them an injury, would do them an essential service. It would give them security in their offices. It would make them easy, it would make them happy; it would, at the same time, tend materially to render that House independent, and by demolishing the undue influence of the crown without doors, add to the freedom of Parliament, and answer, as far as it went, one great end of the petitions of the people, to which they were bound to pay attention. He, for these reasons, approved most heartily

tily of the bill, and returned his sincere thanks to the honorable member who brought it in.

Lord *Nesbit* rose to oppose the bill, and before he said a word more, he declared he was free to confess that it would affect his constituents if it passed. That, however, was not the ground on which he opposed it, nor was it any consideration with him in any case, where the good of the people at large was the aim of any measure which came into debate. He opposed it, he declared to God, for no other purpose, than because he thought the principle of it such, as no man, who regarded the franchises of the people as highly as he did, and as every man who loved the British constitution must do, could approve. What, take away the franchises of a large body of men for no reason but because they are revenue officers? Was there any thing criminal in serving their country, and in maintaining their families by the produce of that service? Surely no reasonable man would consent to such an unfair, such an unconstitutional proposition! The noble Lord had said that the bill gave them an option: it certainly did, but what sort of an option? The very option which the learned Lord had so well described, a choice of consenting to be disfranchised, or of—starving. Nothing short of that. He had already said, that many of his constituents were revenue officers. They were so. He had confessed it; but that was not the ground on which he opposed the bill. He was perfectly safe at St. Mawes; if he quarrelled with the noble Lord to-morrow, he defied the noble Lord, with all the revenue officers, to injure his election, and he would tell the House why. Five-sixths of the borough was his own property; his constituents were his tenants, and he was sure of his election. He had no motive, therefore, but his conviction that the bill was a bad bill, and an improper one, which induced him to oppose it. Let gentlemen recollect how many years the franchises of the electors of Great Britain stood upon their present footing, ever since the 8th of Henry VI. He was sure he was right in his assertion as to the date, because Mr. Sheridan had lately told the public so, in those resolutions of the Westminster committee drawn up and signed by him when he was in the chair. Ought not gentlemen, therefore, to consider a little what they were doing? To recollect the reverence in which their ancestors had held the franchises of the people, by not making any law affecting them since that act of Parliament which passed in the reign of Henry VI. and which then disfranchised a great

great part of the people. Besides, why had not a revenue officer, if he was a freeholder of 40s. a year, as good a right to hold his franchise, which perhaps was his birthright, as any one gentleman in that house? The noble Lord had said revenue officers would have their choice either to give up their place or their franchise. Was there a man in England so base minded as not to feel in the pride of his heart, that he lived in a country, perhaps the only country in the world in which every man had a right, as he could not act for himself in Parliament, (because the assembly would be abundantly too large for business if every man had a right to come to it,) to give his vote for the person he chose to represent him in Parliament and act for him? So that he virtually was bound by laws of his own making, and to which, by his representative, he had given his consent. Then why stifle that pride, that honest pride? Why degrade Englishmen and deprive them of their most glorious right? What—do it merely because they were revenue officers—Absurd and unjust!

Oh, but perhaps he should be called, 'The old rat of the constitution,' for holding this doctrine! The noble Lord who had pleased to bestow that title upon him, was always inclined to take the greatest liberties with his best friends, and those who really wished him sincerely well. Perhaps the noble Lord thought they would be the last to be offended with him. He did assure the noble Lord, he was not offended. There was no harm in the appellation—it was a stroke of innocent humour. He had been puzzled, however, to discover through what chink of the noble Lord's skull the old rat had crept into his head, and he had been puzzled to find out why he was called the old rat of the constitution. He saw in the newspaper which he had read that morning, there was a paragraph upon it, and the news writer was also puzzled how to account for the title. He had endeavoured to discover what property of a rat belonged to him. Did the noble Lord think he was one of those who would run away from the constitution, when it was in danger, as a rat would run away from a falling house? He did assure the noble Lord he would not. As long as his friendly limbs would enable him, and friendly he had a right to call them, for they had borne him for nearly 71 years, he would stand up and support it. Support it to the last hour of his life, let who would endeavour to pull it down and undermine it, under pretence of necessary alteration; better to be buried under

den the ruins of the constitution, than to survive it. He would go still farther, — he would support the minister; the noble Lord in the blue ribbon should have his support, because he was convinced from long experience, that the noble Lord wished well to his country, and had a true love for the constitution. The noble Lord would sooner die than suffer it to be impaired. He liked the noble Lord for it. He had voted with him in the time of his prosperity, he would vote for him now. Having thus disavowed one of the qualities of a rat, he would tell the House which of the qualities of that animal he admired, and he bid the other side of the House beware and copy them. A rat was sometimes intent on acquiring good things. It thought it had a right to visit the bread-room and the cook's cabin. It would go there, but it always cautiously avoided gnawing through the sides of the vessel; it never made a hole which would endanger the ship. Let the gentlemen in opposition hold this in their minds; let them, if they thought they had a right to force their way into the bread-room, go there and get their share of the good things; but let them take care how they forced out a plank of the ship's side, let them take care that in their zeal for alteration, they did not sink the vessel. He said the noble Lord who had called him an old rat, had something of a rat in his own constitution, he liked good things; he remembered when the noble Lord was some years ago on a visit at his house, he was fond of going into the cook's pantry and the dairy. Indeed he must tell the House he had at that time a remarkable pretty dairy-maid. [A roar of some minutes throughout the House]. After more laughable matter, his Lordship recurred to serious argument, and contended very strenuously against the bill, repeating the grounds of objection which he had stated in the former part of his speech.

Lord George Gordon rose the moment Lord Nugent sat down, and said, as to the noble Lord's dairy-maid he did not recollect any thing about her; but if the fact was as the noble Lord had stated, it was a proof that he was fond of good things and pretty girls at a very early age, for he was but between six and seven years old when he was on a visit at the noble Lord's house. He declared, as soon as he grew to years of maturity, and became acquainted with public affairs, he had broken off all manner of connection with the noble Lord. The noble Lord might be, and he believed

Lord George
Gordon.

believed he was, a very worthy character in private life, a good-natured, humorous, social man. But his public conduct and political principles were not at all to his liking; he had not therefore wantonly or in sport bestowed the appellation on him; but he had spoken from his heart, and called him what he really thought he was, when he had termed him one of the old rats of the constitution.

Mr. Turner. Mr. *Turner* warmly reprehended all such ribbaldry and nonsense, calculated merely to create a laugh, and to answer no good purpose. He said he was a serious man, and had not the talent by strokes of wit and humour, to excite merriment, and if he had, he would not attempt it; the times were serious, and it was no hour for laughter. The noble Lord had boasted, that he was sure of his election at St. Mawes, because the borough was his own property;—then who were his constituents? *Cujum Pecus?* The noble Lord had no constituents, he represented himself, and nobody else; his argument therefore went for nothing. Mr. *Turner* contended that the House were bound to pass the bill, that they must do it, the people of England had petitioned for it, and who would gainsay the people of England? They would have their way, they had a right to it, for the constitution of this country was a republic. He repeated it, he said, in the face of all the crown lawyers, and let them make the most of it, a republic, and one of the finest in the world! He had held this language to the people in Westminster Hall, and he would hold it every where. Where the monarch was limited by the same laws that governed the subject, it certainly was a republic and nothing else.

**General
Conway.**

General *Conway* spoke in a manner exceedingly decided and in favour of the bill, as a measure perfectly agreeable to the petitions, and as a necessary consequence to the resolution which the House had come to on Thursday last.

Lord Beauchamp.

Lord *Beauchamp* spoke against the bill, and answered several parts of Lord John Cavendish's speech. The noble Lord had said the revenue officers had an option, he begged to say it was an option without choice, and therefore it was no option. His Lordship shewed that the former bill on a similar subject which had been brought in ten years since, was opened to the House on very different grounds, for he particularly remembered the manner in which the honourable gentleman who brought it in, had opened it. He said

he was sorry to differ from his worthy relation, but he saw the whole matter in a very different point of view. His Lordship then defended the franchises of the people on true constitutional grounds.

Sir Thomas Clavering declared he must, for the sake of Sir Thomas Clavering consistency, oppose the bill. He said, he had opposed the former bill of a similar nature, which had been brought in by the late Mr. Dowdeswell, and assigned his reasons for so doing. He did not believe that any such influence as was supposed to be exerted over revenue officers by ministers, was exerted; and as a proof of it, he informed the House, that a few days ago he had received a letter from an elector of a certain borough, who was a revenue officer; he had never seen the man but once in his life, and when he read the letter, with difficulty recollected the man's name and handwriting. In the letter the elector wrote him word, that he had formerly done him a piece of service, while acting as a magistrate where he resided, that now the elector was a voter for such a place, specifying where, and if he would let him know which of his friends he wished him to serve, he would give him his vote at the next election. This Sir Thomas said was the sort of influence that prevailed, not the influence of the crown; and would gentlemen destroy the influence of gratitude, gratitude for past favours? He mentioned also an election contest which he once had, and declared that so far from having any cause to dread the influence of the crown over revenue officers, he would gladly have rested his election upon them alone. He concluded with saying he should give his negative to the bill.

Mr. Powys wondered that the honourable baronet, who Mr. Powys had just spoken, who was one of the majority of 233, who voted the resolution of Thursday last, should so soon fly off from the conduct which that vote bound gentlemen who were for it, to observe. He desired the resolution might be read. The clerk read it at the table.

Mr. Powys then rose again, and endeavoured to lay it down as a maxim, that every member of the 233 who voted for the resolution which had been just read, had bound himself down, and stood pledged to the people to comply with the prayers of their petitions, and to support such measures as should be proposed for diminishing the influence which they had decided to be increased, increasing, and that it ought to be diminished. It was impossible to effect that purpose, if some steps were not taken to purge the electors,

as well as the elected, to diminish the influence without doors, as well as the influence within. His learned friend's two propositions of Monday last, he stated to be the means that tended to diminish the influence over the elected, and the present bill would have the same effect upon the electors.

Sir Thomas Clavering.

Sir Thomas Clavering rose again, and said he undoubtedly was one of the 223, and so far from being ashamed of it, it was his boast and his pride, but he could not subscribe to the idea, that having by that vote asserted a general proposition, that therefore he was bound down to support every measure that should be proposed, with a view to diminish the influence of the crown, whether the measure so proposed appeared to him to be a wise measure or not. He had already stated that he had opposed the former bill of Mr. Dowdeswell, and he would tell the honourable gentleman who spoke last, one great ground of objection to the present bill, which struck him, and that was, the very ground on which the honourable gentleman had rested his argument, to prove that he ought to support the bill, viz. because it went to attack the rights of electors. He had no manner of objection to purging that House of the influence of the crown as much as possible, they had a right so to do, and it was wise and proper; but he did not feel that he had any right to disfranchise a large body of the electors, without a cause sufficiently strong to warrant such a violent step, being first shewn. An Englishman's franchise was his best privilege, and he should never be very willing to meddle with it.

Mr. Rolle.

Mr. Rolle asserted that the revenue officers were under the influence of the crown, which was often exerted against independent gentlemen in a very violent manner. In order to support this assertion, he instanced a case in which his father had been greatly injured by it. His father, he said, had served a certain borough in Devonshire for two Parliaments, and his grandfather before him. When his father came to stand at the third election, he found a court candidate sent down to oppose him, and in consequence of the great exertion of the influence of the crown against him, he lost his election. The court candidate carrying it merely by the majority occasioned by the great number of revenue officers, who had by mandate from the minister, been forced to vote against him.

The
particular family in whose hands it now stands is a borough
rather proof of the crown's undue influence in boroughs
where the election was almost wholly carried by the vote of
revenue officers

The *Solicitor General* began his speech with declaring it had given him extreme pain to see a worthy Baronet, and a very good friend of his, who was as independent, as honest, and as respectable a character as any within those walls, treated in so unfair and unhandsome a manner, as to have a resolution of the House on a former night, and which had no relation whatever to the present question, read upon his speech. The honourable Baronet, nor no man else, was bound, by that resolution which had been read, to vote for the present bill. It was not true, neither was it candid to argue that every gentleman who made that majority of 233, stood pledged to the people of England, to vote for the present bill, or for any other measure introduced under the pretext that it was a measure calculated to diminish the influence of the crown. With regard to the bill, he thought it a very violent attack on the constitutional rights of the subject, an attempt to disfranchise a large description of electors, without any reason whatever. Gentlemen had said, it would be a boon to the revenue officers, and a great favour. Where was the proof of that assertion? Had the officers of the revenue asked any such favour of the House? Where were their petitions stating that they wished to have such a boon granted them? He did expect, before gentlemen went so far as to make such assertions, not one syllable of which he could possibly credit, that they would in common decency have endeavoured to support their assertions by proof of some sort. The Solicitor added several very able arguments against the bill, declaring, that he most certainly would vote against it.

Mr. T. *Townsend* argued very strenuously in defence of the bill. He said the influence of the crown over revenue officers, was notorious. That there was not a gentleman who had ever had a contested election at a sea-port town that had not felt the effects of it. He mentioned the machinations of the minister at election times to those officers as much more cruel and unjust than the purport of the bill, which he contended was a boon, and not an injury, to the description of men in question. He reminded Lord Beauchamp of a transaction relative to the borough of Orford, in order to convince him that the influence of the crown over boroughs did exist, asserting at the same time, that the treasury had disfranchised that borough merely to oblige a particular family in whose hands it now was. And as a further proof of the crown's using its influence in boroughs, where the election was almost wholly carried by the votes of

revenue officers, he mentioned the frequent change of the seats of the members who represented the cinque ports, instancing the secretary at war, who in the last Parliament had represented Harwich, had then skipped away to Hastings, and he supposed at the next election would travel still further, declaring that it was a rule with the crown never to let a natural interest arise between the representative of one of their boroughs and the represented, but to move the member by the time his constituents became acquainted with him.

Mr. John
Johnstone.

Mr. John Johnstone and Mr. Dempster in short speeches supported the bill, on the ground of its being directly and strictly conformable to the petitions of the people.

Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Pitt in a few words contended, that the present bill was such as he approved, because it immediately grew out of the principles of the constitution.

Lord Ongley.

Lord Ongley spoke in favour of the bill likewise.

Sir Adam
Fergusson.

Sir Adam Fergusson objected just on the opposite ground to that taken by Mr. Pitt, whom he respectfully termed the very eloquent gentleman. Sir Adam said, he had examined the bill very carefully, and had endeavoured to see if he could trace in it one idea constitutionally founded, but that his search was in vain. He reprobated the doctrine, that those who voted for the resolution of Thursday last, stood pledged to the people to vote for this bill, as neither liberal nor just. He pointed out the great injury that the bill was built upon; and said, he was convinced if the crown had the influence over the officers of the revenue, which had been said, it was rarely if ever exerted, or in the course of the debate some glaring instances of it would have been stated; for these reasons he should give his vote against the bill.

Sir William
Meredith.

Sir William Meredith and Sir George Yonge both spoke in favour of the bill.

Sir Matthew
White Ridley.

Sir Matthew White Ridley said, he had stood a contested election at the large town of Newcastle, in and near which there certainly were a great number of revenue officers, who were voters, but that he had not perceived any marks of that influence which had been so much talked of in the course of the debate. He said he was one of the 233 majority, but he did not hold himself bound by his vote of Thursday last to vote for the present bill, or any other which he should not approve. With regard to the bill, it appeared to him highly objectionable. He stated that there was other influence besides

besides the influence the bill affected to diminish. The influence of the crown was more exerted in the dock-yards of Hampshire, than over the revenue officers. He said he had lately been at the launching of a 74 gun ship, and on asking who was to command her, he had been told the mayor of Huntingdon, who was to have gone out with Sir George Rodney, but kept at home to have the new ship. This sort of influence appeared to him a much fitter object for Parliamentary diminution, than the influence the present bill was designed to correct.

Lord *Hinchinbroke* rose to explain the circumstance relative to the 74 gun ship, and said the honourable gentleman a little mistook the matter; the captain appointed to the command of that ship was not the mayor of Huntingdon, he was an alderman of that town, and might have passed the office of mayor, but he was also a very respectable officer, Sir Richard Bickerton, who had been too ill to go with Sir George Rodney. Lord Hinchinbroke.

Sir *Richard Worsley* declared, he had lately stood an election for the county of Southampton, but that he did not feel that influence among the men in the dock-yards, which the honourable Baronet had spoken of. Sir Richard assigned his reasons, for disapproving of the present bill. Sir Richard Worsley.

Mr. *Fox* with his wonted ability, supported the bill, and answered the various objections that had been made to it. He told Sir Matthew White Ridley, that he had never been opposed by a court candidate, or he would have felt the weight of that influence the present bill was designed to correct. With regard to the honourable Baronet who had lately stood a contest for Southampton, he verily believed he had not felt the influence of the crown sufficiently, that was sufficiently for his purpose; if he had, he most certainly would at that moment have been the representative of the county. He said it did not follow that the influence of the crown did not exist in the county. He had lost his election, — Why? Because the whole county, exasperated at the frequent exercise of that influence, had leagued together to oppose it. This argument he applied also to the declaration made by various speakers yesterday and the preceding day, that the majority which carried the question on Thursday last, was a plain proof that the influence complained of did not exist. Mr. *Fox* took up this upon the reverse of the proposition, and said, the numbers that were leagued together Mr. Fox.

gether to diminish that influence, proved that it did exist, and that to such a degree as to require a great majority to form a league for its destruction. So with the league against Venice: it never had been said that the republic of Venice was weak, because the league against it was formidable. On the contrary, the formidableness of the league was always admitted as an unanswerable proof of the power of the republic. Mr. Fox with great ingenuity turned several other arguments of the opposers of the bill against them.

Lord North. Lord North replied to Mr. Fox's allusion to the league against Venice. He said the honourable gentleman alluded, he supposed, to the famous league of Cambray, a league formed by the first and most powerful men in Europe, men of the greatest talents and most distinguished abilities, but men who had formed their league upon wilful misrepresentation, and the apprehensions unjustly raised in the minds of the people. The powers who made the league were the King of Arragon, the Emperor, the King of France, and the Pope. Their object was the obtainment of the possessions of the republic of Venice. Their league ended in a division of the spoil. One power took possession of one port, a second of another, a third of another, and a fourth of another; till after seizing the various ports of the republic [Mr. Fox called out the cinque ports of Venice!], the cinque ports, if gentlemen chuse it, they fell out among themselves, and the bad principles of their league, their own mercenary and interested motives came out, and they met with that universal contempt and detestation which such men, and all who form such leagues, well deserve. His Lordship followed this with arguments, that the bill was unconstitutional, violent, and unjust. In the course of his speech, he rallied opposition on their conduct since they had been a majority, and imputed all their haste, violence, and error, to their being unacquainted with the manner in which the majorities of that House were used to act. He repeatedly threw out, that he had reason to think from the honourable gentleman's speech, that he should that evening have the honour to be in a majority again.

Mr. Burke.

Mr. Burke replied.

Beside the above-mentioned speakers, in the course of the debate Mr. Rous, Mr. Byng, and Mr. Spencer Stanhope, argued in favour of the bill; Mr. Jenkinson,

Mr

Mr. Greaves, Sir William Bagot, and Sir John Wrottesley against it.

At a quarter past ten the House divided, when the numbers were, Ayes 105, Noes 224, beside two tellers, on each side. The bill was therefore thrown out.

April 14.

Lord Beauchamp moved, that the House do resolve itself into a committee, in pursuance of the notice given by him the preceding day, that he meant to bring in a bill for per-

mitting the planters and others in the island of Grenada and the Grenadines to export their produce to Great Britain in neutral bottoms. His Lordship observed, that a like favour had been already granted to the inhabitants of Dominica, and endeavoured to shew how much better entitled the inhabitants of Grenada were to the indulgence alluded to than those of Dominica. The former had made a vigorous defence, had hazarded every thing, and by their spirited conduct created such a resentment in the breasts of their enemies, that they would give them no terms. In particular they resisted one proposition with the utmost contempt, that was, that they should promise not to remit or pay any of the debts they owed to the people of this country. On the other hand, the inhabitants of Dominica made little or no resistance, but surrendered upon terms greatly advantageous to themselves—the sending their effects to Great Britain in neutral bottoms, the full security and protection of the free enjoyment of their religion and property, and even as far as, in case the island should be retained by France at the conclusion of the war, the enjoyment of their laws, customs, and municipal immunities.

Dominica was already in possession of the favour now asked for Grenada, and he presumed the House would not be against, at least, putting them upon an equal footing.

The House then resolved itself into a committee, to consider of the noble Lord's proposition, Sir Charles Bunbury in the chair.

Sir George Yonge said a few words, reserving his opinion, till the proposition should come in the shape of a bill.

The House being resumed, Sir Charles reported the resolution, which was, that leave be given to bring in a bill, to permit the produce of the island of Grenada to be exported to Great Britain in neutral bottoms.—A bill was ordered to be brought in pursuant to said resolution.

Colonel

Col. Barré. Colonel *Barré* stated several strong facts to the House, complaining that the orders issued for the production of papers and accounts had not been complied with. He instanced this in the pay-office, the navy, the office of chamberlains of the exchequer, &c. In the last office in particular, the return was 52l. per annum, without fees; whereas it was well known that the salary and fees together amounted to nearly 700l. a-year; two of the chamberlains were nearly related to the noble Lord in the blue ribbon. He had applied to the noble Lord for his assistance; the noble Lord had promised it. He would not now say how far the noble Lord had kept his word; but this he would say, that he thought it a little extraordinary that the noble Lord, being so nearly concerned, both as a man and a minister, should permit so gross an imposition to be put on the House.

What again was the return of the pay-office? (we presume he meant the treasurer of the navy-office) None of the fees of office received by the pay-master were stated in the return; but some of the fees received by the inferior officers were, in particular that of the deputy pay-master, which, within the last twelve months, amounted to 5762l.

There were other fees omitted in the return, of which he was well informed. The clerks never, he understood, paid odd pence, and those who paid the navy bills had a shilling in every guinea, which they stopped as a perquisite. In short, the accounts produced answered no other purpose whatever but to puzzle and distract those who took the trouble to peruse them.

Lord North. Lord *North* said, his son was one of the chamberlains of the exchequer; there were fees most certainly received in that office, but perhaps they might not be entered as such. The salary was 52l. a-year; but the perquisites were not so much as the honourable gentleman had stated; he understood, that salary and perquisites together, did not amount to more than 500l. per annum.

He, however, highly disapproved of the return—no perquisites—when it was well known, that perquisites were really and openly received. It must, indeed, have proceeded from neglect, for he was persuaded it could not have proceeded from design.

Mr. Ellis. Mr. *Ellis*, (treasurer of the navy) endeavoured to explain the matter so far as it related to his office. The purport of what he said was merely this, that he called all his clerks together, shewed them the accounts; asked them if they

they approved of the manner in which they were drawn up? They replied in the affirmative, and then he signed them.

Lord *Newhaven* enumerated a long list of accounts which Lord *Newhaven* he had moved for, every one of which had been either evaded or not produced.

Sir *Grey Cooper* took fire at this: said the noble Lord was Sir *Grey Cooper* ignorant of what he moved for, or the proper mode of moving for the accounts he wanted. As to the neglect of returning the fees of the chamberlains of the exchequer, he supposed they were received by the deputy chamberlain, and so handed over by him to the principal. He said, the treasury was not a board of receipt, and, consequently, if there was any neglect, it was not imputable either to that board or the secretaries.

Lord *Newhaven* was equally warm in reply. He said, he Lord *Newhaven* thought he understood accompts, at least as well as the honourable Baronet, and was proceeding in the same strain, but called to order by the House, as was Sir *Grey*, who rose to answer him, and made use of several strong expressions; here the affair ended.

Lord *George Gordon* presented a petition against the act Lord *George Gordon* passed in the 18th of his present Majesty, in favour of the Roman Catholics, from the town of Folkestone, in the county of Kent. He then produced a great bundle of papers, which he was preparing to read. The House testified a very full and complete disapprobation of the noble Lord's budget; but his Lordship seemed resolved to persist in laying his precious documents before the House. It was at length suggested to him that the Speaker was indisposed: his Lordship then made several handsome apologies to the chair, and sat down without giving the House any further trouble.

Mr. *Dunning* now rose, and said he was sorry to understand that his learned friend in the chair was indisposed. He knew the temper and disposition of his learned friend too well, to suppose that such an intimation would come from him as long as he was able to keep his seat; but as he was about to propose a matter of the first consequence, and what from its nature might be productive of a protracted debate, he would be glad to know, before he proceeded on the business, whether his learned friend was in such a state of health as would permit him, without doing himself an injury, to do his duty.

The

The Speaker. The *Speaker* rose and informed the House, that he was indisposed, and had been so for some time; but, notwithstanding that he was ready to do his duty, sooner than impede or retard the public business.

Lord John Cavendish.

Lord *John Cavendish* paid him many handsome compliments, and acknowledged the high obligations which that House owed him for his manly and independent conduct, for his unremitting attention to the duties of his office, and his abilities in the station which he had filled for so many years in that House. Probably a recess from the incessant toils and labours attending his office might prove the means of once more restoring his services to that House and the public. An adjournment was the only means—suppose for a week, or till Monday se'nnight.

The Speaker.

The *Speaker* then rose; said, that for the last day or two he had been extremely ill, and was far from being well for several months past. The constant attention to the discharge of his duty had greatly impaired his health; he was too full of gratitude and regret for past favours, and the apprehension that he must decline those services which it was at once his pride and duty to render to that House. He was advanced in years; he was in a bad state of health; he feared the time necessary to the restoration of it, should that happen to be the case, would be much longer than the public exigency of affairs would permit, and he therefore hoped the House would not impute to him any want of attention to the public service, any want of respect to them, if he should decline any longer remaining in a situation in which he could not render himself serviceable, or answer the end of his appointment. He did not mean to answer for events, but this he must in candour acknowledge, that he much doubted whether his longer sitting in that chair would answer the expectations of the House.

Lord North.

Lord *North*, after passing several compliments on the *Speaker*, observed, that there was a vast deal of business before the House, which it would be extremely detrimental to the public to postpone. He hoped the learned gentleman had no real thoughts of resigning; but if he had, nor could not think of remaining longer in his present situation, he thought it would be very proper for the House to know it in time. He trusted, and sincerely wished that would not be the case; suppose, therefore, instead of Monday se'nnight, that the House should adjourn to Wednesday next.

Mr.

Mr. *Dunning* then rose and moved, that at the rising of this House, it do adjourn till Monday se'nnight. He made this motion, he said, in expectation that his learned friend would, on that day, be able to fill that chair.

The *Speaker* again rose, and gave the following narrative The Speak- of his illness: That he had been taken ill late in the month of February last with a very severe cold, as he thought, the effect of which was a severe cough, by which, at times, he was near being strangled or suffocated. He was in good health, and seemingly of a sound constitution, when he took that chair, and for the most part so till the period mentioned. His constant attendance there prevented him from taking medicine; for his physician, while he continued in the constant performance of his duty, thought medicine might be dangerous, but could administer no effectual relief. He continued in this state of health till the rising of that House before the Easter recess. He should have added, that his physician told him that it was a gouty complaint. He must confess, that he was almost worn out and exhausted before the recess, though he endeavoured anxiously to conceal it from that House.

The recess in some measure restored him; but, as his physician informed him, the same disorder returned, though in a different way. The first day after the recess he was again attacked with a severe cold, which affected him on one side of his head, and continued gradually to increase till within the two last days, when it arose to a degree no longer to be borne, consistent with the proper discharge of his duty to that House. His physician had informed him, that it was the return of the same gouty matter which had again attacked him, though in a different part. He could undertake to promise nothing; but by what he could judge from his own feelings, he feared that he must decline his present situation. The noble Lord in the blue ribbon he was much obliged to; but he was persuaded that a delay of one or two days would not put him in a state, or enable him to resume that chair.

General *Conway* said the season was such as would not admit Gen. Con-
way. of delay; that there were several matters of infinite consequence before the House, which must all stand still, particularly a motion promised to be made by an honourable gentleman, respecting America, which stood for that day; if therefore the learned gentleman's state of health would not permit his attendance, he doubted not but there were precedents

which provided for the indisposition of a speaker, by appointing one *pro tempore*; if so, he wished most sincerely that those precedents might be resorted to in the present instance, by which means the business of the nation would not stand still, and that House might again avail itself of the services of the learned gentleman.

Lord North. Lord North said it was necessary to know, whether the learned gentleman, should the adjournment be put off till Monday se'nnight, had reason to believe that he would then be ready to attend his duty, because if he was, however inconvenient it might be, he should agree with cheerfulness to the motion now made; if, on the other hand, there should be no ground for any such expectation, he thought no time ought to be lost in the present pressing exigency of public business.

Sir George Yange. Sir George Yange said, that a delay of a few days could be of no great consequence; that the Speaker's health might be restored, and that his return to that chair, would be an ample compensation for the delay. Mr. T. Townshend and Mr. Fox, said a few words to the same purpose.

Mr. Eden. Mr. Eden said, that there was a bill which passed that House, for opening certain ports in America, which would be returned on Monday from the Lords; that if the Houses should adjourn over that day, the ships now bound to America would be delayed for several days, and lose the opportunity, much to the detriment of the merchants, and the public in general.

Sir George
Younge. Sir George Yonge said, this would destroy the intended indulgence, for it was he introduced the bill alluded to, the other House had not only delayed passing it, but had introduced several amendments into it. He knew the amendments, and for one would oppose them. If he spoke, another might speak, and that might be productive of debate, consequently the meeting on Monday would totally defeat the indulgence proposed.

Mr. Alderman Hayley confirmed what had been advanced by Mr. Eden relative to the sailing of the trade fleet to America.

Lord North at length settled the matter, by saying that he would grant a warrant from the treasury, and he supposed the merchants would trust to that assurance. The House was accordingly adjourned to Monday the 24th instant.

April 24
A bill for opening the port of New-York, and allowing a free importation from this country to New-York, in like manner as if the prohibitory act had never passed, being brought back from the House of Lords, with some amendments.

Governor

Governor *Pownall* rose, and begged to call the attention of Gov. Pownall. the House to a matter of great importance to the trade of this country, and to its first commercial interests. He then stated that he had been honoured with the directions of the House to prepare and bring in a bill for the purpose aimed at by the bill brought back at that moment from the Lords; that a rough draft of a bill, containing what he suspected would be attempted, and what, by the amendments made by the Lords, he now saw had been attempted, was presented to him; this was no other than an endeavour to put the trade from Great Britain to New-York under military government, and subject it to the caprice of a military officer, whether a commander in chief, a captain, or even a lieutenant, or, in short, any officer, who happened from accident, to have the command at the port for which the goods shipped from Great Britain were cleared out; that the moment he read the rough draft containing such a purport, as he had stated, knowing that it was by no means consonant to the sentiments of the House, when they directed him to prepare and bring in a bill, he inspected it, and prepared that bill, which had passed the House almost without alteration, but in which the Lords had made amendments tending to alter its nature, and pervert it in the way he had mentioned. This he conceived to be a matter of great importance, and a matter well worthy the serious notice of the House; he should therefore move, that the amendments be printed, and that they be taken into consideration the first open day.

Sir George Yonge, Mr. Dempster and others, spoke on the occasion, each of them concurring with Governor Pownall as to the importance of the matter opened by him to the House. In order to avoid interrupting the material business expected to come on, it was argued not to print the amendments, till they had been deliberately read by the clerk, in order that the House might judge how far it became them to print them, and what was the next step fit to be taken respecting them. Thursday next was the day fixed on for taking the amendments made by the Lords into consideration.

After a variety of common business, the order of the day was called for, when the *Speaker* rose in his chair, and returned his hearty and sincere thanks to the House for their repeated kindnesses to him, during the time he had the honour of holding the distinguished situation to which they had elected him, but most particularly for their late very great indulgence to him, and the manner in which it had been granted. The latter, he said, had made so deep an impression on his mind,

that he trusted it never would be erased: and he did assure the House in consequence of it, that the very serious and important public business then before them should have no farther interruption on his account, being determined contrary to the wishes of his friends, and contrary to the advice of his physicians, to persevere at all hazards in the discharge of his duty, at least for the present session, provided he found himself at all capable of undergoing the laborious fatigues of his office, and as long as his services should prove acceptable to the House.

Mr. Dunning.
wing.

Mr. Dunning began with complimenting the Speaker on the recovery of his health, declaring, that the circumstance gave him as much satisfaction as he should have felt, had he proposed and carried the question on Friday se'nnight, which he then meant to propose, and which he then hoped he should carry: he said further, that he had other reasons to be well pleased that he had not proposed any question at the time to which he alluded, or on the day preceding, when another bill, brought in by an honourable friend of his, had been under discussion, and which bill, although the House had for reasons which had doubtless appeared to those who voted against it, sufficiently cogent and convincing, thought proper to reject it, he could not but consider, as tending materially to forward the object he had in view, in one instance at least, and that no inconsiderable one, and therefore, if his honourable friend would give him leave, he would then pay his tribute of thanks to him, for having brought it in. He said, he had more than once in the course of the day, on which his honourable friend's bill was under discussion, thought of catching the Speaker's eye, but that he had forborne his intention, and he was now glad he had so foreborne it, because having heard the doctrines that had been delivered in the course of that day, and having since learnt the fate of another bill in another House of Parliament, which bill was likewise calculated to further the purposes of the petitions of the people, he was the better able to judge of the intentions of ministry; and seeing, that in defiance of the three resolutions come to by that House on the 6th of April, it was their determination to defeat every measure that should be proposed, in compliance with the prayers of the people, and in conformity to the three resolutions to which he had just alluded, and that, not by any open, manly, uniform system, but by such means as should occur either in that House, or elsewhere, he was the better directed what steps were most advisable to take, in order to give the people assurance that something more should be done for them, than a bare and naked resolution, that it was necessary that something should

be

be done for them. It was idle, he said, to flatter the people, and deceive them by an adoption one day, of what was in its first consequence to meet with a rejection the next; much better would it, in his opinion, have been, and much more fair to have given the first proposition a rejection at once, than to have held out false hopes, and to have acceded to a promise which was never intended to be fulfilled, could the fulfilment of it possibly be avoided. In the course of the progress of the business he had undertaken, the committee had come to three resolutions of the first and most serious importance, which the House had afterwards confirmed and ratified. He had next proposed two more resolutions to the committee, the one of which they had agreed to without a division, and the other had been carried by a majority upon a division. So far the prospect was fair and promising, but since the two bills of his two honourable friends had been got rid of, (one by a rejection in that House, and the other by a rejection in the other) it became highly necessary to know whether his endeavours were to turn out promising in the beginning only to make the failure in future more certain. It had been objected, on those bills being argued and debated, that neither of them would completely answer the prayers of the petitioners; most certainly neither of them would, no such extraordinary merit had been imputed to them either by the honourable gentlemen who brought them into that House, or by any of their friends. The truth was, it was incumbent upon that House to build something on the petitions of the people. The foundation of the building was laid by the three resolutions being carried on the 6th of April. The two bills which had been since rejected, were designed as parts of the fabrick; such other propositions as he should think it became him to offer to the consideration of the committee, or that any other member might think it became them to offer, would be offered as additional parts of that fabrick. The whole superstructure could neither be erected all at once, nor by any two, three, or four motions. As parts of it, and those very essential parts, he considered the three bills then in agitation; the remnant, by no means an inconsiderable one, of the bill for the regulation of the civil establishment brought in by an honourable friend of his, to whose plan all sides of the House had concurred in attributing great merit; another bill, brought in, or to be brought in by another honourable gentleman, under the denomination of a place-bill; and the favourite plan of the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, the bill for a commission of accounts. These three bills, or such parts of them as passed, would, as he had before

before said, form no small part of the superstructure to be raised; but in vain would it be, that the foundation were ever so solid and firm, or the superstructure ever so fair and noble, if by any sudden exertion of that very influence which the petitions complained of, an end was to be put to the progress of the building, and the whole was to vanish into air, or be suddenly shaken to ruins; he therefore meant to propose a question, which should at once put the matter past all doubt, and convince the people whether their prayers would really be complied with or not. His motion was,

“That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, requesting that he would not dissolve the Parliament, nor prorogue the present session, until proper measures shall have been taken by this House to diminish the influence of the Crown, and to correct the other evils complained of in the petitions of the people.”

He said he was aware that it would be urged in objection to this motion, that it would detain gentlemen longer from their business or their pleasures than was usual. He declared, he for one had some business, and was as fond of amusement as a proper relief from the fatigues of that business as any other gentleman, but he considered the petitions of the people as an object of the first importance; that in order to prepare, discuss, and determine upon such measures as that House should think proper, to adopt in remedy of the grievances complained of by the people, he was ready and willing to sacrifice his business, however profitable, his amusements, however pleasurable; but before he sacrificed either the one or the other, it was highly necessary for him to know that the sacrifice would be of some avail, and that what he gave up, would be atoned for by the essential service rendered to his country. With this view it was, that he had prepared the present question, and he had little occasion to take up the time of the House, or waste his own time in argument, to prove that gentlemen would not be kept much longer than usual from their pursuits, or from their homes were his motion carried; because he could venture to assure them, that if ministers were sincere in their declarations, that the petitions ought to be complied with, and that it was fit something should be done in compliance with the prayers they contained, the whole that was necessary to be done, would take up but very little time in addition to the usual period of the sessions.

He adverted to what had been said in the other House by a secretary of state respecting the phrenzy of public virtue, and in assertion that the complexion of the people at present was

virtue

virtue run mad, and that it was the fit moment for that House to exert its authority, and to stand in the gap between the people and the crown. He ridiculed these expressions as indecent to the House of Commons, and dangerous in their consequences. If the Lords did stand in the gap, as the noble Earl had phrased it, between the people and the crown, in a moment, when the people were justly complaining of the undue influence of the crown, and in a moment when the House of Commons had solemnly resolved, that the influence of the crown was increasing, and had increased to a degree that required diminution, what might follow such an ill-timed interference, appeared to him in too dreadful a point of view to bear discussion, he would therefore pass it over, and leave it to all who heard him to picture it to themselves.

He also noticed, in the course of his speech, Lord Nugent's declaration, that what was offered in the view of remedying the grievances of the people, were mere quack-medicines, calculated rather to destroy the patients than to cure their complaints; and referred his noble friend to a poem, which he said he had formerly read with great pleasure, in which the principles of the poet did him so much credit, and were so just, that they almost distanced the praise due to his poetry, but with the superadded beauty of his numbers made the whole an invaluable composition. The work he alluded to, he presumed the noble Earl had perused, and every gentleman who heard him. He meant the poem entitled *An Ode to Mankind*, and which was directly the reverse in all its doctrines respecting the rights of mankind, of those doctrines which the noble Earl had lately held in that House, relative to the influence of the crown, and the rights of the people.

Observing that the House was more than commonly full, he said he was glad to address an assembly so crowded, and though he applauded the industry of those who had even fetched patriots from the other side of St. George's Channel, where they were engaged in discussing measures for the preservation of Ireland [alluding to Sir John Irwin and Lord Drogheda] who were in the House for the first time since the 6th of April] and brought officers of the navy and army from their professional duties to their duty within those walls [alluding to Lord Mulgrave, Captain Phipps, and others] he hoped the new comers would shew their zeal for their country, their regard for the people, and their abhorrence of undue influence by voting for the motion, and that the 233 of the sixth of April would cut a still more respectable figure by the addition of twenty or thirty, and the ministers would be

be convinced by the issue of that day's business, that the majority were not the rope of sand which they had been described to be.

Mr. Dunning mentioned the turn that Lord North had given the accidental mention of the league of Cambray by Mr. Fox, complimenting his Lordship on his pleasantry on the occasion, declaring it to be a fair advantage, and owning he dreaded his wit, because he regarded it, as one of the most powerful engines in the hands of the noble Lord. He denied, however, that the similarity held between the leaguers within those walls and the leaguers against the republic, declaring, that neither he, nor he believed any one of the numerous friends with whom he acted, were stimulated by any views of sharing the spoil, or dividing the plunder to be obtained by displacing the present administration. He concluded the whole with presenting his motion, which was read to the House by the Speaker.

Mr. T. Pitt. Mr. T. Pitt then rose, and in a very pathetic address conjured the House, as they loved peace at home, as they wished for unanimity and concord among the people, as they hoped to profit by that budding confidence in Parliament which had appeared since the 6th of April, to concur in the motion. He read to the House the resolutions agreed to by a meeting of the gentry, clergy, and freeholders, of the county of Cambridge, held at the Shire-hall on the 10th instant, in which it was stated, "that the committee who had been appointed to prepare a plan of association on legal and constitutional grounds, had received authentic information, that the general allegation of the petitions, respecting the influence of the executive power over the representatives of the people, had been taken into consideration, and admitted, by the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, as just and well founded; and that the Commons had resolved, that the increased and increasing influence ought to be diminished; and as that resolution was followed by others tending to a laudable reform, the Committee desirous of shewing a proper respect to the deliberations, and of placing a due reliance, &c. on the discretion and integrity of the representatives of the people, had, for these reasons, declined for the present proposing any plan of association, sincerely trusting the House of Commons, having made so noble a beginning, would be animated with a zeal to persevere in deserving the highest confidence and the warmest thanks of their constituents and fellow-subjects." This mode of conduct, Mr. Pitt said, had

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given him the most exalted satisfaction, but that joy would be converted into the deepest sorrow and the bitterest anguish, if the House, instead of availing itself of this happy turn of mind in the people, should blast their growing confidence in the bud, and by refusing to go on in measures calculated to encrease their confidence, should kindle up that flame of indignation and resentment, which would in all probability burst out with irresistible fury, and overwhelm government, if the people were forced to imbibe the opinion, that what had been done, was meant merely to deceive them, and that from the beginning it was not intended to afford them the least serious redress. Mr. Pitt protested in the most solemn manner, that he spoke the real sentiments of his soul; he had no object but the general quiet of his country, and a wish to restore it to its former greatness. Whatever views of ambition he might formerly have entertained, he did assure the House they were long since dead in him. Place, emolument, and power, had lost their charms in his sight, and nothing could tempt him to abandon his domestic retirement, and the happiness of his home, to come down to that House debilitated as he was by illness, infirm, and scarcely able to support the fatigues of Parliamentary attendance; but an earnest wish to contribute towards averting the horrid prospect before him, towards saving his apparently devoted country, from the ruin that seemed to hang over its head, and by rescuing it from a second civil war to enable it to carry on the foreign war, in which it was involved at present, with that degree of vigour and exertion which could alone arise from unanimity among ourselves, and from which success could only be expected. Mr. Pitt, as a further inducement to the House to agree to the motion, painted the horrors of popular rage in a most striking point of view, and asked, when the people were once inflamed, who it was that had power to stop them, or could say, "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther."

Lord Nugent declared himself an approver of the petitions Ld. Nugent. in some points, but not in all. His Lordship said, he had all along declared that the people ought to have redress of their grievances; but it was incumbent on that House to examine deliberately what the grievances were which really existed, and which it was within the power of that House to remedy. He thought the influence of the crown did not prevail to a degree which should alarm the people; he had repeatedly declared this, and he should continue to maintain the position, let it be sneered at ever so much. The greatest grievance of all, in his opinion, was the enormous emoluments of certain

offices held under the crown ; not places held during pleasure, but places for life. Let these be reduced ! Let them be taxed, so as to derive a considerable revenue to the state, and lessen the profit of them to a moderate size. Propose this measure, and he was confident it would please the people, and answer the end of their petitions in one great and important point. [The opposition called out Move ! move !] His Lordship said, he would not move such a question, but he pledged himself to second it whenever it was moved. The task of pointing out individuals holding the places to which he had adverted, was an unwelcome one. It would appear invidious and unfriendly. It had been contended, he thought rather unfairly, that every gentleman had concurred in opinion that the petitions ought to be complied with, and yet that all those who sat on the side of the House on which he stood, had uniformly opposed, and meant to oppose, every one motion proposed in redress of the grievances complained of in those petitions. In support of this, an honourable countryman of his [Mr. Burke, when speaking on Mr. Crewe's bill] had pleasantly applied the old fable of the man, who becoming tired of life, had resolved to put an end to his existence, but was puzzled in what manner to do it. He had asked himself the question, should he hang himself ? No—Thieves were hanged, and he would not die like a thief. Drown himself ? No—he would not die like a blind puppy ! Cut his throat ? No—that were to die as hogs died, by the knife of the butcher ! Poison himself ? No—rats were poisoned ! [A loud laugh at the word *rat*] and so not being willing to put an end to his life by any means, that he could recollect, the man lived till nature was exhausted. His Lordship begged not to be included in the number of those who had said the petitions ought to be complied with, and were nevertheless determined to agree to no proposition made with a view to comply with them. He had himself suggested measures, and there were other measures which might be suggested that would fully answer the desired purpose. The fact was ; they had begun at the wrong end, and had proposed first, what should have been the last thought of. Go back to the right end and he would go with them. What they had suggested was every way inadequate and improper. The present motion he disapproved of altogether. He should give it his negative, because it was assuming more than belonged to one branch of the legislature. What ! controul the King's prerogative, and desire him to do that, which would affect the other House of Parliament, without knowing whether it would be agreeable to them ? By no means. His

His Lordship replied to what Mr. Dunning had said, respecting the poem entitled the Ode to Mankind, and declared he well remembered that poem, and that the doctrines it contained were perfectly agreeable to his then sentiments, but not agreeable to the learned gentleman's arguments, or the measures proposed by him and his friends. He also deemed the present a ruinous war, and said if not happily put an end to, we should become a bankrupt people, with an exhausted treasury, and an impaired constitution! He, however, defended the war in its first origin as a measure in which the legislature had concurred. At that time (the origin of the American war) a strange circumstance in politics was observable; the opposition was an unpopular opposition! His Lordship also threw out a number of random remarks, some of which created laughs, and others challenged many "Hear! hear!" At length he concluded his speech with declaring he should vote against the present question, which he disliked, because it smelt too strongly of the year forty-one, and called to his mind the violent measures which marked our history soon after that period, staining the pages of the historian with blood, producing the violent death of the prince, and the destruction of regal government, and which was followed by a republican system of the grossest tyranny that ever a people groaned under.

Mr. T. Townshend rose in consequence of what Lord Nugent Mr. T. had asserted, relative to reducing the profits and emoluments Townshend. of certain places held for life under the crown, and said, he presumed by the noble Lord's giving the House to understand, that motives of delicacy to friends prevented him from naming the persons alluded to, he meant to point at an honourable relation of his. He ridiculed the proposition on this head, as too frivolous to answer any end of real utility, since the utmost object of it would be the saving of a few thousands, by taking it from those who most clearly were not liable to the influence complained of by the people in their petitions, and were not acted upon by it, perhaps to give it to others, who would be acted upon by influence; that, therefore, so far from removing the evil, or lessening it, it would be increased. Mr. Townshend declared, when he said this, he spoke from no pitiful idea of preventing such a proposition from being adopted; if the House should think it wise to adopt it, he was sure his relation, and the other persons holding the offices alluded to, would be very ready to agree to that or any other and greater sacrifice they should be called upon to make, provided there was the least prospect of its conducing to that great and

and desirable end, the quieting the minds of the people, and restoring unanimity. Mr. Townshend then went into a consideration of the question, and in the progress of it brought in the American war, and other topics not immediately analogous to the question. He also descanted a good deal upon the use that the noble Lord in the blue ribbon had made of the allusion to the league of Cambray, by twisting it so ingeniously as to make it apply to a bill calculated to emancipate a large discription of the subjects, and a number of sea-port towns, from the tyranny of the treasury-board. He concluded with urging the House to adopt the motion, unless they wished to drive the people to desperate measures.

Mr. Adam.

Mr. Adam said, he did not feel the present question as tending to support this or the other minister in power; it was a question of a higher nature.—Whether this constitution, the admiration of the world, and the boast of Englishmen, should remain as it was, unaltered and unimpaired, or whether we should by innovations, the extent of which we were not made acquainted with, run a risk of destroying it? It was upon that ground alone that he meant to argue the question. He declared, that in what he meant to say, he laid aside every motive but what regarded the constitution; that if ever he wished to promote his ambition, if ever he had a desire for praise, and for the esteem of his countrymen, avarice he trusted he had never felt. He would resign all his ambition, he would yield up every prospect or hope of praise, in defence of what he thought formed the constitution of the country: a constitution of which he felt all the advantage, and which he thought formed the happiness of every individual who lived under it. Having said this, he begged leave to clear the question of all extraneous matter. He did not think with the honourable gentleman who spoke last, that the American war had any thing to do with it, nor the use that had been made on a former day of the league of Cambray, nor the rejection of the contractors' bill in the House of Lords, though there was something strange in the idea of attacking the House of Lords for doing what, as an independent and necessary branch of the legislature they had a right to do. That the present was a simple question of whether you shall address the crown to keep Parliament sitting, till such time as the grievances complained of in the petitions upon the table were redressed? He expressed great respect for the persons who signed those petitions, and thought they were always to be received and attended to. He reprobated in the strongest terms the conduct of the Parliament of 1701, in the case of the Kentish petition. He said, that at
that

that time there was introduced into an act of Parliament, very material to the liberties of this country, by fixing the Protestant succession, a clause which prevented any placeman of any kind from sitting in the House of Commons. That from some wayward fancy, or some honest prejudice, the people of Kent presented a petition to this House, complaining of the conduct of the patriotic reformers of that time. When, instead of receiving the petition, and giving it that due consideration which it ought to have, the presenters of it were imprisoned, and the petition declared to be an infringement of the liberty of Parliament.

He said, he had the greatest respect for many of the names subscribed to the petitions, and for many of those that were of the different committees. That they were men of the greatest rank, the greatest property, and the first abilities. That no intentional danger to the constitution could be attributed to such men. But he could not carry his deference to them to such excess, as to bind up his own understanding and fetter his judgment. He said, it became requisite, therefore, before he proceeded to the precise question before the House, to clear the ground a little with respect to the petitions being binding upon Parliament. That this was a doctrine he never could subscribe to; and he believed, if fairly stated, no person within the walls of the House would subscribe to it. Many people say that the petitions must be binding; but if you come to examine upon what ground any person, the greatest favourer of the people, makes that assertion, it is because he agrees in opinion with the prayer of those petitions. But let us suppose that those petitions went farther than any person in this House thinks they ought to go, to alterations in the constitution that we are all agreed in thinking detrimental; should we not all agree that such a petition would not, ought not to bind this House? If that is the case, we ought to hear no more of that argument so derogatory to the independence of this House, that this, that, and other thing must be done, because it is required by the people in their petitions, but ought to discuss each question upon its special merits. He then came to the motion, and said it naturally divided itself into two heads, to address the crown not to prorogue the present session, or dissolve the present Parliament. With respect to prorogation, he was well aware there were many instances of such motions: but with respect to dissolution, not knowing what the motion was to be, he had not had an opportunity of examining the journals as to the precedents; but he believed, it was the first instance of such a motion,

a motion, and he was confirmed in that opinion, by the honourable gentleman who made the motion, not taking notice of any precedent. That it was hardly to be supposed, that a person so learned in the Parliamentary, as well as the municipal law of the kingdom, would have passed it over, if there had been any such. That as to the case of 1641, which made the long Parliament, alluded to by the noble Lord [Lord Nugent] and the honourable gentleman who spoke last, he did not conceive it to be at all applicable to the present purpose. The circumstances of passing that act were so remarkable, that it was impossible to forget it. It was carried to the King for the royal assent, along with the bill of attainder of Lord Strafford; and Charles is supposed to have been so much occupied with the cruel necessity of giving his assent to that bill, that the other passed unnoticed.

But they differ in this respect: In 1641, it was a bill—this is an address. And they further differ that the septennial act extinguishes this Parliament at the end of seven years; at that time no fixed duration being appointed for Parliament, that act rendered it perpetual; that is, gave it existence till the grievances of the people were redressed, while these grievances were in the creation of those who promoted the bill. But he said he did not mean to argue, that because there was no precedent for addressing the crown not to dissolve the Parliament, that therefore we have not a right so to address the crown. That right is one of those that he ever would maintain in this House. But the motion was to be adopted with greater caution, on account of its being unprecedented. But, says he, it has been argued by the gentlemen who have spoke for this motion, as if the rejection of it was to be the cause of an immediate prorogation or dissolution of Parliament; whereas, though this motion is negatived, Parliament may still continue to exist: it does not follow in any degree, that because the House rejects this question, that therefore the ministers of the crown are to advise his Majesty to dissolve the present Parliament, or prorogue the present session.

But it is necessary to consider what the consequence of this motion is to be. If you are to redress the abuses complained of, it must be done by bill; if that bill is rejected, either in this House, or the other House, it is impossible, according to the law of Parliament, to bring that bill back again during the same session; and therefore no good can arise from it; and it is probable that the same Parliament that rejects the bill this session, will reject the same bill next session.

But as the learned gentleman who made the motion is a much better judge of what will answer the purposes he has in view, than he [Mr. Adam] could possibly be, he said he would cease to discuss the question upon that ground.

He then said it was fair upon a question that relates to Parliament sitting to redress grievances, that we should know the extent of them. What are set forth in the petitions are simple and intelligible, but the explanation that is given of them, in his opinion, amounted to a total change in the constitution.

The petitions prayed for three things,—an abolition of unmerited pensions, of useless sinecures, and of the exorbitant emoluments of necessary offices. And this, they pray for, in order to attain the reduction of influence, and the promoting œconomy. But as these petitions are explained by saying, they pray for a free Parliament, every species of alteration of the constitution, dangerous, and perhaps destructive to the happiness of the people of England, is brought under this head. Annual Parliaments, and an enlarged representation, were already proposed; and if we were to form a calculation of the strides that reformation had taken from the first York meeting to the last meeting in Westminster-hall, it would be difficult to say to what lengths we might go in innovating upon a constitution, in which civil and political liberty was more extended, was more complete, than it ever had been in any age or any country. That the liberty of antiquity was narrow and confined when compared with that of this country. In the republics of ancient times, a few individuals enjoyed perfect freedom, while the great bulk of mankind were the absolute slaves and property of those few. Here slavery was unknown, and a complete enjoyment of every valuable right, of every blessing society can bestow, was extended to eight millions of people, unimpaired and unencroached upon. Was it matter of small importance to agree to a motion that might impair this glorious system? Had any infringement been made upon the great bulwarks of our liberty, which demanded such an alteration? External grievances had taken place; and the noble Lord below him [Lord Nugent] had given an epithet to the war, which sufficiently described the extent of those calamities. But was it wise? Was it just? Was it reasonable, to new-model the constitution, and run a risk of destroying what our ancestors had handed down to us, as the first of blessings? To make internal changes, because we had external

external grievances to complain of? Was it to be supposed that an encreased representation, or annual Parliaments, would ease us of the necessary taxes? Would diminish the burthen of the national debt? Or bring about that safe and honourable peace, which we must all agree in wishing to see accomplished? He then went into the subject of tests, as they had been spoken of, and proposed at some of the public meetings, stated their unconstitutional tendency; said, that he had always entertained the most perfect conviction, that an obligation to obey the instructions of constituents, was unconstitutional. At an early period, when his studies should perhaps have been turned to other subjects, if any subject, at any time could be so important as the study of the constitution, he had formed his opinion; that no consideration could ever prevail upon him to alter it. This being the case, he reprobated the idea of tests, as being still more destructive of the freedom of Parliament. That the very essence of Parliament was the power of deliberation; and that the House should be equally jealous and equally averse to every thing that destroyed that privilege. That its consequences were equally detrimental, whether it flowed from the undue influence of the crown, or the undue influence of the democracy. That it was the business of every man who loved the constitution, to reprobate every test that fettered Parliamentary freedom. [Here Mr. Townshend said across the house, "There are no such tests."] Mr. Adam took up that assertion, with great animation. Does the honourable gentleman mean to assert that no such thing was ever talked of? Does he mean to say that no meeting has ever discussed the idea and approved of it? And if we are to judge of the spirit of reformation, of the rapid progress it is making in time to come, by what has already past, will it be at all surprising to find the spirit of this constitution destroyed, the liberty of Parliament annihilated, and a wild democracy controuling in every instance the wisdom of the legislature? The best, the wisest men, when they attempt a reformation, can never tell how far it is to go. The history of all ages evinces, that reformers have always exceeded their original designs. It becomes necessary, therefore, that the learned gentleman who made the motion, should tell the House what he means to do: he shews us that many things must be done, and we are to be led on, step by step, without previous information, to alter a constitution which has made us so long free and happy. If they find fault with the present system, they must

must have some other more complete, and better calculated to preserve or promote the freedom which they wish to establish. That system should be unfolded, that we may judge of its excellence or its defects, and not be led blindfold to adopt measures that, beginning in anarchy, must end in despotism. It is not that I impute an intention to produce those evils to any one. He agreed with the honourable gentleman who seconded the motion [Mr. Pitt] that you could not say to the people, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther." It was upon that principle he wished to avert an appeal to that quarter. That the madness of popular reformation had never failed to deprive those of power who wish to check it, and to place it in the hands of those, whose desperate situation makes them rejoice in changes. Those who wish to carry innovation to a certain length, will find, that their withdrawing themselves when it exceeds that limit will be of no avail. The honourable gentleman who spoke last, alluded to the virtues of the last century, in the reign of Charles I. in all the language of panegyric. He agreed perfectly with the honourable gentleman in that opinion. If ever there was a time in which human nature displayed a pre-eminence of virtue and capacity, it was upon the breaking out of the troubles of that period. But the history of that period proves the danger of innovation when begun, even from the most powerful reasons, and the most upright motives. In the beginning of that unfortunate Prince's reign, every dangerous encroachment had been made in the political and civil liberty of the country. The property, even the life, of the individual was hardly safe. It became the great, the virtuous characters of those days to maintain their freedom, and to check the encroachments of a mistaken monarch. Yet the virtues, the abilities, of those times were not able to stop the wild spirit of reformation when it had once got loose. The eminent characters that withdrew themselves from the popular cause, when it had gone too far, in vain attempted to re-establish the constitution. They had allowed the desperate, the needy, and the unprincipled, to fix themselves in power, beyond the possibility of controul. Then it was, that the amiable, the virtuous, the enlightened motives of Lord Falkland were of no avail. Then it was, that Lord Northumberland, Lord Manchester, and the Earl of Essex himself, in vain relinquished the party, whose power they had too fatally established. And what was the consequence of that fatal spirit? The person who got the power, first voted

one part of the other House useless, then voted the whole of it unnecessary. Armed men were brought into the lobby, to detain those members in custody, who were likely to have voted against those violent resolutions. At last, the only remaining part of the constitution, which, indeed, was so garbled that it was hardly valuable, was dissolved. And how was this effected? Three file of musqueteers were brought within that House. The mace was taken from the table: and when this violent step was opposed by a young man of considerable fashion, of great abilities, of remarkable eloquence, whose quickness of conception enabled him to seize every advantage for his party, whose pre-eminence was great when the Protector's political existence had not begun; upon whose shoulders Cromwell rose to power; when this person opposed the dissolution of the House, Cromwell seized him by the cloak, and in the ludicrous language of those times said, "Oh! Sir Harry Vane! Sir Harry Vane! the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane." Thus did he take the mace from that table, and establish the most oppressive and arbitrary despotism that ever cursed a country. Mr. Adam then said, he thanked God there was a great difference between those times and these; that encroachments on the liberties of mankind, induced the greatest and most virtuous to seek redress, while at present the liberties of the people remained unimpaired. But he said, all attempts to appeal to the people, were dangerous. That he never heard of, or ever saw an intention of making use of that dangerous instrument, without recollecting the emphatic words of an illustrious author, who wrote about the period of which he had been speaking. In describing youth he says, "youth grasps more than it can hold, stirs more than it can quiet, and flies to the end without considering the means."

He wished those who appealed to the people, and made them the instrument of reformation and change, might not grasp more than they can hold, stir more than they can quiet, and fly to the end without considering the means. He then said, he begged leave to recal the House to what might be thought more immediately the question before them, though he could not but consider all that he had said as materially connected with the question; because that question contained in it every thing that might happen, all the consequences that might follow the intended plans of innovation. However, after stating shortly what he conceived to be a necessary conclusion

clusion from carrying the question, he would sit down, sincerely thanking the House for their kind attention.

What he had to state was this, that the present motion, if carried, implied that Parliament must agree to whatever should be set forth in petitions as necessary to be done. That without supposing Parliament was to do so, the motion was unnecessary and nugatory; therefore Parliament must be supposed by implication to be obliged to redress what are, or what are called, abuses. A doctrine so ruinous, so unconstitutional, that he never could subscribe to it, and trusted that the House would not give its assent to such a principle, by adopting the present motion.

Mr. Fox rose after Mr. Adam, and introduced what he Mr. Fox had to say, with the most eloquent exordium, in which he described the general importance of the times; and, after enumerating the various great topics that had come under discussion since he sat in that House, insisted, in most expressive terms, on the superior importance of the motion then before the committee, to every other subject that had been discussed in the present Parliament. He said he was fair to own, and he believed his honourable and learned friend who made the motion would agree with him, that what the honourable gentleman who spoke last had said respecting this motion being new, was perfectly founded; he believed there was no precedent for it, and that the act of 1641 did not apply to it, "but, says he, as the circumstances of the times are new, the situation of this country is without precedent. The miserable state to which we have been brought by the ignorance and folly of those who govern the country, the increased influence of the crown, the grievances of the people daily increasing, call for new and unprecedented means of redress." The honourable gentleman had desired his learned friend to come forward with his system, and to unfold the extent to which he meant to go in reformation and change. [Here he desired the clerk to read the resolutions which being read, he went on.] Have not the House declared the necessary alteration already? Did not the resolution come to by 233 gentlemen, prove it to be the sense of this House, "that the influence of the Crown was too great, that it was continuing to encrease, and ought to be diminished?" Has not the same majority declared, that early means must be taken to redress those grievances? That those means must be adequate to the end, no one can doubt; it is not therefore an unknown system, but a system founded on the

determination of the committee, and adopted by the House. —If the House mean to keep their word with the people, to whom they have solemnly pledged themselves to destroy that baneful influence which undermines the liberty of the country, the House must proceed further. Unless they agree to the present motion, they betray the people, by leaving it in the power of the minister, (who shews himself an enemy to the people by his conduct here, and by his directions to others in another place, to put a stop to one of the means of redressing the abuses complained of, by throwing out the contractors' bill), to prorogue or dissolve the Parliament before the means of redress are applied. If the motion should pass, though it did not bind the crown, there still remained in the executive power the ability to dissolve the Parliament, or prorogue the present session: yet he believed no minister would be so rash or so wicked as to advise his Majesty to dissolve the Parliament, when that House had addressed him not to do it. He trusted, there was yet enough of weight and of power in that House, to make good its own resolutions, and to carry them into effect; that the respect in which the executive power held its advice, was too great to admit of a conduct contrary to its wishes, properly and humbly expressed. He then alluded, in the most glowing expressions of rhetoric, to the situation of the country, and said, in pretty strong terms, that upon the fate of the present question, depended whether this constitution, which had been the glory and pride of the world, which the honourable gentleman who spoke last had described with such ability and eloquence, was to remain the boast of mankind; or whether Englishmen were again to fight for their liberties, were again to take the field in opposition to arbitrary power; and whether the days of anarchy and despotism, which the honourable gentleman had gone over, were to recur, and, after a scene as mortifying as that struggle had taken place, a restoration was to follow upon those abject terms of servility and meanness, which was perhaps more disgraceful to this country than the scene that preceded it on bringing back Charles II. without terms or stipulation.

In short, he said, the question now was, whether the British constitution, "That beautiful fabric, raised by the steadiness of our ancestors, and cemented by the best blood of the country!"—These were the old, the trite, but nevertheless they were the best words he could use on the occasion, they expressed most perfectly all that could be said of the constitution; he could invent none so good, he would there-

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fore adopt them, as meeting the feelings of every Englishman—whether that beautiful fabric, raised by the steadiness of our ancestors, and cemented by the best blood of our country, was to be maintained in that freedom, in that purity, in that perfection, in which those ancestors had delivered it to us, and for which that blood had been spilt, or whether we were to submit to that system of despotism, which had many advocates in this country, which was evidently meant to be promoted, to be established, and to be fixed. He declared, that during the course of what the honourable gentleman who spoke last, had said, when he employed his oratorical talents in so well describing the miseries of the last century, and the unhappy times of Charles I. a prince whom his subjects could not trust, in whom his best friends and most faithful ministers could place no confidence; whose character for insincerity and obstinacy, was his own ruin, and the ruin of his country; whose deceitful conduct betrayed him into every error; whose fatal and unconquerable obstinacy never allowed him to recede; who pursued unrelentingly the same fatal system! While the honourable gentleman, he said, was describing that history, he could not help thinking till the very last part of his speech, that the honourable gentleman meant to vote for the motion.

Surely the honourable gentleman knew that if that unfortunate, misguided monarch, in whose character a mixture of obstinacy and insincerity was the leading feature, had wisely yielded to the just grievances of the people, had he given way to the just prayers of the petitions, and redressed those abuses in the early part of his reign, all that fatal anarchy, all that horrid despotism, all that dreadful scene that ensued, would have been avoided; and the unfortunate end to which that prince brought himself, by his obstinate resistance to the complaints of his people, and his stubborn refusal to redress the grievances that he had caused, by his unwisely persisting in illegal levies of money, and by the arbitrary proceedings of ecclesiastical courts, would have been prevented. He expected, therefore, that an honourable gentleman who had described so pathetically, with so much feeling and force of expression, those disasters, would have concluded with him in agreeing to the motion, as a means of averting those evils of which he seemed so apprehensive. He said the honourable gentleman had made an observation relative to the tendency of the motion, which he did expect would be made, viz. that it supposed a necessity upon the part of Parliament, implicitly to comply with what the petitions

of the people of England required, and that that House, or another House of Parliament, by refusing the bills proposed for the redress of those abuses, would prevent any advantage from the motion being carried. He here stated, that the motion was to address the King not to prorogue the Session, or dissolve the Parliament, 'till some measures were taken to redress the abuses complained of in the petitions of the people.

He then asked, whether the taking of some measures required that parliament was obliged to do any thing that was improper for parliament to do? Must not something be done? Must not some measure be taken to comply with those petitions? And was it not necessary, if they meant to grant the people their just requests, to keep parliament sitting till such time as that was done? But it was said, that bills might be refused, if not here, in another House. Was it not nevertheless possible to effect the redress of some abuses, by means independent of a bill? for instance, was it incompetent to that House to address his Majesty, to instruct his ministers not to give a contract to a member of parliament? and would it not be a matter that the executive power would hardly chuse to deny, upon an address to that House? But suppose it to be done by bill—an honourable friend of his brought in a bill to redress the grievance complained of by revenue officers, voting for members of parliament; that bill had been rejected by the House. Another honourable gentleman had brought in a bill for the exclusion of placemen, that bill might possibly be rejected; other gentlemen who wish well to the reduction of influence, might also bring in other bills to the same end; and it was hardly to be supposed that the ministers, with a bought majority, would reject them all: the grievances of the people would be heard, ought to be, nay must be heard. He then went on to say, that though he did upon some accounts regret the recess, which the misfortune of the Speaker's health had occasioned, yet there was one thing that made him happy that it had taken place; it had given him an opportunity of reviewing calmly and deliberately the present situation of the country; it had given him time to consider, whether those steps, that were meant to be taken, were wise and proper, and whether this was the time to propose them; it gave him an opportunity to prepare his opinion upon a subject of such magnitude and importance, he had therefore offered himself early to the Speaker's eye, for the purpose of delivering that opinion, without any allusion to any thing that had been said; but had not been so lucky as to be seen by him. He said his wish had been to avoid the heat and personality which replying to the arguments of others was very apt to be-
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tray him into. If he did not therefore allude any more to the arguments of the honourable gentleman who spoke last, he trusted that gentleman would not impute it to disrespect for him or his abilities: He knew him to be a man, he respected his talents, but he wished to keep strictly to opinions which he had deliberately considered. He begged however to allude to one thing that had fallen from the honourable gentleman, before he had done with his reply. The honourable gentleman had talked of tests to members of Parliament being unconstitutional. He begged leave to say, that tho' they had been talked of, they had been adopted but in three places; Yorkshire, Middlesex, and the City of Westminster. [Here Sir Joseph Mawbey said, and Surrey.] Well then four places have agreed to tests. But, [continued he] suppose them general: is it remarkable that those, who are going to give their votes for members of parliament, should be desirous of knowing the sentiments of the person they are to elect, upon any particular and important subject that is to come under parliamentary discussion? Take the American war for instance, it will serve the purpose of illustration as well as any other subject; Suppose then, a person is to give his vote for a member of Parliament at a general election, and that the great subject of parliamentary discussion is, whether we should go to war with America? Would it be unreasonable for the elector to endeavour to discover, whether the person he was to vote for, was for or against the American war? a test then is only a means to come at the opinion of those we are to chuse for members of Parliament."

He then went on to the discussion of the subject, as he had considered it independent of reply, in which he threw out a great variety of matter, both relative to the propriety of the motion, and the intentions of Ministers to frustrate the redress of grievances, and establish arbitrary power; and added many observations on the means they had taken to vilify opposition; together with many arguments to induce the 233 to vote with him.

The ministry themselves, and their prostitute followers, he said, had spared no pains, had scrupled at no means to traduce, calumniate, and lower the character of those who opposed them. They had aimed their poisoned arrows at them equally as public men and private individuals. They had raked in to every part of their lives to find some personal weakness, in order to use it as an instrument of calumny. The follies of youth and the foibles of age had been held out to the public as the most enormous crimes. Some had been abused for being too rich, others for being too poor. Even the indiffer-

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tions of some had been solemnly brought forward against all as serious accusations. Nor had this task been undertaken by the lowest of the tribe of abusers; grave and distinguished characters, men elevated in rank, and exalted in station; men in high office had harangued a great assembly, one of the highest assemblies in the kingdom, on these indiscretions. The Earl of Hillsborough had done this! The Earl of Hillsborough, who had reprobated the conduct of the House of Commons on the most important occasion, and who, when perhaps the House of Commons most deserved the applause and gratitude of the people at large, had deemed that conduct the phrenzy of virtue, and virtue run mad; had contrasted a public mischief with a private vice, and had set up the gaming of individuals with their own fortune, against the gaming of public men with the public purse. He was as ready as any man to own that gaming was a vice, but surely he had a right to say, it was a vice countenanced by the fashion of the times, a vice into which some of the greatest characters had given, in the early part of their lives; and a vice which carried with it its own punishment, and entailed a curse upon those who were addicted to it. As public men, he said, opposition had been first deemed a faction, and had been described as a faction of the most obnoxious kind; a faction who were enemies to the welfare of their country! At one time they were called Americans, at another time Frenchmen, at another time Spaniards, and now the phrase was, that they were Dutchmen. In short they were at all times any thing but Englishmen!

Having delivered the above in a most animated style of oratory, he declared, that he had been eleven years a member of Parliament, and he had lived to see all those principles that he had been taught by the men who undertook to instruct him in his early youth, when he was yet to learn the duties of a member of Parliament, overturned and contradicted. When he came into that House, the noble Lord in the blue ribbon taught him to consider the privileges of the House of Commons as the first and most necessary part of the constitution. The noble Lord had told him, that House was the palladium of British liberty; "there it was that the rights of the people were to be supported and the privileges of the House of Commons were to be maintained, and to be kept up, because it was in that House that the liberties of the people of England were to be preserved." Good God, how had the noble Lord kept to that principle! how basely had he deserted that ground, and left the privi-

leges of the House to be trampled upon! How was the doctrine changed with respect to the other House of Parliament? It was not many years since that House had solemnly voted it improper for them to take into consideration any thing relative to the right of a seat of a member of the House of Commons. How had they changed their conduct and opinion by the rejection of a bill that related to the members of the House of Commons alone? And if he was to judge from the protest of the Lords, and he conceived, he was intitled to judge from that protest, the Lords had rejected the bill upon reasons the most futile, the most ill-founded, that could well be imagined: but did not every part of that business shew that ministerial influence had interfered, that the noble Lord in the blue ribbon had rejected that bill contrary to the sense of the majority of hereditary and independent peers, and that the rejection had been carried by the Scotch Lords and the bench of bishops? Gentlemen argued about the right of the House of Lords: they had a right, but would it be permitted, would it be allowed by that House? Would the other House dare to counteract the wishes of the people in matters in which they themselves had no concern? He said the vote of the 6th of April, that glorious vote, which established a foundation for the liberty of this country, could not be carried into execution without agreeing to the present motion! He therefore argued, that the 233 gentlemen who had voted "that the influence of the crown was too great, that it ought to be diminished," and that proper means must be taken to diminish it, must adopt the present motion as the only means of carrying any thing into execution. For what was the situation of those gentlemen and of that House?—They had pledged themselves in the most solemn manner to redress the grievances complained of in the petitions of the people of England. Like the case of an individual, who enters into a bond to pay a sum of money, or incurs a penalty, they had solemnly entered into a bond with the people of England, to reduce the undue influence of the crown, and to destroy that enormous overgrown corruption; and the penalty, in case of non-performance, was a forfeiture of the affections of the people of England. That most dreadful calamity, that most melancholy circumstance that could attend a House of Commons, the loss of the affections of those for whose advantage and to promote whose happiness they were chosen, would be the

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fatal consequence of not fulfilling the conditions of the bond into which they had entered. But said he, it is impossible that this can take place. *Magna est veritas & prevalebit.* The truth of what that House had determined, the solemn manner in which they had declared influence too great, and consequently dangerous, must prevail over every attempt to corrupt; and those who had solemnly bound themselves to redress the grievances complained of, would, in the end, overcome the purchased votes of a minister.

He answered the objections made to the motion, on the ground that it tended to an infringement on the King's prerogative, by shewing, that so far from assuming any power derogatory to that prerogative, it fully acknowledged it; and in reply to the argument urged against the motion, on the idea that Parliament might, if the motion was carried, continue sitting for two years together, he said those fears were groundless and absurd, for that Parliament would die a natural death in October 1781; and as the motion only proposed that the House should sit, "till proper measures were taken, to diminish the influence of the crown, and correct the other abuses complained of in the petitions of the people;" it was in the power of the House to put an end to the sessions whenever it pleased, and if heartily and sincerely disposed to listen to the voice of the people, a very short time would suffice for effecting all that was necessary.

There was an old precept, he said, which in one sense was profoundly wise and admirable, but in that in which administration practised it, he detested as the most destructive and wicked principle of government. In the opposite sense, in that in which he could explain it, he revered and respected it as one of the best maxims that could direct the conduct of mankind. *Divide & impera*, in the common acceptance of the words, and as those who advised his Majesty had adopted them, was the miserable principle to which he traced back all the innumerable calamities of this unfortunate reign. It was to that diabolical principle of *divide and conquer*, as practised, not against the enemies but the friends of the constitution, that had produced our present situation, which a noble Lord [Lord Nugent] who spoke early, so well described—a ruinous war, a bankrupt treasury, and an impaired constitution! But as he would explain it, it was a principle that would establish freedom, maintain the constitution, and promote the happiness of England. To divide

vide the good from the bad, to separate those who loved the constitution from those who abused it, to divide the uncorrupted and the virtuous from the bought and corrupted, to divide those who loved freedom, from those who wished the establishment of despotism; such a division, forming an union of the great and good, would lay the foundation for all those reformatations that were necessary to restore the freedom of an impaired constitution. But that the wicked system of those, a system as weak as it is wicked, who had divided every other part of the empire, and now wished the division of the people of England, in order to maintain that fatal power which had cursed this country, and reduced it to its present melancholy situation, was to be withstood. He trusted, therefore, that two hundred and thirty-three honest and unbought men would not allow themselves upon this occasion to be operated upon by that weak and wicked maxim, but that pledged as they were to the people, they would fulfill every engagement they had brought themselves under. He interspersed these observations with frequent replies to Mr. Adam, particularly upon the argument that he made use of to shew, that the negating the present question did not infer a necessity of adopting the measure of immediate dissolution or prorogation. This he answered by saying, that it did however leave an administration, hostile in every point to the petitions of the people, with the power of prorogation and dissolution in their hands, if they chose to make use of it. He likewise made some observations upon annual Parliaments and increased representation, not supporting them, though at the same time not condemning them, but rather stating that the present motion was unconnected with that consideration. He then went again into the doctrine of the popularity and unpopularity of opposition; he reprobated the attempts of ministers to abuse them by means of the press, and thanked God they had overcome all their calumnies, and were now as popular as their enemies wished them the reverse. He said, with respect to the American business, he rather believed that they had not acted at first altogether agreeably to the popular opinion; but if they were on that ground an unpopular opposition, he gloried in the circumstance, if he considered it as a party man, but he regretted it as an Englishman. Had not every event proved, had not the conviction of that House, had not the conviction of that country, and the scandalous disgrace of the present ministers,

who had given up every point they had formerly contended for, proved, that though unpopular, they were right in all their opinions? The glory of opposition therefore was the disgrace and the ruin of Great Britain; points which every true Englishman must regard with horror, and in whose eyes all ideas of popularity must appear insignificant, and trifling indeed, when seriously compared. This ground he laboured with his usual vehemence and ability, and concluded for the motion, as being so material for the great object the House had pledged itself to, that he could not bring himself to believe that it would be refused.

The Lord
Advocate.

The *Lord Advocate* opposed the motion with his usual ingenuity, and defended the House of Lords with great firmness. He deemed the contractor's bill a ridiculous bill, brought in merely to court popularity, and with a view to gain favour with the mob. [Here he was called to order by Mr. Townshend.] He rose again, and said he could not but think it a little unfair to be debarred from speaking of a mere abortion with some little freedom, when he, from day to day, heard acts of the legislature, acts now in full force, reprobated without mercy. He saw no reason why the strangled child should be more gently handled, than the maturer offspring of the legislature. He paid the highest compliments to the lord chancellor, for his conduct respecting the bill, declaring that it well became a man of his manly mind, of his majestic soul, of his solid judgment and excellent understanding, to act exactly as he had done respecting it. That noble and learned Lord, he was sure, would always treat nonsense so whenever it came into his hands. He would neither court one side nor the other, neither dread popular resentment, nor be influenced by ministerial favour, but would walk straight forward and do his duty as became a British peer in Parliament. He reprobated the motion, which he ludicrously termed a "Recruiting officer, sent out by opposition to beat up for grievances and enlist motions!"

General
Conway.

Mr. Charteris.

Lord George
Germaine.

General *Conway*, on the other hand, supported the motion very warmly.

Mr. *Charteris* said a few words against it.

Lord *George Germaine*, spoke against the question, as a mode of interfering with the prerogative of the crown, neither warranted by proof of its being necessary, nor supported on any grounds of good argument. His Lordship defended the conduct of the other House, and quoted, as a

case

case in point, to their conduct respecting the contractors' bill, a peerage bill sent down by them to the Commons, which the Commons rejected as an attempt to alter the constitution, which they at the time declared the Lords had no right to meddle with. His Lordship argued upon sound principles respecting the rights of the Commons, describing its power over the purse of the people as sufficient to answer every end the Commons were constitutionally meant to have at their will and pleasure.

Colonel *Barré* made an animated reply, stating two ex-*Col. Barré.* tracts, the one from the Parliament roll of Edward III. in which that prince called a Parliament expressly to hear and redress the grievances of the people, and for no other purpose. The Colonel said he took his extract from Lord Somers's remark on the passage; which remark he read to the House: the amount of it was, the learned Lord's declaration, that the passage struck him so forcibly, that he wished it possible to have had it transcribed with a sun-beam! The other extract the Colonel read, was from an old Latin book, entitled *De Tenendo Parliamentos*; and stated that if a King dissolved or prorogued his Parliament while one petition of the people, complaining of grievances, remained undressed, that King was perjured.

The *Secretary at War* made a short speech against the *Secretary at War.* question.

At a quarter past eleven the House divided upon it, when the numbers were

Ayes - 203 Noes - 254

As soon as the members were told into the House, several gentlemen repaired to the table, to settle the orders relative to their respective propositions before the House; among the rest Mr. Dunning moved, that the committee of the whole House, to take the county and other petitions into consideration, be deferred till that day se'nnight; and Mr. Burke, that the committee on the civil list bill be deferred till Friday next. The House began to thin apace, particularly from the opposition side; when Mr. Fox said he had a few words to say, *Mr. Fox.* which he wished that some of the gentlemen who acted with him should hear before they went away.

He said, the call of the House, which stood for that day, and which he promised to have strictly enforced, would, he believed, be better postponed, as numbers had quitted the House, forgetting that their presence was necessary while their names were calling oyer. He had resolved, in his own mind,

mind, to move the order of the day, should his learned friend's motion be negatived; but as he understood that his learned friend had moved to have the committee on the petitions deferred till Monday next, he thought it better to make one further trial, as well out of respect of his learned friend and some other gentlemen who had taken an active part in the petitions, as to give those gentlemen who separated their friends on the question just decided, an opportunity of fully and unequivocally declaring their real sentiments; for he could not believe that it was possible for the majority of those who supported the resolutions of the 6th of April, no sufficient cause, nor colour or shadow of apology intervening, to desert and reprobate the principles which they maintained on that ever memorable night. He was proceeding, but during the whole time he was on his legs there prevailed a shameful disorder in the House, great numbers standing and talking on the floor, and about the table.

Sir Thomas Frankland.

Sir Thomas Frankland during this confusion called frequently to order, as did likewise the Speaker, but to little or no effect. At length *Sir Thomas* called on the chair to exercise its authority, and if possible to restore order.

The Speaker.

The Speaker then called on every side of the House with great vehemence; commanded the Serjeant to clear the bar, and desired and insisted that gentlemen might take their places.

Sir Thomas Frankland.

Sir Thomas Frankland then rose, and thanked the Speaker for his interposition; took notice of the improper conduct of the members, who after repeated admonitions endeavoured to throw every thing into confusion; and said, that it was cruel and unworthy treatment to the Speaker, who being in an indifferent state of health, and who must be supposed to be much exhausted after so long a debate, in so full an House, to oblige him under such circumstances to exert himself in the manner he had been compelled to do. He then proceeded to make some observations on the probable consequences of the vote given that night; talked of the distressed state of the country in general, the fall in the value of lands, fall of rents, heavy taxes, and encreasing burdens, and the general discontent which prevailed in every part of the country, particularly the county in which he lived (York) in consequence of those various and intolerable evils; affirming, he most sincerely believed, that if something was not done by that House to avert them, and give the petitioners and people at large some satisfaction, those aggrieved would seek a remedy in their

their own efforts, and no longer look up to that House for redress.

Order was not yet restored; at length Mr. Fox rose, and Mr. Fox. the members taking their places, as he entreated an hearing—he said, since he had first sat in that House he never felt himself so hurt, mortified, and filled with indignant resentment, as that night; so much so, but for the circumstance already alluded to, relative to his learned friend, and his adjourning over the committee, he, for one, was determined, so far as related to himself, to adjourn over the business of the present session, and never more enter that House, so long as the majority entertained similar sentiments to those they apparently embraced by the vote they gave this night. It was a scandalous, treacherous, and disgraceful vote [called to order by the treasury bench.] He did not mean to say that it was scandalous or disgraceful in those who opposed the vote of the 6th of April to oppose the address moved by his learned friend; on the contrary, he thought they acted consistently, like men. Most clearly those two hundred and fifteen gentlemen who declared their opinions that the influence of the crown was not increased, and ought not to be diminished, had pursued an open, direct, and consistent conduct; they differed from him; he was sorry for it; but they differed from him upon principle. They declared roundly and expressly what they thought upon the subject; and they would have been guilty of the most shameful versatility if they abandoned that principle which they had so recently avowed. But who could contemplate, but with a mixture of indignation and surprise, the conduct of another set of men in that House, who on the same night resolved that the influence of the crown was increased, and ought to be diminished, and that the grievances and complaints of the people ought to be redressed; and who pledged themselves to that House, to the nation, to their constituents, to the people at large, to each other, and to themselves, that it was their duty to redress the grievances complained of; but who on the only two occasions that offered, shamefully fled from that solemn engagement, by rejecting the means proposed! It was shameful, it was base, it was unmanly, it was treacherous. The gentlemen he meant surrounded him; they sat at his side of the House; he was sorry for it. They were those who voted with him on the 6th of April, and who voted with the minister that night. No man held those who were at the devotion of the minister in greater contempt than he did; they were slaves of the worst kind, because they sold themselves; yet, base as the tenure of their places

places was, they had one virtue to pride themselves on, that of fidelity, gratitude, and consistency; to all their other demerits they had not added the absurdity and treachery of one day resolving an opinion to be true, and the next of declaring it to be a falshood. They had not taken in their patron, or their friends, with false hopes, and delusive promises. Whatever their motives or sentiments might be, they had adhered to them, and so far as that went their conduct was entitled to his approbation. He could forgive the man he saw voting regularly with the minister, through thick and thin, upon every question; he could behold him, in his servile state, with pity; he could forgive him for cringing and bowing at the levee of the prince or the minister, without exciting in his breast any other sentiment; but on the other hand, when he beheld the conduct of some men, affecting different principles, supporting a minister who had very fairly, he would acknowledge, opposed and denied that the influence of the crown was encreased, and ought to be diminished, it filled him with horror.—What breast but must be filled with the warmest resentment, and the keenest contempt, to see those who pretended that the complaints of the people ought to be redressed, that the influence of the crown had encreased; who had pledged themselves that they would reduce one, and remove the cause of the other, vote in a majority with those who denied that either existed, and that the petitions were only fabricated by faction, and ought not to be attended to. He was at a loss for words by which he could give vent to what he felt on the occasion. Why had not those who voted on the 6th of April in the majority, explained themselves? If they approved of the general tendency of the resolutions, why had they not proposed some effective measures? Why had not they described the fabric they meant to raise, or which they wished to have erected on that basis? Why had not they, when propositions were moved, which they could not approve of, manfully stand forth in support of their own sentiments, and declare to those who united in opinion upon the general declarations contained in the resolutions, then moved and carried? We agree with you, respecting the ground-work, but by the propositions you would raise upon it, we differ totally with you. We meant *this*, and not *that*; we will agree with you in such and such measures, but we must dissent from those you now offer. This, in his apprehension, would have exculpated them from all blame; would have cleanly wiped away all suspicion. A difference of
 opinion

opinion might arise, but it would be such a difference as was agreeable to that liberty of assent and dissent every man was entitled to, whose opinion could be deemed free. But, to agree to certain general propositions, to refuse to propose any effective ones, or agree to those offered, was a paradox, he believed, in party and politics. It was taking in their friends. He was taken in, deluded, and imposed on. [A loud laugh from the opposite benches.] He acknowledged it; for, in his conscience, he thought the assistance of such men did more harm than good. It led to lull the nation into a dangerous security, to impose on the petitioners, and, in short, to spread through the nation every species of popular delusion.

He thought it his duty, while on his legs, to declare, that the defection which he had alluded to originated chiefly among the county members, many of them of great weight and respect; but however high they might stand in the estimation of their friends in their counties, or that House, he should ever judge of men by their conduct, and not by their professions. He doubted not but they had their reasons for voting contrary on one day to what they resolved the preceding. The last vote, most probably, was agreeable to their real sentiments; the vote of the 6th of April was to answer ends merely personal. We were at the eve of a general election; the gentlemen alluded to would soon go down to their constituents: the first and most natural question would be, What have you done in consequence of our petitions? Is the influence of the crown diminished? What redress have you procured for us? Has a more economical expenditure of the public money been determined upon and adopted? Have our burdens been lightened? Are all useless and sine-cure places abolished? And have you established a reform in the expences of the King's household? No: but look at the resolutions of the 6th of April; you will there find that I and my colleague have voted, that the influence of the crown has increased and ought to be diminished; you will find it likewise resolved, on the same day, by me and 232 other friends of their country, that it was our duty to redress the grievances stated in the petitions. He trusted, however, that such gross tergiversation would never pass without detection, nor fail to be followed by the indignant contempt with which it deserved to be treated. He did not yet despair but the people would not only continue to see their own interest, which they had already

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done, but that they would besides know how to distinguish between their open friends and foes, and learn to discover their worst of enemies, their concealed ones. From their open ones they had nothing to fear or hope: by their secret and determined enemies they might be deceived; they had been often betrayed by them; but he hoped they would not be able to do it now, by votes which meant nothing if not followed up by efficient measures, and worse than nothing, when thus shamefully abandoned almost in the very instant in which they were given.

For his part, he was determined, after Monday night next, to absent himself from that House. He would make one trial, one effort more, in expectation that those who had deserted their principles would endeavour to retrieve their public character. If that last effort should miscarry, he would then know what to do; he would exert himself without these walls, as he had continued to do within them, as long as he expected that any benefit could be derived from it. He presumed his learned friend would propose some measure which would come in the form of an ultimate test; for his part, he should propose none himself, though he would support any which might be proposed, to the best of his abilities. If this last trial should meet with a similar fate to that of his learned friend's motion that night, he would quit that House, and leave ministers responsible for the consequences. [A great cry of Hear! hear!] He was persuaded that the gentlemen who cried out so vociferously in the exultation of victory, Hear! hear! would be very glad of it; but he begged leave to assure those gentlemen, that not one of them wished more sincerely for such an emancipation from a fruitless attendance there than he did. If these gentlemen however imagined that his future conduct would be directed to measures promotive of public confusion, they were very much mistaken; the people had resources still left; they were furnished by the constitution. A general election was approaching, and then the people, by the choice they might make, would have it in their power to obtain that redress, by sending only such representatives to Parliament as entertained sentiments congenial to their own. There would be no occasion for armed committees or warlike associations. The constitution was not so imperfect as to compel men to take arms in support and defence of their rights; the means which a general election gave them were strictly consonant to peace and good order; and if those means were resorted to, and judiciously and firmly exerted, he did not despair; nay, he was perfectly convinced, that the next Parliament would give

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give that redress to the complaints of the people which every good and independent man wished for, and which it would not be in the power of the influence of the crown to defeat or prevent.

Lord North said, he was never more surprised, since he was acquainted with Parliament, than at hearing the language which fell from the honourable gentleman who had just sat down. He thought it incumbent upon him, more than once, to have called him to order in the course of his speech; but he declined to do it, as it might be productive of altercation, which was by no means desirable at so late an hour of the night. Base! scandalous! disgraceful! and treacherous! were epithets which ought not to have been permitted to be applied to any member in that House, much less to a majority of that House, or any number of persons included in that majority, which the honourable gentleman had endeavoured to describe, without a possibility of the persons alluded to being mistaken or unknown; namely, such gentlemen as had voted in a majority with the honourable member on a former occasion, and who had left him in a minority this night. It was such language as no provocation could justify. It was indecent, unparliamentary, and improper. It was an invective, not a speech; and was in one part pointed against a set of men as respectable as any in that House, no matter on which side. It was disorderly, because no words or expressions used there ought to be permitted, but what would pass current among any other society of gentlemen; that, he presumed, was one of the fixed principles of order in that House, and in every other popular assembly. The honourable gentleman happened to be in a minority one night, and in a majority on another. The honourable gentleman seemed to be displeased; he was so used to vote in a minority, that he seems quite offended that he was enabled to vote at any time in a majority, if that majority was not always secured to him. This was rather unreasonable. He dared to say that he was as much accustomed to vote in a majority as the honourable gentleman; yet, on the particular night alluded to he was obliged to submit. It was his fortune to be left on that night in a very considerable minority; yet he did not think himself justified in rising immediately, and, in the anguish of defeat and disappointment, accusing those who had frequently before voted with him, with baseness, treachery, versatility, and other improper motives. He would therefore recommend to the honourable gentleman not to be so rash or hasty, but rather to give him credit for one part of his conduct, which he was

Lord North.

persuaded would be worthy of the honourable gentleman's imitation; not to despair, but rather hope, that upon some future day he might again vote in a majority.

The honourable gentleman, with his usual ability and fertile imagination, drew conclusions, in his opinion, which the vote of that night by no means warranted. The honourable gentleman presumed, that because the House refused to address his Majesty not to prorogue Parliament, or dissolve it, but to prolong its duration to an indefinite period, and for no definite purpose, at least expressed in the motion; that consequently the petitioners were to have no redress. In his apprehension, the ground of the motion had no other support but a suspicion, that either one or the other of those measures were then actually in contemplation, and were meant, at an improper time, and in an improper manner, to be carried into execution. Bare suspicion, or surmise, was no ground for proposing any measure in that House. It should be a probable surmise, a probable suspicion, that ought to operate upon the proceedings or resolutions of that House. Was any thing like it either suggested in the motion itself, as it stood on the paper, or in argument, that any sudden or premature prorogation or dissolution of Parliament was about to take place? He did not recollect that any such suggestion was urged. He heard a great deal of loose assertion, of predicted fears and general apprehensions, but not a syllable which stamped upon them the least colour or shadow of weight or authority.

If there was no proof of the affirmative, how did the negative given to the learned gentleman's motion stand supported? Upon every fair ground of probability.

He would, in the first instance, speak from his own knowledge, that he knew nothing which would prevent the present session from sitting a reasonable time. There was a great deal of business before the House. There was in particular the tax bills; there were besides other measures before the House, which he presumed, notwithstanding the honourable gentleman's declared resolution of absenting himself from that House, would undergo a considerable deal of discussion, and of course of time, before they could be properly disposed of. In his opinion, therefore, instead of any fair or probable cause of suspecting, that it was the intention of the King's confidential servants, to put an immature period to the present session, every probability lay the other way: first, that there was business which must be finished before the House rose; secondly, that that business would take up more time than could in any sense prevent the full and sober discussion of any

question

questions relative to the petitions on the table, or other business, in which the interest of the public might be concerned.

Another part of the honourable gentleman's speech seemed to him to be founded upon a very extraordinary conclusion indeed ! It supposed, that the negative given to the honourable gentleman's motion amounted substantially to a negative to the whole of the prayers of the petitions ; that their fate was thereby decided, and that the House had determined to deny the petitioners every species of relief. This, to him, appeared a very extravagant mode of arguing, and totally irreconcilable to common sense, and the knowledge and experience of the House. He would in the first place observe, that no one measure whatever had been either negatived, or by inference disposed of, by the vote of that night. The motion stated, recommended no specific measure relative to the subject matter contained in the petitions. It only expressed a desire, that his Majesty would not dissolve or prorogue Parliament, till the petitioners had redress ; but remained totally silent as to the mode of redress ; and had, with seeming design, declined to state any effective measure whatever. But supposing, what was not the case, that some measure had been proposed, and had been disapproved of ; or supposing, what no man could venture to say, that whatever the learned gentleman, or any other honourable member might move in the committee on Monday next, would be negatived ; would it follow from thence, by negating the other, as one had been already negatived, that such an event would amount to a negative of the prayers of the several petitions ? He could by no means think so. The resolutions of the 6th of April, how much soever he disapproved of them, still remained on the Journals, as the sense of that House ; other measures might be proposed on them ; but even if there should not, there were several bills before the House. There was the bill for constituting a commission of accounts ; there was a bill, brought in by an honourable gentleman, part of which he highly approved ; there were two or three other bills, brought in by honourable gentlemen, all formed upon the petitions. Such being the case, he must say, that the honourable gentleman was not warranted in affirming, that, because every thing which he or his friends might think proper to propose, was not agreed to, that therefore nothing was meant to be done, but that the prayers of the petitions were to be defeated in the gross.

He could hardly suspect the honourable gentleman's abilities, he must therefore impute it to his total misapprehension, or some other cause, for it appeared to him a very absurd species of

of reasoning, that because every proposition, made in consequence of the petitions, was not adopted, that it was therefore determined to reject all. If the honourable gentleman meant to establish that conclusion, he trusted he would find himself mistaken; if for no other reason but for this, that it would at once put an end to all free deliberation and enquiry, by precluding men from exercising their own judgment, and thereby binding them to the individual opinions of every person, who happened to agree with them in some fundamental point, such as, that the influence of the crown had increased, and ought to be diminished, &c.

On the whole, his Lordship hoped that the public would perceive the difference between the conclusion drawn by the honourable gentleman and the question, as it really presented itself to the impartial observer; and he trusted in that light, as the refusing to consent to any specific measure was far from importing a general negative to the petitions; so the motion which had been now disposed of, not being founded either in fact or probability, was by no means entitled to the approbation of that House.

Mr. Dunning.
sing.

Mr. Dunning said, his honourable friend had been misinformed, when he supposed that he had any particular measure to propose on Monday next. He assured the honourable gentleman, and the rest of his friends in that House, that he had not. His labours and assiduities were already determined. When he moved that the committee might be adjourned, and kept open till Monday, his intention in so doing was only to give other gentlemen an opportunity of conveying their sentiments through that medium to the House. He had doubted for some days past, but he despaired, since the vote which had now passed, of being able to render any service to his country. The noble Lord in the blue ribbon had talked of the propositions of individuals, and of the House not being bound by them. He confessed himself a stranger to the species of property alluded to by the noble Lord. He knew of no property any man had in any motion from the instant he delivered it out of his hand. It was not henceforward this or that man's proposition; it was the proposition of the House, which in its own judgment it was at liberty to adopt or reject; in either event it contained the sense of the House, and could be no longer esteemed, or be treated as the sentiments of any particular person. In that sense, and that sense only, he had submitted some propositions to the House, and was quite indifferent as to their fate; if they were fit to be adopted, he presumed they would be so adopted; if to be rejected, they would

would be so rejected : in either and every event the mover would have no interest in the rejection or adoption, but what if he enjoyed at all he must enjoy in common with others.

Mr. Fox rose to explain what he meant respecting the words *Mr. Fox*. base, scandalous, and disgraceful, respecting the vote given by those on the 6th of April who divided against the motion made that night by his learned friend. He said, when he made use of those epithets, he applied them in this, and this way only. He did not mean to say that they had acted disgracefully, shamefully, &c. that night ; he meant to convey this idea, that the gentlemen who voted on the 6th of April, that the influence of the crown had increased, and ought to be diminished, and that it was the duty of that House to redress the grievances complained of in the petitions, were bound and stood publicly pledged to perform one or the other of these two things ; to support such measures as might be suggested in consequence of those resolutions ; or if they appeared to be such as they could not conscientiously vote in support of, that then they were bound to propose some other resolutions or measures, conformable to the ideas they entertained when they gave the vote of the 6th of April. If they refused to do that, or neglected in time to do it, so as that the measure proposed might at the late period of the session have a fair prospect of passing into a law before any prorogation or dissolution of Parliament should take place ; in such a possible event he was prepared to re-assert and repeat, that a conduct of that kind amounted to a desertion and abandonment of their declared principles, of their solemn promises plighted in that House to their constituents, and the people at large ; and in that light were scandalous, base, treacherous, shameful, and disgraceful !

April 25.

Some private business being got over, Lord North moved *Lord North*. for going into the Grenada bill, but was interrupted by Sir George Yonge, who said, he had a motion of very great consequence, in his opinion, to make, and which would not admit of any delay. Lord North answered, that the order of the day ought to be gone into, especially as it was a business of great importance, and, he believed, the first in order ; this was, however, denied by some members, as the Salt bill, and another, were previous to it. Sir George Yonge could not give up his point, as, he said, it was customary for motions to come before any order of the day.

The House agreeing to the justness of this remark, Sir George made some observations on the necessity of a national militia,

militia, at the same time declaring his dislike to a standing army; he thought the manner of stationing the militia bordered upon making them such; the reason he was so anxious to make his motion now was on account of the militia being very soon to be encamped; and as great inconveniencies, unnecessary expences, and fatigue, had been incurred by marching men from almost one extremity of the kingdom to the other, which could answer no good purpose, it was highly necessary, both for the convenience of the officers and men, and the better security of the nation, to have them stationed in different districts, as near as possible to their own counties. As these men were embodied merely for the purpose of being serviceable in case of an invasion, he apprehended there were not more than six or eight places where such an event could happen; he was therefore of opinion, that the men raised in counties the most contiguous, were the most proper to be stationed in districts which they were best acquainted with: besides, a general election being near at hand, and many of the men having votes for representatives, if they were removed one or two hundred miles from the place of election, how could it be possible for them to enjoy the pleasure of giving their suffrages? From these and other considerations he begged leave to move, that an address be presented to his Majesty, that the militia corps may not be ordered to distant parts of the kingdom, but stationed as convenient as possible to their own counties.

Mr. Jenkinson.

Mr. Jenkinson thought the motion tended to infringe on the executive power, which that House had no right to interfere in: he moreover contended, that the men, by being encamped, learnt their discipline much better than if kept at home; that the objection of them who had votes for members of Parliament could have no weight, as on such occasions they had a right to a furlough; and travelling a few days, at such a time, would not be deemed a hardship by them. He did not know that any orders had yet been given for the encampments for the present year, and it would be time enough to take such a motion into consideration, when it was determined how the militia corps should be stationed.

Mr. T. Townshend.

This brought up *Mr. T. Townshend*, who said, it would be like hanging a man first, and trying him afterwards; as to the competency of that House advising his Majesty in cases like this, he thought it a right as the representatives of the nation; and he was afraid the present mode was intended only to harass and perplex the officers, particularly those in the

the country interest, that they might make room for the minister's favourites; he had seen two lord lieutenants displaced in a short time, he supposed, occasioned by their freedom of giving their sentiments; similar incidents would probably happen. The inconvenience and fatigue of being removed to a distance of three or four hundred miles from their own counties, was extremely hard; especially when it was considered, that they would have been more serviceable, if necessity had required, nearer their own native spot. Moreover, instances he believed could be produced of corps having been ordered forty or fifty miles from the places they had been at for some time, where they staid a few days, and were then remanded to their former station, for no other reason that he could conceive, than that of harrassing as much as possible. As to the men obtaining a furlough in case of a general election, in his opinion, it was not a sufficient answer to the objection started; for supposing a furlough was obtained, probably before the man reached the place, he having some hundred miles to travel, the election would be over.

Lord *Beauchamp* could not think the motion either necessary or proper. The House interfering with the executive power was unprecedented; it ought not to be infringed upon; and the supposition that men would be deprived of giving their suffrages, was done away by the admission of a furlough. He did not believe that any gentleman had ever been dismissed from any situation for giving his sentiments freely; nor did he believe that the troops had been ordered to march to distant places through a motive of harrassing them.

Sir *William Guise*, Sir *James Lowther*, Sir *George Savile*, Sir *William Guise*, Mr. *Dempster*, Mr. *Stanhope*, Mr. *Johnstone*, and Mr. *Mar-*
tin, spoke strongly in favour of the motion; they thought it extremely hard for men to march some hundreds of miles from their own counties, where, if they had staid, they could have been doubly useful, for if there had been a necessity of their being called out, those who came from the North to the South knew no more of the ground they were to be employed on, than if they had been in Russia; they contended that one hundred men on the ground they were acquainted with were more serviceable than two hundred who were strangers to it.

Mr. *Joliffe* was very severe on the militia colonels; said Mr. *Joliffe* they were the greatest tyrants he ever knew; that they carried their political principles to such a pitch, that if an inferior officer differed from them, he was sure to be called to

an account on every frivolous occasion, and perhaps tried by a court martial. He himself had received so much bad treatment on that account, that he was under the necessity of resigning. The gentlemen, therefore, on the other side, had very little cause of complaint as to the conduct of those who had a power over them.

Mr. Saw-
bridge.

Mr. *Sawbridge* knew not in what manner the honourable gentleman had been used, but he believed if he had experienced the conduct of the generality of the colonels, he would not have found them the tyrants he had represented. For his part he did not murmur at any thing which had happened to himself, but he could aver that he had not enjoyed a single day of domestic felicity since the camps were formed; but he could by no means form an idea why the corps had been removed from place to place in the manner they had been; should most certainly agree to the motion, as tending, in his opinion, to alleviating the fatigues of the men, and being likely to prove infinitely more to the advantage of the nation.

Col. *Tusnell*. Colonel *Tusnell* dissented from the motion, on the ground that the House had no right to interfere with the executive power.

Sir Edward
Aspley.

Sir *E. Aspley* contended that in such a case the House was authorised in interfering; he put a supposition that the troops might be ordered to surround the metropolis; it would then certainly become their duty as representatives of the people at large to give their advice.

Sir William
Meredith.

Sir *William Meredith* was for the motion, and adverted to a matter he brought before House on the 6th of April, concerning the guards, &c. being ordered out; he had since found that the case was then a little misrepresented; but he could bring proof, that though not absolutely ordered on duty, a double number had directions to be in readiness, if it was thought expedient to call for them.

Sir Charles
Cocks.

Sir *Charles Cocks* did not deny such directions having been given, but it was at the request of a civil magistrate, and that civil magistrates had always a right to request such assistance whenever they thought it expedient.

Sir William
Meredith.

Sir *William Meredith* knew not how it came that such power was invested; and thought it was necessary to have the magistrate brought to the bar of the House, to give his reasons for his conduct.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. *Fox* said, he had been told that such a transaction had happened, but as he could not come at facts, did not think

think it proper to trouble the House with mere hearsay intelligence; but now the fact was allowed, he thought it incumbent to rise: he was glad to hear the honourable Baronet pledge himself to bring, if possible, the magistrate to the bar; it was in fact an act of justice, because it might then appear he had other reasons than that there was that day a meeting of the inhabitants of Westminster, and also a proposition concerning the county petitions to be taken into consideration in that House; but if the civil magistrate had a power to call out the military at pleasure, he thought it would be advisable on all public occasions to go to the meetings armed, that the persons present might have some opportunity of defending themselves.

Lord North went on nearly the same grounds as Mr. Jenkinson and Lord Beauchamp had done; and concluded with moving that the order of the day might be read. Lord North,

Sir James Lowther having early in the debate pledged himself, that if the present motion was lost, he would make one of a similar kind at a short period, Sir George Yonge would not now persist in urging it further, as matters of great importance were to be agitated. The motion was consequently lost without a division. Sir James Lowther.

The Grenada bill was now proposed to be taken into consideration; but Colonel Barré observing the lateness of the hour (eight o'clock) for a matter of such magnitude to be begun upon, called on Lord North to know how far he meant to proceed in it, as he thought it would be necessary to begin at noon-day, rather than to make a midnight business of it; he also called upon his Lordship to know whether he intended to name the commissioners in the committee, or when the bill was reported? Col. Barré.

His Lordship answered, he had been advised by two learned friends, not to name the commissioners till the report,

Col. Barré thought this unfair, as it was impossible for gentlemen properly to speak to it, till they were acquainted to whom the power was to be invested; and, on every consideration, wished that it might be postponed till some day, when they might enter upon it at a very early hour. Col. Barré.

Lord North had no objection to postponing it, only that the multiplicity of business before the House would prevent entering upon it for a considerable time. Lord North.

After much altercation it was agreed to postpone it till the next day.

D d d d a

The

The House afterwards formed itself into a committee on the salt bill. Mr. Gascoyne brought up a clause in favour of the gentlemen of Lancashire and Cheshire, which occasioned some conversation, and the House was divided, when there appeared a majority of two to one against it.

April 26.

The order of the day was read for the second reading of the bill, "To continue for a time to be limited, the provisions of an act of the last sessions, intituled, an act for the more easy and better recruiting his Majesty's land forces and marines."

Mr. Turner. The bill was warmly opposed by Mr. *Turner* and several other Members.

Sir Philip Jennings Clarke. Sir *Philip Jennings Clarke* said it was totally contrary to the spirit of the constitution, and that it would answer no end whatever, but being expensive to the nation, and oppressive to the people.

Col. Barré. Colonel *Barré* confirmed what had been asserted by the honourable gentleman, observed that the right honourable gentleman who brought in the bill, did not state the numbers procured by the press act to amount to more than 3000 men in the course of the last year, which 3000 men might be obtained at 10l. 10s. per man, the whole cost of which would not exceed 30,000l.

The Secretary at War. The *Secretary at War* replied, that the press act answered much more beneficial purposes than the number of men procured, as men who would never have entered into the service, had not the terror of that act operated on their minds, offered themselves voluntarily; he said, besides, that the substitutes were easier had, and the marine recruiting service had been nearly doubled to what it had been, previous to the passing of the act.

Sir Cecil Wray. Sir *Cecil Wray* spoke strongly against the bill; he mentioned a particular fact, that out of 450 impressed men which had been sent to camp, where he served, that no more than two were retained by the commanding officer, one of which was a French cook, who, for his skill, was much wanted; the other a negro, who entered as an officer's servant.

Many other strong circumstances were mentioned, the most remarkable of which was, that one hundred impressed men who had been ordered to join a marching regiment in camp, were brought in irons close to the lines; two guineas per man were charged to the regiment, and it was obliged to receive them; before, however, they were marched within the

the lines, the Commander in Chief being informed that they were in irons, gave orders to have the irons knocked off, that the service should not be disgraced. In a few days after, the Colonel being asked how many recruits he had, and how he liked them, he replied, that out of the whole number, he kept but two, though the regiment had been put to so great an expence.

Sir *Edward Astley*, Sir *Joseph Mawbey*, Sir *George Yonge*, Sir *Edward Astley*, &c. Mr. *J. Johnston*, Mr. *Fox*, and Mr. *Dempster*, spoke against the bill.

The *Secretary at War* rose a second time, but urged nothing new in reply. The question being put, the House divided, Ayes 94. Noes 39.

The bill was accordingly read a second time, and committed.

April 27.

Sir *Charles Bunbury* having brought up the report of the committee on the Grenada bill, Sir *Charles Bunbury*.

Mr. *James Luttrell* said he did not rise to oppose the bill, neither had he any intention to object to its passing; he rose merely to state a difficulty which had pressed a good deal on his mind, as likely to attend the operation of the bill, if not provided against in some way or other; he wished therefore to have answer in what manner the bill, if it passed into a law, would operate upon those captains of British cruizers, &c. who should take any ship freighted from Grenada, and should sell the vessel and cargo, considering it as matter of legal seizure, before the knowledge that the act had passed, could possibly come to such captains? He conceived that an officer might in the full persuasion that he was doing his duty, seize a ship freighted from Grenada, and imagining he was warranted by the laws of his country so to do, sell the same; having done so after the passing of the bill, it might happen that when the circumstance of the bill's having passed became known, the owners of the ship and cargo which had been seized and sold, might come upon the officers for restitution, upon the authority of the present bill, and not merely claim the value, which the officers had actually received, for the sale of the ship and freight, but that larger value which the owners might rate them at. He begged to know, how the officers would in this case be saved from the manifest injustice, which as he had stated it, he presumed they were liable to?

Lord

Lord Beauchamp.

Lord *Beauchamp* thanked the honourable gentleman for the attention he had paid the bill, and the very proper remark he had made upon it. His Lordship then proceeded to state the grounds upon which the bill had been moved, and drawn up. Grenada, gentlemen well knew, had behaved in such a manner, as entitled the island to the consideration and the favour of Parliament. The present bill was intended to put Grenada upon the same footing as that upon which Dominica and St. Vincent's stood. Those islands having capitulated upon good conditions, were empowered to send their produce to Great Britain. Grenada having been obliged to surrender to the arms of France at discretion, could not do so without being liable to seizure and confiscation. It was a fact well known to many merchants of London, that the residents of Grenada had large stocks by them of the produce of the island, which they wished to transmit to this country, in payment of their debts and for other purposes; but that they would not ship a single article for Great Britain, unless the present bill was passed, giving them protection from the British privateers and cruizers, which rendezvoused at the neighbouring islands of St Lucia, and swarmed in the West Indies. His Lordship having stated the necessity of passing the bill, said, if such a bill did not pass, it would be holding out this language to the West India islands, still in our possession: "When the enemy attacks you, don't attempt a resistance, but make the best capitulation you can, because if you resist ever so bravely and are forced to surrender at discretion, the British Parliament will shew you no favour." The impolicy of talking to our West India islands in this stile, his Lordship said, was so obvious, that he was convinced the House would not hesitate a moment in approving the principle of the bill. The honourable gentleman had asked what would be the operation of the bill, in case ships were reclaimed after sale, by virtue of this bill? In answer to this question, he begged leave to observe, that the appeals were by the bill to be heard before the judge of our admiralty court, and he presumed the court of admiralty would, when the claim was made out, order repayment of the receipt for the ship and freight to the right owner, but only for the receipt, and without any expence whatsoever to the seizor.

Lord Mulgrave.

Lord *Mulgrave* returned his sincere and hearty thanks to the honourable gentleman who had started the objection, for having done so. His Lordship said, it well became that

House to pay it due attention, because the objection struck him as valid, and it was their duty to take care on every occasion, that captains in the navy, captains of cruizers, &c. should not be liable to expence and manifest injustice, in return for their zealous endeavours to do their duty, and fulfil the purpose for which they were employed. He remarked that the present judge of the Admiralty was a gentleman of the first professional talents, and perhaps better qualified for the office he held, than any one man who had sat in that seat which he now filled. Nor was he less distinguished for his integrity and strict impartiality as a judge, than for his great abilities. Every person who knew him, respected and admired him; no one person more than he did. Persuaded however, as he was, of the right conduct which would ever be adopted by that gentleman, he could not consent to suffer the interest of the officers of the navy to remain at the risk of any one man's will, nor did he conceive it ought to rest on so precarious a dependence as any man's discretionary interpretation of what an act of Parliament meant, where that meaning was not expressed. Every gentleman knew that it was an old maxim, *ignorantia juris non excusat*. That maxim would operate as a bar against the only plea, that officers, who should become respondents in the case stated, could use. He wished therefore, that something was done in the bill itself, to put the matter past all doubt, and save the officers from the predicament in question, and for mentioning which, he begged leave again to thank the honourable gentleman.

After a few more words from Mr. J. Luttrell,

Lord *Beauchamp* rose again, and said that as soon as the Lord *Beauchamp* bill was passed, the most effectual means would be taken to send printed copies of the act to the commanders and officers on every station, and to make the promulgation of it as notorious and extensive as possible; but if that should not be thought sufficient, the objection might be provided against by adding a clause at the third reading, as a rider upon the bill.

The *Solicitor General* read a clause from the statute book, *The Solicitor General* shewing, what the power of the judge of the Admiralty court in such cases was; and at length the bill was ordered to be engrossed, it being first agreed to add a rider to it, for the purpose above stated, at the third reading.

When

Mr. T.
Luttrell.

When this business was over, Mr. T. Luttrell rose, and complained of the general bad attendance in that House, of the *puisne* Lords of the Admiralty. He said, if it was to be presumed that the reason of it was the necessity of their attending on the public business elsewhere, he could only observe, that it had never in former wars occurred, that the presence of the *puisne* Lords of the Admiralty was thought so necessary out of that House; if, however, the reason of their absenting themselves from Parliament, was as he had stated it, he could not but rejoice on one account, and that was, because he was fully persuaded, the noble Lord in the his eye [Lord Mulgrave] was every way qualified to assist the first Lord of the Admiralty, and give him very good advice on professional points. Let the Lords of the Admiralty, however, stay away from that House or not, he should persevere in his duty, and make such motions, as should to him appear proper. He then went into a consideration of the immense expence of the navy, stating it to be greater than it was in the year 1760, and contending that the navy at present was not nearly equal to what it was in that period; for that notwithstanding what had been so roundly asserted both in that House and elsewhere, he would undertake to prove, that we had not now so many ships of the line in actual service, nor so many seamen, real able seamen, as we had then. After arguing for some time upon the subject, he said he had two motions to make then, which he meant to follow next week with more; before he made them, however, he wished to prove, from the journals, that his motions were not unprecedented. He then desired that the clerk might read an extract from 1740, 1741, and 1744, in each of which years it appeared that similar motions had been made, and the accounts asked for had been granted. Mr. Luttrell concluded his speech with moving,

“That there be laid before the House a list of all ships and vessels of the royal navy, in commission on the 1st of December, 1779, distinguishing their several stations at that time, their dates, and complement of men.”

Lord Mulgrave.

Lord Mulgrave rose to object to the motion, declaring, that where a matter struck him as proper in itself, although it should appear that there was no precedent for it, he would much sooner agree to it, than where, let ever so many precedents be quoted, the matter itself appeared improper to be assented to. The present motion was of the latter description; it could give Parliament very little more information

mation than that which they had already upon their table, and it would furnish the enemy with most important intelligence, which, with their utmost ingenuity, they could not otherwise get at. He appealed therefore to the House, if it was either wise or prudent to accede to it? His Lordship denied that the navy was not now equal to what it was in 1760. He said perhaps we might not have exactly the same number of ships of the line in actual service, but the size of those in commission was larger, and upon the whole, our naval force was considerably greater.

Sir *Edward Ashley* reprobated this answer as stale and unsatisfactory. He said it was the common excuse for keeping from Parliament that information, which every member had a right to call for; he bid the noble Lord therefore come prepared with a better answer when he rose to refuse accounts, which appeared necessary to be laid before that House, in order to convince the representatives of the people, that the immense sums voted for the navy service were faithfully applied, and neither wasted nor used for corrupt purposes.

Mr. *J. Johnstone* also complained of the frivolity and fallacy of the noble Lord's answer; he was persuaded the accounts would give no intelligence to the enemy, which they might not get at by other means.

Lord *Mulgrave* rose again, and said it was well known that 4l. a month, the sum usually voted for seamen, was not adequate to the expence, and that thence the extraordinaries of the navy became so large. With regard to the number of seamen and marines borne and mustered, an account was already upon the table. The present motion was of a very different tendency; it required a particular account of the number of men on board the respective ships of the navy, stating the names of the ships, and where they were disposed. The producing of such an account, would give the enemy a complete knowledge of the station of our whole navy, and would teach them where it would be most adviseable for them to attack us; he could not therefore think of agreeing to give any such account, and if gentlemen would but allow themselves a moment's time to reflect on the subject, he did not doubt but they would join with him, in thinking that his objection was by no means trifling or insignificant.

Mr. *Luttrell*, in answer, said, that the account on the table was no account at all. That a great number of the seamen included in that gross amount were employed on shore, some thousands in press gangs, who belonged to no ships' company, others were in prisons in France, and so on. What he

wanted to get at, was an authentic account of the ships' complements, whereby the House would be able to see the number of men in actual service, and thence judge for themselves, whether the money he had voted, was honestly applied, or whether it was used to purchase majorities in Parliament. With regard to the noble Lord's objection upon the ground that the account would give the enemy a compleat knowledge of the station and disposition of the navy; he said, it would have no such effect, because it only went up to the 1st of December, almost six months ago, and therefore the noble Lord was wrong in stating that it would give the enemy an account of the present station and disposition of the navy. If we really had 100,000 seamen in actual service, as appeared on paper, so far from its being wrong to let the enemy know it, it appeared to him the wisest thing we could do, to make them acquainted with so glorious a circumstance. He assured the noble Lord, for this and the other reasons he had stated, that if he persisted in refusing the account moved for, he would take the sense of the House upon his motion, even though he should stand alone on the division.

Lord Mulgrave.

Lord *Mulgrave* repeated his former arguments, and strengthened them with some additional ones; after which the House divided upon the motion. Ayes, 42, Noes, 65.

Mr. Luttrell.

Mr. *Luttrell* then moved his second motion as follows:

“ That there be laid before the House an account of the
“ number of men and marines borne, and the number mustered,
“ of the complement of the several ships and vessels of
“ the royal fleet, respectively, on or about the 1st of Dec.
“ 1779, together with the supernumerary seamen and marines
“ on board the said ships and vessels.”

[This motion passed in the negative without a division.]

Mr. Eden.

After Mr. *Luttrell*'s motions were disposed of, Mr. *Eden* desired to call the attention of the House to the situation of the American merchants. He said that tho' he had acquiesced, on a former occasion, in the expedient proposed to enable the ships to sail by an act of the executive power, for which a bill of indemnity should afterwards be given; he had acquiesced in that, partly because he shared the general anxiety to give some recess from business for the benefit of the speaker's health. That the House, however, ought now to recollect, that tho' the treasury warrants would enable the merchants to get clearances from the several custom-houses at London, Liverpool, and Bristol, and though vessels of immense value had actually sailed under those clearances, [the cargoes amounting nearer to 1,600,000*l.* than to 600,000*l.* as he had before stated] yet they were liable to seizure by any British vessels, until an act of

Parliament had actually passed to legalize them. Under these circumstances the bill originally intended for this purpose had been returned by the lords with some amendments, which were likely to occasion debates and delays. The situation then of the merchant's interests was become embarrassing and difficult: Mr. Eden wished however to state the particulars which had led to that situation, as well to save the House of Commons from the charge of undue negligence, in having passed a very faulty bill, as to protect the House of Lords from the imputation of having made unnecessary and wanton amendments. When the petition of the merchants was presented in February, the House ordered a bill to be brought in, for limited and proper purposes, especially described in that order; it was natural then for the House to repose on their own order, and to take for granted that it would be pursued. He was now sorry to inform them, that the bill smuggled through the House, was, in every point irreconcilable to the order on which it was founded. He stated the particulars, and summed them up with a remark, that the bill sent to the Lords was a total, unqualified, and gratuitous repeal of the navigation act, opening the trade to Guernsey, Jersey, and the East Indies, and authorizing even an unrestrained supply to the rebel colonies. He then turned towards Governor Pownall and said, "This was your bill":—This was the bill which is now wished to be printed and handed down to posterity as a model of commercial and political wisdom. It was an unhappy, miscarriage, a wretched embryo, a monstrous abortion; and yet the paternal affection of its author was such, that he had wished to preserve it in spirits, to stuff it into a bottle of Mrs. Vanbutchell's pickle, and to carry it about the world in his pocket as a proof of prolific vigour.—Mr. Eden however, intreated him to divert his grief by a kind regard towards the healthy and well-formed offspring now brought to his door from the other House; he wished, for the hon. gentleman's consolation, and for the interests of the public, to tempt him to adopt the living child, and to put the little pickle upon a shelf.—Mr. Eden next stated the amended bill, and said, that it was nearly the reverse of the other in every point of political expediency, commercial advantage, and parliamentary precision; he intimated, that the amendments had been made by the lord Chancellor, upon a full and frequent communication with merchants, with the custom-house, and with other persons skilled in the subject. "This [said he] is your bill." He then held it up to the House, and after observing that it was scratch'd in every clause and in every line, reminded the House of the story of Sir John Cutler's stockings, which were darn-

ed and mended 'till there was not one original thread remaining. The House of Commons had sent from the hon. gentleman's loom a pair of black worsted stockings, full of holes, rotten, mishapen, and all calf; the House of Lords had mended them with white silk, had picked out the woollen tags, and returned, in short, a pair of silk stockings, of excellent shape and fabrick. He assured the hon. gentleman that these new stockings would well become his leg, and entreated him no longer to have any hankering after the old tatters. He then apologized for any harshness which he might have used; they were meant towards a particular bill, and not to lessen the confidence which the House might on other occasions repose in the hon. gentleman's busy and active talents.

Gov. Pownall.

Governor *Pownall* began his reply with some warmth. He said he should not attempt to follow the hon. gentleman through his witticisms, because if he had wit at will, he did not think the proper time for exercising it, was on a subject of very serious national importance. The House of Lords, in their conduct respecting the bill which they had sent back on Monday last, had made an unconstitutional attack on the privileges of the Commons, in which attack they were now seconded by the honourable gentleman who spoke last, and had defended the outrage without shame. So far from reprobating the Lords for their conduct, the hon. gentleman had professed himself the panegyrist of the other House, on the occasion; he should not therefore consider the hon. gentleman's wit, but his ignorance, which he would expose in so strong a point of view, that if the honourable gentleman was not dead to all sense of shame, he should feel his error and wish he had saved him the trouble of correcting him, and had not given him such an opportunity of exercising those busy and active talents, which the honourable gentleman had affected to laugh at; when he said this, he declared he lamented, that in the present case, he could only expose the ignorance of one lord of trade; he had a story to tell, which would prove the ignorance of the whole board. The bill which the honourable gentleman had mentioned his design to bring in as a new bill, was the bill amended by the Lords, and however lightly or ludicrously the honourable gentleman might think proper to treat it, was a direct attempt, now for the first time openly made, to supercede by act of Parliament, the commercial laws and constitution of this country, subjecting by law [if such an act of Parliament may be, and become law] the persons, property, and commerce of this kingdom, trading to the Colonies, wherever his Majesty's arms can get possession of them,

them, to the discretionary, arbitrary, legislative, and executive power of a military magistrate, who is to make laws, and execute them as to him shall seem necessary.

Having said this, the Governor proceeded to give the history of the bill, previous to its going up to the other House; and then was entering into a circumstantial description of the nature and tendency of the amendments made by the other House—when he was called to order by Sir George Yonge, who said, that the amendments made by the Lords, to which the hon. gentleman seemed proceeding to speak, were not yet properly before the House, but stood upon order of the House for the next day.

Mr. Burke suggested, that it seemed to press in point of time, that the gentleman who first spoke, had mixed his wit with some little anger; that the other had begun with anger, and if allowed to go forward, would no doubt grow witty.

He was called to order by Governor Pownall, who wished to know whether any question was yet stated, that he might speak to it regularly.

Governor
Pownall.

The order of the day was then moved, and Mr. Eden concluded the conversation by saying, that he had no wish or anxiety on the occasion, except a general one for the interests of the merchants, and the supply of New York; that he had been prepared to move for a new bill precisely in the words sent by the Lords, but that it was perhaps premature; that with regard to the honourable gentleman's charge of shamelessness and want of information, he would only state an old anecdote from a jest book: When Dr. Radcliffe told Mr. Jervais that he might do any thing, provided he would not draw his picture, Jervais answered, That he could take any thing from Doctor Radcliffe, except his pills. The honourable gentleman, said Mr. Eden, is very angry at my description of his performances; I have only to say, that I can take any thing of him in a Parliamentary way, except his bills.

Mr. Eden.

Lord George Gordon, after observing in a good double pun, that Mr. Eden had given some silken praises to the Lords for having worsted a member of the Commons, said he had a petition from Ayrshire to present to the House. Before however he presented it, he thought it necessary to say some few matters, worthy their attention. His Lordship went into a series of observations and remarks, on what had fallen from Lord Nugent and Mr. Adam in the course of Monday's debate, arraigning the former of having spoken merely

Lord George
Gordon.

ly

ly of the conduct of Charles I. in civil matters, and applauding the latter for blaming that weak Prince for his religious as well as his civil conduct, declaring that it was owing to his religious principles chiefly, that all his misfortunes were ascribable, and that the family of the Stewarts, the rightful heirs to the throne of England, were deprived of their inheritance, and both King William and the present family called in to reign over a people, whose laudable aversion to popery made them detest and abhor all Princes affected to that intolerant religion.

In his usual and very singular way of speaking, his Lordship brought in a number of strange allusions to recent matters, tying and connecting what had occurred many years since, with what had occurred lately, in a most extraordinary manner. Talking of James II. he said that Prince had for a long time concealed his popish inclinations, but at length he became so barefaced, that he received Ferdinando Dada as the Pope's Nuncio; there were good and bad Lords then, he said, as well as now, for the Duke of Somerset refused to introduce the Nuncio, knowing that he would have been guilty of treason had he done so, and he lost his place for his refusal; but the Duke of Grafton did the job. He said he should not wonder if the religious grievances of the people were not redressed, to see popery get to so great a height in this country now, as it did in any popish reign; nor should he be surprized if another Ferdinando Dada was to enter that House in his pontificalibus, and take his seat there. He took occasion to animadvert on the powers of corruption in the power of the treasury bench; and quoted Lord Chatham's authority, to prove that there were greater means of buying men's votes than with either the profits of official emolument, pensions, or places, and that was by titles. The Earl had said, "get but the thoughts of a title into a man's head, and he'll do any thing to obtain it." He told the Speaker, he had heard a noble Lord wanted to buy him with a title. He advised him by no means to accept of it. He bid him remember that Lord Chatham was sunk by a title, and lost his popularity in consequence of his accepting one. Should he [the Speaker] be weak enough to accept a title, his popularity would be irrecoverably gone; the yeomanry would despise him; he advised him, therefore, to preserve his present dignity. Don't, says he, Mr. Speaker, be cozened by a title. Why, Sir, the King has it not in his power to ennoble

cannoble you. Lord Onslow has got a title, and would you accept of one? No Sir, I hope you are above it; I hope you'll continue serving your country, in making excellent speeches for the people's rights, as you did from the treasury bench a few weeks ago. I look upon you, Sir, and the member for Bristol, and the member for Malmisbury, and my worthy friend the member for Calne, as four of the first men in the kingdom, Sir, in point of abilities. It is in this House only, that such men can best serve their country; therefore, Sir, I advise you to stay where you are.

His Lordship was, in the course of his speech, repeatedly called to order by different members, and desired by the Speaker, at the instance of the House (who often called out chair! chair!) to confine himself to the subject matter of the petition. His Lordship took the advice very patiently, but each time that he was called to order, rose again, and pursued his speech with the utmost composure; at length, however, the House would not bear such disorderly conduct any longer, and his Lordship of necessity adverted to the petition, which he stated to be the petition of the people of Ayrshire in Scotland, praying for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the late acts passed in favour of the Roman Catholics.

The petition was, upon motion, brought up, read, and ordered to lie on the table.

The order of the day was then read for the third reading of the wine duty bill.

A short debate took place, in which Sir Edward Astley, Sir Cecil Wray, Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, and Sir George Savile spoke. The result of the debate was, a motion put by Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, that the third reading be postponed till that day te'nnight. The arguments on which this motion rested, was that it was not right to impose new burthens on the subject, however necessary, till something had been done for the people, in consequence of their petitions. At length the House divided,

Ayes, 67

Noes, 128

The bill was then read a third time and passed.

The order of the day was afterwards read, for the third reading of the stamp duty bill.

This gave rise to another debate. The opposition was grounded in the same manner as before. The Speakers were, Sir George Savile, Mr. Burke, General Conway, Mr. Fox, Lord North, Mr. T. Townshend, Lord George Gordon,

don, Mr. Medley, Mr. Hopkins, Sir Philip Jennings
-Clerke, and Sir Joseph Mawbey.

Sir George
Savile.

Sir George Savile and Mr. Burke having contended that it
was the duty of the House to exercise the power of the
purse, (which a noble in a former debate had told them they
possessed) on the present occasion, and to withhold the taxes,
till something effectual was done for the people.

General
Canway.

General Canway rose, and said, that he could not help
differing from his honourable friends on the present occa-
sion; he thought the House were bound, as they had voted
the supply, to vote the ways and means; if they had ob-
jected to voting the supply, till the grievances of the people
were redressed, that, he said, would have been Parliamen-
tary and fair, not that he should have come into the measure.
If his friends persisted in dividing the House upon the pre-
sent occasion, he should find himself obliged to vote against
them, and he hoped as he had been no great favourer of the
measures of administration, though certainly no enemy to
government, his doing so would not be wrongly interpreted.
He repeated it, that he thought Parliament pledged to vote
the taxes, having voted the supply.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox, in a very able speech, controverted this posi-
tion, and declared, that though he neither entirely agreed
with his honourable friend who spoke last, nor with either of
his two honourable friends who spoke before him, he was
persuaded the doctrine he had just heard was erroneous. So
far from the supply being the properest matter to refuse vot-
ing, as a right exercise of the power of the purse, he was
convinced to the contrary, though he had himself opposed
the supply, and thought if the House had done the same, the
risque would have been so little, and the advantage to the
public so great, that the House would have done right. Had
they joined him, at least so as to make a majority, and re-
fused to vote the supply, till the petitions of the people were
complied with, he was persuaded the grievances complained
of would long ere this have been redressed. Let his honour-
able friend recollect what was the consequence of refusing to
vote the supply? It was this: The loan was stopped; the
money could not be had, the navy could not be equipped,
the army could not be sent out, neither could any preparation
for the public service be made! Was the consequence of
refusing to vote the ways and means the same? Most cer-
tainly not. The minister having his supply voted, had
made his loan, and could equip the fleet, and send out the
army

A. 1780.

D E B A T E S.

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army. The ways and means being delayed, made no difference whatever. It was, therefore, at least more prudent and perhaps equally effectual, to refuse voting the ways and means, as to refuse voting the supply. When the ways and means were voted this year, they had been voted contrary to the rule of Parliament, which was another reason for voting against them now. Mr. Fox used a variety of arguments to convince the House, that agreeable to the resolution of the 6th of April, they stood pledged in the most solemn manner, to redress the grievances of the people, before they imposed new grievances; new taxes, he said, were undoubtedly new grievances; and therefore it was the duty of the House to do something for the people, before they did more for the crown. He contended that the ways and means were grants to the crown, and therefore as one means of keeping Parliament sitting 'till something effectual was done in compliance with the petitions of the people, he advised every one of the 233 of the 6th of April, to vote for suspending the tax bills.

Lord North said he could not but think the House stood pledged to vote the ways and means, having voted the supply; he did not mean to say that gentlemen were bound to approve of every tax proposed; nay he would go farther, they were not obliged to propose other taxes in the room of those they disapproved; they had a right to expect that the King's servants would produce others that should be more unobjectionable, but when the House had encouraged the King's servants to make a loan, they certainly were bound to take care of the money lenders, and to give them good security for payment of the interest of their money, otherwise the sinking fund must suffer very deeply. Gentlemen said, delay would make no difference; he begged leave to tell the House, that the assertion was altogether founded in error. The public revenue suffered by every day's delay. It had suffered very considerably by the unavoidable delays, which had happened already; by the delay occasioned by the recess, and by the last delay in consequence of the Speaker's indisposition. The public were great losers on account of delay; he hoped, therefore, the House would prevent farther loss to them; and as to the idea of keeping Parliament sitting, by not voting the tax-bills, that was idle and unnecessary. There was so much business of very great importance before Parliament, that it would be impossible to rise very soon; the business already in agitation every gentleman

Lord North.

must know, would take up a considerable time before it would be finished. His Lordship explained Mr. Fox's assertion, that the ways and means had this year been voted contrary to the rule of Parliament, by shewing, that though in appearance the fact was so, in reality it was otherwise, because that part of the supply, more than that made it equal to the ways and means, which had not been voted, at the time that the ways and means were voted, was known to the House, and was for expences brought forward from the last year, the accounts of which were not ready to be laid on the table on the day of the budget, but had since been laid on the table.

Mr. Burke.
Mr. T.
Townshend.

Mr. Burke replied, and Mr. T. Townshend spoke for some time. The chief argument of the latter was, that as the taxes were not stated in the bills to take place before the first of June, that it could make no difference, provided they received the royal assent by that day.

Lord George
Gordon.

Lord George Gordon began with saying, that he had a new opinion to give, and that was, he saw clearly, that the present ministry would hold their places, the taxes would all pass, and the petitions of the people would be disregarded. The reason why he thought so, was, because he found the opposition to be a rope of sand; they were falling to pieces every day; they had no firmness, no unanimity. [Mr. T. Townshend, who sat next his Lordship, asked him, what made him imagine so?] He said, he had the best authority for this; the members of opposition said it themselves; for how had the honourable member for Malmesbury began his speech? Had he not in so many express words said, he differed from his honourable friend, the member for York, he differed from his other friend the member for Bristol, and he differed from the honourable general over the way! Would opposition after this talk of unanimity? Besides, what was their language at county meetings, committees, &c.? The honourable member for York differed about the test proposed at the York meeting. The honourable member for Westminster was for annual Parliaments, "No," says the member for Bristol, (who belonged to no committee, and had figured away at no meeting.) "I am neither for annual, nor triennial, but I stick to septennial Parliaments?" The fact was, each of the great leaders of opposition was connected with a party who had been in government, and each thought himself obliged at all times to adhere to the original principles and political system of that party. The people, therefore, had no confidence in the great leaders of opposition in that House; they saw their disunion among themselves,

themselves, and they would not trust them. His Lordship went on thus: I say, without the people, nothing can be done, Mr. Speaker. In vain, Sir, is all your slaving in the chair, and your slaving on the treasury bench, unless the people are with you: One side of the House, Sir, is thought as ill of without doors as the other; the people think neither are to be trusted, and while that's the case; it is in vain to hope for any good. The people, Sir, don't mind what's done in Parliament. Why, Sir, the day after the contractors bill was thrown out by the House of Lords, which was a very violent measure, I went out into the streets, and I saw all the people in their shops about their ordinary business as if nothing had happened. I was at Boston, Sir, at the beginning of our disputes, and there when any great question was in agitation, the people regarded nothing else till it was decided one way or the other. I repeat it, therefore, Mr. Speaker, that without unanimity among themselves, opposition can do no service to the people.

Sir *Joseph Mawbey* charged Lord North with having imposed a new tax on the public, without the consent of Parliament; and in proof of this assertion, said, that either the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, or some other minister, had given to Mr. Jamineau, of the post-office, an exclusive right to send newspapers into the country, in consequence of which all the clerks of the roads were forced to buy their papers of him, and he charged them a farthing profit upon each; such gentlemen, therefore, who lived in the country, and had papers sent from the post-office, paid more for them than if they were served by a newsman or bookseller.

Mr. *Hopkins* warmly expressed his enmity to the present administration, but declared his great dislike of dividing the House on every trifling occasion. It only bred animosity, and extended division.

At length the question was put, and the House divided upon it, *Noes* 211, *Ayes* 124.

The bill was read and passed.

The House then went into a debate, whether the Speaker should leave the chair, in order that the committee on the commission of account bill might sit.

Lord *George Gordon* wished to adjourn in consideration of the Speaker's health.

The *Speaker* thanked the noble Lord for his kind attention to him, but said, he should be out of the chair in case the House proceeded; and if the case were otherwise, he begged no public business might stop on his account.

Sir W. Meredith.

Sir *William Meredith* said, as the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, he understood, meant to propose the commissioners by name, for insertion in the first clause, it would undoubtedly give rise to much debate; considering the late hour of the night; therefore, he thought the House had better adjourn, and for that reason moved to adjourn.

Mr. James Luttrell.

Mr. *James Luttrell*, in a very strong and able speech, declared his objection to the principle of the bill, which, he said, he considered as a perpetual injunction against Parliamentary enquiry. It tended to take away from that House, one of two propositions, which he had ever considered to be inseparably inherent in the House of Commons, viz. the right of voting the public money, and the right of demanding an account of its expenditure. Mr. Luttrell seconded Sir William's motion for adjournment.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. *Fox* said if any person's health was to be considered, it was that of the noble Lord, on whose account he was very ready to adjourn. He thought it right however, to say, that he should contend for his honourable friend's bill for reforming the civil establishment standing first for the next day at all hazards, whether the committee sat on the noble Lord's commission of account bill then or not, because he wished to go through that bill entirely the next day.

Lord North.

Lord *North* thanked the honourable gentleman for his consideration of his health, but declared he found himself by no means incapable of going on. If the commission of accounts bill were then deferred, there was no open day for it for a week to come, a circumstance, he presumed, that gentlemen were not aware of.

Mr. Dunning.

After some conversation upon it from Colonel Barré, Mr. *Burke*, Mr. *Dunning* and Lord *North*. Mr. *Dunning* agreed to let his order of the day for the committee on the petitions, stand over to May 2.

April 28.

The order of the day, for the third reading of the Grenada Bill, being read,

Lord Beauchamp.

Lord *Beauchamp* rose, and moved an additional clause by way of rider. The clause gave an indemnification, under certain restrictions, to such captains of British cruizers, as should seize ships freighted from Grenada for Great Britain, and sell the ship and cargo within a limited time from the passing of the act.

The clause was brought up, and being agreed to by the House, the bill so amended was read, a third time and passed.

At four o'clock the House resolved itself into a committee on Mr. *Burke's* bill, and first took into their consideration the

the clause for abolishing the office of the great wardrobe, the office of the removing wardrobe, the office of master of the robes, the office called the jewel office, and all the places and charges, whether of persons presiding in or dependent on them, or any of them, of what nature soever, except those of one housekeeper, and one wardrobekeeper (the said places to be united after the possession of the present occupiers) in each of his Majesty's palaces and houses.

Mr. *Burke* opened the debate by rising to inform the committee why he had not attempted to meddle with the housekeepers of the royal palaces. He said, he found palaces of two kinds, real and virtual; palaces which were visible and substantial, and palaces which were merely ideal, and had no existence but in the intellects. On examining the red-book, he found at the head of the list of housekeepers, Lady Mary Churchill, and she was followed by a whole heap of petticoats. He declared he thought it extremely right that there should be some respectable establishment for women of condition and family, and therefore imagining that the places were all held by ladies, as well out of his natural respect for the sex, as from the real feelings of his mind upon the occasion, he determined not to meddle with one of them. He had however received no less than eight letters on the subject, begging him not to move for the abolition of the places of housekeepers to the royal palaces, and among others one from Haverford-west, stating that John Manners, Esq. was housekeeper at Whitehall. He again referred to the red-book, for before, he had imagined it to be an error, and that it had either meant Lady John Manners, or Joan Manners; however, after brushing aside the croud of hoop-petticoats which almost concealed him, he espied John Manners, Esq. He said, he immediately went to Whitehall, which he found to be one of the ideal palaces, without habitations for retinue, or capability of reception of residents. All he saw there was several paintings of nudities in the banquetting House, by Peter Paul Rubens, and a painter busy about them, who, according to the modern fashion, was employed in correcting and improving the works of that great master. He saw, however, no housekeeper, nor any occasion for one, though five hundred pounds a year and better, was paid to John Manners, Esq. for holding that office. He mentioned this, to shew at once that the office of housekeeper to any of the royal palaces, was, generally speaking, a mere sinecure, which, however, as long as it was bestowed on ladies of condition, should receive no shock or violence from his hands. The rest of the clause went to the abolition of the offices of the great wardrobe they

robe, &c. which undoubtedly were so far useless, that though they cost a great deal of money, the committee must see the whole duty of them might be done at considerably less expence by other persons.

Lord John Cavendish.

Lord *John Cavendish* rose, just to state to the House, that the office of the great wardrobe was of modern institution, and that it had not been instituted under an idea, that it was to remain a permanent office.

Mr. Gilbert.

Mr. Gilbert said, that when he suggested to the House, two years ago, the plan of œconomy and regulations upon which the present bill is founded, he hoped his Majesty's ministers would have advised him to have made the necessary enquiries, and to have directed such retrenchments in his expences, as might have enabled him to have given some considerable sums in case of his subjects under their present burthens: if that had been done, instead of the petitions which have been presented to this House, his Majesty would most probably have had the satisfaction of receiving addresses of thanks from his people.

That as he had upon a former occasion intimated his opinion, that it would be indelicate to reform those parts of the expenditure of the civil list which related to his Majesty's household, by act of Parliament; and as the House had, in a former determination, avoided entering upon them, he thought it probable that they would adhere to the same rule, in their determination respecting the great wardrobe, now under their consideration, as falling within that description.

That he hoped the committee would pay so much credit to the part he had taken in public affairs, and to his conduct in life, as to acquit him of any interested views respecting that office, notwithstanding he was a member of it; he assured the committee, that on every occasion, where his own interest had stood in competition with that of the public, he had always preferred the latter.

That with the assistance of the master of the wardrobe, he had reformed such abuses in the office, as fell under his inspection, as comptroller, and had saved his Majesty good. per annum. That he did not wish to have that office freed from inspection and regulation; on the contrary, he knew there were sinecure places, and other things in it, which wanted reformation; but he did not think it proper to have them regulated by act of Parliament; rather wishing his Majesty would be pleased to make the necessary reformations in all offices within his household, by his own authority; and that he thought it might be proper for the House to address his Majesty for that purpose, as it would, by the saving, furnish

furnish him with the means, not only of relieving many particular distressed objects, which his goodness and humanity would lead him to, but also of giving relief and support to his subjects in general, when oppressed by heavy taxes.

That he did not think himself of consequence enough to make a motion of that sort, but it coincided so much with his general sentiments and wishes (which he had before expressed on many occasions) that if any other gentleman would do it, he should have his hearty concurrence and assistance.

Lord Nugent objected to the clause in question, as tending very unjustifiably, in his opinion, to interfere with his Majesty's domestic regulations. He said, if the honourable gentleman, when he saw the painter at work in the Banqueting House, at Whitehall, on the paintings of Reubens, had asked that painter, who he was, he did not all doubt, but the man would have told him he was a reformer, and that he was attempting to reform and alter those pictures which had been the original work of a greater master, and had been admired for a long series of years. Just as the painter's attempts to correct the pictures of Reubens had struck the honourable gentleman, did the honourable gentleman's bill strike him; it was an attempt to reform, alter, and correct the constitution; he cautioned the honourable gentleman, therefore, how he proceeded; the constitution was the work of the old school, the work of those masters, whose universal excellence and skill had been established by the sanction and approbation of admiring ages; let the honourable gentleman consider, that the picture, however, mellowed by the hand of time, had not lost its original beauty, and that the rude hand of a modern reformer, might, under the notion of correcting and improving, spoil the piece altogether.

Mr. Burke in reply, said, the noble Lord's argument was an argument *ad verecundiam*, which he would readily answer. That which made the painter be employed to re-touch the almost invisible strokes of Reubens, made him turn reformer—the necessity of the times. That it was contrary to his genius, his temper, and his wish, contrary to every inclination of his mind, to attempt the invidious task he had then in hand; he did assure the noble Lord, however, that nothing but dire necessity had forced him upon it. He had long lamented the great and pressing occasion for some person to attempt a reformation in many of the great branches of the public expenditure. He had waited almost to the last moment, in hopes that some other person, whose superior talents, whole

whose turn of mind, and whose zeal, would better qualify him for the office of reforming what was wrong; finding that nobody would do it, and the necessity of its being done pressing more and more, he had at last ventured, unwillingly, upon a task which he disliked as much as any man living. He did assure the noble Lord he would much rather have proposed to build his Majesty splendid palaces, to buy him the most valuable pictures, and to do every thing which could contribute to hold him up in all the possible splendour and magnificence of royalty, than to have taken upon him an office disagreeable in itself, and sure to create him enemies, viz. that of abolishing places in the household, with a view, by making a trifling saving for the public, to assist somewhat towards the great expences they laboured under. Solomon, with all his glory, was said not to be clothed like the lillies of the field; our Solomon, with all his heart, might outvie the lillies of the field; he had not the smallest objection. He repeated it, it was the necessity of the times, and not his will, that made him a reformer. He could not, however, but wonder a little at the noble Lord's comparison of his bill, and the objects of it, to a modern painter's reforming the pictures of Reubens; he should have thought the simile of the old tattered worsted stockings, which had been used the preceding day, would have suited better, because his bill was calculated not to alter the constitution, but to pick out the old worsted, to draw the rents together, and mend the holes. Such an office as that he had undertaken was far from being new. There was in the household itself an office like it, and that was called the office of arras mender, whose duty it was to take care of the tapestry hangings, the works of old masters, and which had been admired for a series of years, but which (from the decay and rottenness occasioned in them by the teeth of devouring time, and from the holes made in them by the teeth of rats, and other obnoxious animals, who sheltered themselves behind them, nibbling them away, and, were continually preying upon them), were in danger of falling to pieces, and occasionally required the assistance of the arras mender, to patch them up, and make them hold together.

Having said this, he took up his minutes of the enumeration of the duties of the great wardrobe, stated by Mr. Gilbert, and in a vein of the richest ridicule, animadverted on each, keeping the committee in a roar almost the whole time he was treating of them. The first articles, he observed, were coronations and great funerals, two articles, which, he

hoped

hoped would give no occasion for the employment of the great wardrobe for many, many years to come. His Majesty, he thanked God, had been blest with a vigorous and healthful constitution; in all probability, therefore, no gentleman present would live to see a coronation. The honourable gentleman had talked a great deal, and very pathetically on the subject of great funerals; perhaps he foresaw that the clause would pass the committee, and as that would naturally effect the death of the great wardrobe, the honourable gentleman might have in view its funeral procession, in which Lord Pelham, and the honourable gentleman, would necessarily walk as chief mourners, a sight certainly very melancholy to behold, but particularly affecting to the honourable gentleman, and those other officers who made up the solemn shew. Great funerals in general, Mr. Burke said, were great follies; the worst waste of money that could be adopted. Now and then, indeed, when the nation meant to do honour to a deserving character, to whose efforts, while living, it stood highly indebted, they were proper, justifiable, and even necessary. He had seen one such funeral, and, there indeed, he must do the great wardrobe the justice to say, that they had rigidly adhered to that virtue, which it was one object of his bill to recommend and enforce, the virtues of oeconomy! So oeconomical, and so saving were the great wardrobe on that occasion, that the cloaks were short, scanty, and thread-bare, and no scarfs, nor hardly any thing necessary to be had. Perhaps, indeed, it was intended as a stroke of policy in the great wardrobe, who, knowing that the minority would be the chief attendants on that funeral, and remembering that it was the minority who made so much noise about oeconomy in Parliament, were determined to treat them in their own way, and to shew that one public office at least, attended with due deference to their doctrines, and carried their practice of oeconomy, even beyond the bounds of decency.

The next article of Mr. Gilbert's list, which he took notice of, was the cloathing of the state trumpeters; by these, he said, he presumed the writers for government were meant, who having so far succeeded in their efforts as to render ministry universally unpopular and detestable, certainly ought to be well taken care of and properly cloathed. He understood, however, that the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, had, in that business, shewn some regard to the public, and by way of saving expence, had contracted to pay the work, these writers undertook, by the gross. After going through

several other articles, he said, "so much for the work done for the crown, now let us see what is done for the people." Why, the great wardrobe furnishes the House of Commons, and the House of Lords. The proper constitutional furniture of the former, he said, were living figures, such, however, as were sometimes rather costly, and by the price of the purchase not very œconomically bought. With regard to the seats, it was impossible for him by the feel to ascertain whether they were done by contract, or how, but there needed, he thought, be no great expence lavished on them; matted rushes would inspire as patriotic sentiments to the persons who sat upon them, as soft cushions. He presumed, that neither Lord Pelham, nor the honourable gentleman troubled their heads about them; that if they did any thing that concerned furnishing either House of Parliament, it was by stuffing the woollacks, and other metaphorical seats of the other House. Having for a considerable time excited laughter by his wit, Mr. Burke returned to a serious consideration of the clause, pointing out the great wardrobe, and other offices, as unnecessary, and therefore as they cost a considerable sum, he said, he thought they might well be spared, and ought to be abolished.

Mr. Medley. Mr. Medley rose to declare, that he wished for œconomy as much as any gentleman present, but he never would consent to touch any part of the King's establishment. His Majesty had given up his hereditary estates in exchange for that civil establishment; the matter, therefore, exclusive of its having turned out exceedingly advantageous to the public, was a matter of bargain between Parliament and the crown, and being once made, that House had no right whatever to interfere with it, or break it; for which reason, as long as he sat in that House, he never would consent to alter or touch a single hair of it. When he said this, he begged not to be supposed to speak from any sinister or interested view. He was as independent a man as any gentleman present; he did assure the House he never would either ask or accept of any favour from the crown, and if he was then at his Majesty's feet, he would say the same.

Mr. Hopkins. Mr. Hopkins spoke in support of the clause, declaring that the offices meant to be abolished by it, cost a great deal of money, and answered no good purpose whatever.

Sir Richard Sutton. Sir Richard Sutton condemned the clause in very strong terms, and reprobated the idea of furnishing the royal palaces with furniture, pictures, &c. by contract, as a mode of treating

treating the prince equally degrading to him, and mean and pitiful in that House to attempt to enact by act of Parliament. He mentioned the King of Prussia's wardrobe, as described by Dr. Moore in his late publication, in proof of the wretched manner a king clothed by contract would appear.

Mr. *Burke* replied to Sir Richard Sutton, and observed that the honourable Baronet had been speaking to a wrong clause, for that there was not one word about contracts in the clause then before the committee. Mr. *Burke* said, he had been used to hear of the King of Prussia as a great soldier, a great legislator, and though with many strong foibles as a man, was one of the greatest monarchs of the present century. His oeconomy was worth our copying. Mr. *Burke*.

Sir *Richard Sutton* rose again, and said the honourable gentleman was mistaken, for if he looked to page 7 of the bill, he would there see a clause referring to the clause now before the committee, by which it was enacted, that all furniture and other moveables, to be purchased for the use of his Majesty's household, were to be contracted for by the Lord Chamberlain; a clause which every gentleman must see the absurdity of, because in some cases it was impracticable, particularly in the purchase of pictures. Sir *Richard Sutton*.

Mr. *Burke* told the honourable Baronet that he had never designed to abridge his Majesty either in furniture, pictures, &c. &c. but that if his bill had passed altogether as he brought it in, his Majesty might have had just whatever he chose, only he would have been certain of being better served. With regard to pictures, Mr. *Burke* said, he had seen some in his Majesty's palaces, which he should have imagined had been bought by contract, and those very badly bought they were such miserable worthless pieces. He begged the honourable Baronet, however, to recollect, that finding gentlemen in general were averse to the King's being served by contract, he had himself declared, he should drop all that part of the bill, and, where it had occurred, as in page 4, respecting the Lord Steward, he had passed over the clause altogether. He ascribed the honourable Baronet's talking of a clause two pages off instead of that under consideration, to his consciousness that there was no ground for objection in that clause which was really before the committee. Mr. *Burke*.

Lord *North* rose to speak to the clause, which he objected to generally, declaring his disinclination to tear the King's household to pieces by act of Parliament, and his determination to oppose every such attempt. His lordship said, there were Lord *North*.

offices jumbled together in the clause, which had no sort of analogy whatever, nor could he conceive on what ground the honourable gentleman had put them into the same clause. The office of master of the robes, he declared, had no connection with the great wardrobe. It was an office held by a very good friend and near relation of his [the honourable James Brudenell] and an office of a very different nature, he believed, from what the honourable gentleman imagined. The master of the robes was always considered as first groom of the bed-chamber, and had the entrees the same as the others; as the honourable gentleman, therefore, had declared he did not wish to meddle with them, he presumed he would not wish, when he knew what he then told him, to abolish the office of master of the robes.

Sir Horace
Mann.

Sir Horace Mann said, he had already declared his disapprobation of violent measures, and for that reason had expressed his objection to committees of association. He lamented the absence of Mr. Pitt, whose bad state of health he described as the cause, and spoke of his disinterested zeal for the public welfare, and his great abilities, in terms of the warmest panegyrick. He declared, the extract from the resolutions of the meeting held at Cambridge, on the 10th instant, which Mr. Pitt had read to the House a few days ago, had given him the highest satisfaction, inasmuch as they exactly coincided with his own sentiments. He begged the House, however, to attend to the grounds upon which the Cambridge resolutions were founded—a flattering expectation of the further interference of the House of Commons, with regard to the grievances complained of by the petitions of the people, and a confidence that what they should do in conformity to their solemn resolutions of the 6th of April, would give effectual relief. He bid the House, therefore, consider, that they must do something that would fall in with the expectations of the people, and not abuse their confidence. The objects of the clause under consideration, he thought were very important, and as they tended towards economy, coincided with the petitions of the people; but, perhaps, it would be more respectful to the crown to do the business by address, rather than by act of Parliament. He wished his honourable friend had been present to take the lead in such a business; he would gladly have followed him upon it. He declared, that it appeared to him a very proper step, and if no other person would do it, he said, unworthy and humble as his abilities were, he would move an address to the crown, requesting

requesting that those things might be done which were the objects of the bill, provided he found that such a measure should prove agreeable to the House.

General *Canway* rose, and said the ground of argument had changed so much since the bill was last under consideration of the committee, that he scarcely knew in what manner to treat the subject. It was, as the honourable gentleman who spoke last had said, highly necessary that something should be done in compliance with the petitions of the people; the people had particularly recommended oeconomy, and it was undoubtedly highly necessary; we were now confessedly carrying on a war of oeconomy with our foes, a war of finance, which must unavoidably terminate in the ruin of them or us. The advisers of his Majesty, ought, therefore, to adopt every measure that tended towards oeconomy, and they could not do better than look to France, and see what had been the conduct of that court. From the moment Lewis XVI. came to the throne, reformation and oeconomy had been the great objects of their attention. The General here pulled some translations of French edicts from his pocket, and read an extract from the very first published by the present French King, immediately on his accession to the throne in 1774. The extract was couched in very affectionate terms of address to the subjects of France, informing them that the preceding reign had abounded in liberalities and profusenesses, to an excess extremely detrimental to the interest of the kingdom, and that the King was determined to reform them as much as possible, and to begin his reign with abridging his own expences; the better to get the finances of his kingdom into good order. The consequences of steadily adhering to this resolution, the General described as exceedingly beneficial to France; the end, he said, was so fully answered, that she had yet imposed no taxes on the subject, and had this year, for the first time, made a loan, and that a very small one, whereas we had added sixty million to our national debt already. He estimated the savings made by the King of France in his household only, at near a million annually, and calculated that it would pay the interest, twenty-five millions.

Mr. *Rout*, in general terms commended the clause, pointed out the saving it would occasion, said it came directly under the prayer of the petitions, reminding the committee that the House had pledged themselves by their resolutions of the 6th of April, to do something effectual to diminish the influence

Gen. Canway.

Mr. Rout.

of the crown, and advised the agreeing to the present clause as one step towards discharging that promise.

Mr. Powys. Mr. *Powys* expressed his astonishment that the Minister had not risen and given the House assurance, that if the address which had been mentioned, was proposed, it should not be objected to and defeated by the noble Lord in the blue ribbon and his friends.

Mr. Adair. Mr. *Adair* supported the cause very strenuously, and urged the absolute necessity of complying with the prayers of the petitions, in regard to œconomy. In order to prove that the committee were warranted to interfere, he moved to have the resolution proposed by Mr. Pitt on the 6th of April, and agreed to by the committee, and afterwards confirmed by the House, read.

It was read accordingly at the table.

Lord North. Lord *North* then rose, and after apologizing for sitting silent so long, said, that undoubtedly an address to the throne was both a parliamentary and constitutional measure; that every thing which came from that House would always be regarded with the utmost attention and respect, by those about the person of his Majesty; that he owed a resolution of that House the greatest deference; he owed it also his obedience, not indeed as much as he owed to an act of Parliament, but as much as a resolution of one House of Parliament was entitled to. An address from that House, was the voice of the people of England, which was at all times entitled to the utmost deference. The people of England, when they spoke through their representatives, adopted that mode of speaking to the throne, by which alone the people of England could be heard or could speak. Gentlemen had said a great deal about œconomy, and the King of Prussia had been mentioned. The sovereign, whom he had the honour to serve, in his desires to have œconomy strictly attended to at all times, and to comply with the wishes of his people, would give way to no sovereign on the face of the globe. His Majesty was always eager to please the people, and to do every thing in his power that could possibly contribute to their happiness and their welfare.

**General
Conway.**

His Lordship was called to order by General *Conway*, who rose in great heat, and charged the noble Lord with having perverted his words, and applied what he had said relative to the advisers of the crown, to the person of the Sovereign, a matter exceedingly improper and directly contrary to order.

This created a violent warmth in the committee.

Lord

Lord *North* rose, and said, the hon. gentleman had no right to stop him in so much heat; that he was a servant of the crown, as well as the hon. gentleman, and as faithful a servant. He contended, he had not been disorderly; he had a right to say, the sovereign he served, in regard to a desire to have œconomy strictly adhered to, would give way to no sovereign on the face of the globe. Lord North.

His lordship was again called to order by Mr. *Dempster*, Mr. *Dampster*, who asserted that the noble Lord had laid down a position which could not be debated, and therefore he had spoken contrary to order.

Lord *North* maintained, that he had only paid a just compliment to his sovereign; that he had not used the name of the King to influence the debate, as a screen for a minister, as a refuge, or in any of those points of view which the order of the House was directed at; and that he had a right to pay his Majesty the compliment which his character merited. Lord North.

Mr. *Dunning* interrupted the noble Lord, to tell him that what he had said was impertinent to the subject in debate. That perhaps the noble Lord would plead that in excuse, but its being impertinent was no excuse; the noble Lord ought to know that the House of Commons was not a place for compliments to the sovereign; that no one gentleman present was to learn the amiable virtues of their prince, it was therefore unnecessary and improper to blazon them within those walls, and could only be done with a view to influence debate. Another thing the noble Lord had said, he could not suffer to pass unnoticed, and that was his declaration, that the people of England could only be heard through their representatives. He denied this doctrine; every man, the meanest subject, had a right to petition his sovereign. Mr. Dunning.

Lord *North* said most certainly every man, a subject of that kingdom, had the right described by the learned gentleman, and God forbid it should ever be questioned or denied. But then a petition so delivered, was the petition of the individual or individuals who signed it; he had been speaking of the people of England collectively, who could only be heard by their representatives. His lordship having said this, went into a general reply to all that had been thrown out in the course of the debate; and first, he took notice of what General Conway had said relative to the finances of France, and the advisers of the crown. It was impossible, he declared, to know the state of the former, from the French edicts. They were generally admirable productions of very able men, drawn up in the most soothing terms, and studiously designed to have a pleasing

pleasing effect on the subjects. If the hon. gentleman was to look back on the edicts of the last reign, which was undoubtedly, as the first edict of Louis XVI. declared it to have been, a reign of great dissipation and great liberality, the honourable gentleman would find all the edicts of that day drawn up in the same persuasive and soothing stile of address to the passions of the people. The hon. gentleman had said a great deal about the French not having imposed any taxes; the hon. gentleman must recollect, that where great abuses had prevailed, great savings could be made; the last reign having been a very dissipated one, there was the greater room for reform on the accession of Louis XVI. As to that prince's household, the *maison civile du roi* differed very essentially from our King's civil list; the sum was astonishingly larger, neither did any part of it go to public expences, whereas a very great proportion of the civil list was applied to the payment of our ambassadors, and otherwise to the public use. The financier of France was undoubtedly a man of great talents, and he believed deserved the greatest encomiums, but it was not possible to judge what state the finances of France were in, because, according to the form of the French government, the minister could anticipate and go on at a great expence, without the people's knowing it; whereas, in this country, whenever a great measure is adopted, the minister is expected to propose a tax immediately to answer the expence a minister here would not be suffered to anticipate.

His Lordship then observed, that it had frequently been urged that Queen Anne gave 100,000*l.* a year during the war in her reign, out of her civil list; the fact was so, his Lordship said, but gentlemen forgot that this boon was only given for five years, and that the sixth year the minister came to Parliament, and upon stating the debts of the civil list, obtained a grant of 600,000*l.* He had this example before him, and therefore he had been backward in proposing a similar measure, because he could by no means approve of recommending to his Majesty to give that as a boon which was afterwards to be demanded back again as a debt. When he had last applied to Parliament to pay the debts of the civil list, it had been asked if he would answer for it, that he would not again apply for a similar purpose, and would engage, that when the Prince of Wales's household was established, the expence would be paid out of the civil list, as it would then stand at 900,000*l.* a year. He said he had not, at that time, engaged, because he could not speak with certainty, and he hoped he should always be cautious how he made engagements.

He

He could now, however, tell the committee, that the Prince of Wales's household should be paid without any additional claim on the public. The civil list was apparently in arrear, but not in reality; because it had been in advance for great public purposes, and that money would come back again. His lordship declared that the war had occasioned great expences, which immediately affected the civil list. He stated that the American refugees were paid a large sum annually out of it. That on an application from the island of Barbadoes some time since, complaining of their being in the most pressing distress for want of provisions, his Majesty had ordered thirty thousand pounds to be advanced to buy provisions, and had caused them to be sent to the island. His Majesty had also ordered 16,000*l.* in like manner to be advanced in consequence of a similar application lately from the island of Antigua.

After going through a variety of particulars, all tending to prove, that the civil list arrears were occasioned by the great expence of secret service money, and other necessary public purposes, his Lordship adverted to the clause, and repeated his dislike to tear the civil establishment to pieces by act of Parliament; declaring at the same time that the bill had no object which might not to the full as well be effected by address to the throne.

Sir *Horace Mann* said, he saw if he moved for an address, Sir *Horace Mann*. he should not be supported by the noble Lord; he would therefore decline any such measure.

Mr. *Townshend* made an excellent speech in reply to Lord North. Mr. *Townshend*.

Lord *George Gordon* also cut about him, and concluded with saying, he'd have nothing to do with such an old cloaths business, but would vote against the clause. Lord *George Gordon*.

The committee at length divided,

Ayes	162	Noes	210
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The committee then proceeded upon the next clause, viz. that for abolishing the board of works.

Mr. *Whitshed Keene* was on his legs three quarters of an hour, giving a full account of the use of the board of works, and a detail of works done by it within these few years, to the amount of 800,81,000*l.* which he said could not otherwise have been done for the public so cheaply. Mr. *Whitshed Keene*.

Vol. XVII. H h h h Mr. *Burke*

* Among many curious items in Mr. *Whitshed Keene*'s statement of the expences incurred in the board of works, in the course of the last nineteen years, ending Michaelmas 1779, were the following:

Spent

Mr. Burke.

Mr. Burke made a most witty and laughable reply, comparing the board of works to the Fox alehouse, a little, contemptible, ill-convenient and ill-conditioned tenement, which any person would ride by without noticing, but which, upon paper and with the help of oratory, would fill many sheets, and cut as splendid a figure in description as the noblest palace.

At eleven the committee divided.

Ayes

118.

Noes

203.

Lord George Gordon.

Lord George Gordon then moved that the committee should adjourn, and the chairman report a progress, and ask leave to sit again.

Adjourned to May 1st.

May 1.

Sir Herbert Mackworth.

Sir Herbert Mackworth presented a petition from a Mr. Green, setting forth that he had devised a method for manning the royal navy without pressing, and praying he might be heard thereon. The Baronet, after a short preface, moved that the said petition be referred to a Committee.

Lord

Spent in erections and improvements in the household gardens.

Seventy-four thousand pounds in buildings in and about the Queen's palace,—What was done? Building a few offices, a library next Pimlico, some alterations in the body of the house, and the railing put up before it.—A better house might be erected for half the money, from the very foundation.

Eleven thousand pounds laid out in the Queen's garden.—What was done? Building a wall next to the green park, and round to the turnpike, laying down the whole in a grass-plat, and planting a few trees and shrubs, which at the rate of about 1500l. per acre, or upwards of 3000l. for what was taken in from the green park.

Almost fourteen thousand pounds, for beautifying St. James's park.—What was done? Filling up Rosamond's Pond, and the dykes about mud or duck island; putting up the railing, and planting a few trees; the whole of which might be executed for little more than the value of the timber cut down, in some countries. The park contains about thirty acres, the improvements about 500l. an acre, or ten times the value of the fee simple.

The Queen's house at Richmond, thirty-two thousand pounds.—What was done? The house is not half finished; and, when finished, would not cost some gentlemen in some countries six thousand pounds.

Six thousand pounds at Richmond.—For what? For pulling down an old House.—Four thousand for doing something invisible at Carleton-house; as much more at Kew for the same purposes; and a round sum for erections made on the other side of the house.

One hundred and thirteen thousand pounds, or six thousand pounds a year, for taking care of the gardens; and twenty-seven thousand pounds

Lord *Beauchamp* thought there was an impropriety in the motion, as it went to refer a petition to the consideration of a committee, before the contents of the petition were made known to the House. Lord *Beauchamp*.

Lord *Howe* said no one could feel a greater concern than he did at the practice of forcing men into the service; he was, however, the last person to prevent any method from coming under consideration, for the better manning of the navy, but till the petition in question had been submitted to the Admiralty, he could not give his consent for referring it to a committee of that House, at least at that time when none of the Lords of the Admiralty were present. Lord *Howe*.

Sir *Herbert Mackworth* said, he had nothing more in view, than the immediate good of the public, and was willing to meet the idea of the House. He, therefore, would content himself Sir *Herbert Mackworth*.

H h h 2

himself

pounds for the private roads; or at the rate of six thousand for the gardens, and thirteen hundred pounds per ann. for the roads.—What are the whole of the gardens? 378 acres, or about seven pounds per acre for rolling the gardens.—What are the roads? Four miles of the worst road within the vicinity of the metropolis, on which, there are three turnpike-gates. Now, so far as persons are privileged, or permitted to pass free on those roads, a Yorkshireman would be apt to imagine that he could keep a road in repair upon the same terms, for 1300l. per annum, from London to York.

We shall only select two other instances: Twenty thousand pounds for lighting and paving; whereas, it is notorious, that the King's palaces are the worst lighted, and the courts the worst paved in his Majesty's dominions: from Downing-street to the Admiralty, there are not above three street-lamps; and after twelve at night these cease to burn; by which means the bedarkened traveller runs a chance of having his pocket emptied of his cash, and his skull of its brains, if he possesses either; and that by some friendly red-coat, within perhaps a few yards of the next centinel. Nothing however is lost, it all goes to the common stock; and the girls, the centinel, and the assailant, generally divide the plunder. Look into the Park, and see how Lord North's garden-wall is illuminated; not a single lamp from Fludyer-street to New-street, Spring-gardens.

But at once to out-do probability, without building new houses, without erecting even a stable, without planting or sowing grass-seeds, without paving, or lighting, or rolling, or cutting down; in short, without doing any thing but using a little mortar, a few slates, some tiles, and a few deal boards, the next article is the sum of five hundred and eighteen thousand pounds, or twenty-seven thousand pounds per annum, for nineteen years, for keeping the Royal Palaces in repair!

Mr. T.
Luttrell.

himself for the present, by moving, that the petition should lie on the table; and the petition was disposed of accordingly. Mr. *Temple Luttrell* stated to the House, that in consequence of the wages due to the seamen on board the *Invincible*, having been delayed, a mutiny had taken place, and four unhappy men sentenced to die for the part they had taken in it. The hon. gentleman wished to call the attention of the House to their case, which he thought a very hard and cruel one, as they had a very just right to complain of the stoppage that had been made of their pay; and observed, that it was oppression in the highest degree, first to press men into the service, then to irritate them, by keeping from them their wages, and afterwards to adjudge them guilty of death for a mutiny. He thought the case of those men well worth the consideration of the House, as it would be little less than murder, to put them to death for what they had done. The hon. gentleman then moved,

“That there be laid before this House an account of all monies due on wages to seamen and marines serving on board his Majesty’s ship the *Thunderer*, at the time the last payment was made to all or any of the crew of the said ship, together with the dates and amount of the several sums then issued to seamen and marines respectively.”

“That there be laid before this House an account of all monies due on wages to seamen and marines serving on board his Majesty’s ship the *Invincible*, at the time the mutiny or disturbance happened on board the said ship.” The same were, upon the question, ordered accordingly.

Lord Mul-
grave.

Lord *Mulgrave* said it was not usual to lay accounts before the House, until some reason was given for it, though he had no objection to the present motion.

Admiral
Keppel.

Admiral *Keppel* said he was unwilling to lay any blame upon any particular person, but he was very sure there must have been a fault some-where, or the mutiny spoken of would not have happened.

Lord Mul-
grave.

Lord *Mulgrave* took up the hon. gentleman, and said, that mutinies might be expected to be more frequent, when spoken of in such a manner.

Admiral
Keppel.

Admiral *Keppel* said, he loved discipline, as well as the noble Lord, but always wished to shew lenity when an opportunity offered. There was one instance of it in particular, which he should always recollect with pride. When he last commanded, Sir Robert Harland came to him to inform him of a mutiny; and what did he do? He did not order any severity to be used; he knew that was the last thing to be re-
sorted

forced to. But he told Sir Robert Harland to go back to the men, and tell them that he would not suffer him, or any one else to do them an injury, and desired they would make him acquainted with the nature of their complaint. The method he took had the desired effect; the mutiny subsided, and the men returned to their duty. His lenity had procured this; whereas, had he proceeded to extremities, a great deal of blood must have been shed.

Lord *Howe* was of the same opinion as to the case of the four men condemned to die; and desired the hon. gentleman, when next he told the story, that he would use the word discipline, instead of lenity.

Lord *Mulgrave* informed the House, that he was given to understand, that the court martial on the four men, had not proceeded against them with the utmost rigour of the law, but had only sentenced them to corporal punishment, part of which had been inflicted upon them. The matter was thereupon dismissed.

Mr. *Burke* then called the attention of the House to the case of the two men who belonged to the *Eagle* privateer, and were the last Admiralty session at the Old Bailey capital-ly convicted for mutiny. Mr. Burke gave a detail of the whole transaction, informing the House, that the said privateer was, soon after it left Bristol, run away with by the captain, who after plundering several ships, wanted to set his men ashore at Falmouth; but they knowing they should be pressed in that case, made resistance, in consequence of which a mutiny arose, and one of the ship's crew was killed. Mr. Burke was of opinion that it would be a very bad example to the service to put to death those who had been guilty of a mutiny on board a private ship, under such circumstances as he had stated; considering the matter in this light, he thought it the duty of the House to interfere, as it was their province to take care that justice was dealt out with mercy; and unless some one in authority would promise that the execution of the men should be respited, he would certainly move for an address to his Majesty for that purpose.

Lord *North* said, it would, perhaps, be taking too much upon him, to promise that the men should be respited; but he assured the House, that he would take care to notice it properly, and as far as it laid in his power, it should be done.

Mr. *Gilbert* moved, that it be referred to the committee of ways and means, to discontinue the allowance on the waste of salt, carried coast wise.

Sir

Sir George Yonge. *Sir George Yonge* objected to it, as the taking off an indulgence, was, in fact, imposing a new tax.

Sir William Meredith. *Sir William Meredith* opposed it, and said that it would throw the trade more into the inland parts, and ruin the coasting trade.

Mr. Gilbert. *Mr. Gilbert* replied, that it would make a saving to the public of 15,000*l.* a year, and serve to replace the tax on coals, which Lord North had signified he should decline laying. The motion, however, was withdrawn.

Sir Horace Mann. *Sir Horace Mann* presented a petition from his Majesty's protestant subjects of the town of Maidstone in the county of Kent, praying for a repeal of the act passed the last session of Parliament, in favour of the Roman catholics, and the petition was ordered to lie on the table.

Lord George Gordon. *Lord George Gordon* severely animadverted on the conduct of opposition, in having assisted last year in bringing in the bill in favour of the Roman catholics, to which, however, he believed many of them had been innocently drawn by the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, who, in his comparing those concerned in the league of Cambray to the opposition, seemed to indicate that he suspected some of them to be friends of popery, for he mentioned the Pope as being at the head of that league. The noble Lord proceeded in this strain, and threw out that it was the common topic of discourse in France, that this country would shortly become a province dependant on that power, and that the Count D'Artois was already pitched upon to govern it.

Mr. Hartley. *Mr. Hartley* rose for the purpose of stating to the House, the nature of the proposition he intended to move, respecting America. It would, he said, consist of three motions. The first would be declaratory of the principle, and would go to declare against any farther prosecution of the war in America, as it prevented the use of his Majesty's arms against the House of Bourbon. The second motion he should make, would be for addressing his Majesty for that purpose; and his third motion, for enabling his Majesty to open a negociation for the purpose of effecting a peace with America.

General Conway. *General Conway* gave notice that he should, on this day, move for leave to bring in a bill for a reconciliation with America.

Lord George Gordon. *Lord George Gordon* said, he was very sure that *Mr. Hartley's* motions would be rejected, because in the address to his Majesty, he had desired that the present ministry might be changed. He observed, that a noble Lord [*Lord Nugent*] wished for a peace with America, though he did not wish to

see the present ministry go out of office, which must be the case, should the war with America be terminated.

The order of the day being called for, it was read by the clerk, and purported, that the House resolve itself into a committee on the bill for a commission of accounts.

Previous to any motion for the Speaker's leaving the chair, Lord North said, he wished first to say a word or two relative to the settling the order of their proceedings; his intention was to propose, as he had given notice on his first moving for leave to bring in the bill, that the commissioners should not be members of either House of Parliament; this proposition, he declared, was not unprecedented, there had been various commissions of accounts moved for on former occasions, and in former reigns. In the time of Charles the Second, in the time of William the third, and in the time of Queen Anne. Some of these had been for commissioners in which members of Parliament were the commissioners, and some in which they were not; in order to prove that one of the latter sort had been countenanced by the House, he begged the clerk to refer to the journals of the year 1667, the 13th of Charles the second, and to read the minutes which referred to the commission bill then in agitation.

The clerk made the references required, which amounted to three in number, and it appeared from them, that Sir Charles Herbert, was chairman of the committee above stairs appointed to prepare the commission bill, that he made the proper report to the House, that twenty names were given in and ballotted for, and thus reduced to nine; that they then were severally nominated and elected, and among them the Lord Brereton, Sir George Savile, Mr. Pierrepont, Sir William Turner, who had been Lord Mayor of London, and five others.

Colonel Barre said he did not place much confidence in the accuracy of the journals of that period, for though it was no more than 120 years ago, it was a notorious fact that they were not kept in such order, nor with the regularity in which they now were, and ought, at all times, to have been kept. He begged to know whether the noble Lord in the blue ribbon had any proof that the gentlemen named in the commission of 1667, were not members of Parliament at the time, because he had reason to think they were, as he found Lord Brereton returned knight of the shire for Cheshire soon afterwards, and some of the other names were also to be found among the list of members at the same period.

Mr. Powys rose to enter his caveat against its being understood, that the House, by going into a committee, agreed to the

the proposition, that the commissioners should be other than members of Parliament. He for one did not by any means accede to it.

r. Ord. The Speaker then left the chair, and Mr. Ord took his seat at the table.

After reading the preamble,

Lord North. Lord North rose, and began with assuring the House, that he had no intention in moving that the commissioners should not be members of Parliament, either to take away from that House, any one of its privileges, to abridge its powers, to delegate them into improper hands, or to insinuate either directly or indirectly, that there were not within those walls men of as much integrity and ability, as much honour in themselves and as much zeal for the public welfare, as any men in the kingdom. He was convinced there were, and the only reason why he had proposed, that the commissioners should not be members, really was, because the common parliamentary business was now so great, debates ran so high, and the times were so contentious, that almost every gentleman had taken either one side or the other, and therefore if they were chosen commissioners, their conduct in that situation would be liable to very great misconstruction; and he did not believe their being appointed commissioners would give the people so much satisfaction, as if gentlemen without doors of known abilities, and respectable characters were named for that office. He added to this, that on looking back to former commissions, those which had not been composed of members had done the best service for the publick, the others in general turning out mere party matters, and ending in nothing. Another reason, likewise, why he preferred gentlemen without doors to gentlemen within, was, that by adopting the former, all that ground of offence to the other House of Parliament, which had been given on former occasions, would be removed, and the possibility of a difference with the Lords avoided, a matter which was at all times to be wished, but particularly at present. His Lordship stated what the occasion of the differences with the other House was upon former commission bills; declaring that the Lords had then objected to the commissioners being members of the House of Commons on these two grounds, viz. that the House of Commons by naming their own members, took from them the right of nomination and election, which they alledged they possessed as well as the Commons, and that the commissioners being members of Parliament, were not subject to that controul, which they ought to have a power of exercising over persons delegated to enquire into and report the state of the public

public accounts. These objections his Lordship said, he thought much stronger than many people had imagined, and therefore it became additionally proper to avoid occasioning a difference with the Lords now. He then went on to state that as in former commissions, he should limit the number of commissioners to nine persons, and the time of the commission's remaining in force to one twelvemonth, by the expiration of which time he thought the business of the commission might be done; but if it should not, the House would have it in their power to continue the act in force for a longer time; his Lordship strengthened this observation with remarking, that every one of the former commissions were passed for a year only.

Having mentioned these preliminaries, his Lordship proceeded to the nomination of the commissioners; they must, he said, from the nature of the accounts which would come before them be men of different lines in life, and of different pursuits. As a large part of the accounts would refer to the army, he had turned his eye towards able officers, who were competent to judge of the propriety of the expences incurred in the management of the military in America; he had next looked to the law, and to those of that profession who were most in the habits of settling accounts, and adjusting differences between parties; for these he had gone to the Chancery, the great court of account of the kingdom, and there he had fixed on those who were immediately concerned in accounts, viz. the masters. The third description of persons he had thought of, were merchants, and such men as were likely to be the best judges of buying and selling either by contract or otherwise. The name he should first mention to the committee, would be that of a gentleman, to whom possibly some objection might be made, because he was free to own he was a placeman, and what was more, he was a placeman of his making, but in no one act of his public life did he glory more, because he was convinced, from his great ability and knowledge of business, that gentleman had done his country most essential service. He was a man not by any means unknown, a man of as upright a heart, as clear a head, and as honest a mind, as any one man living, let his station in life be what it would. The gentleman he alluded to was Mr. Thomas Bowlby, comptroller of the army accounts. He was one whose talents, as well as the many recommendations he had received from various quarters, pointed him out as a very fit person to be a commissioner. At the head of those, however, he would name Sir Guy Carleton, an

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officer of such distinguished merit, and such exalted character, that he presumed no gentleman would make the smallest objection. Sir Guy Carleton therefore, he meant for one commissioner, Mr. Bowlby for a second, and he should next name—

Mr. Byng. Mr. Byng rose suddenly and said, as the insult about to be put on the House was of the most intolerable kind, no less than a daring attempt to sink them in the most debasing manner, and annihilate their best privileges, he begged the noble Lord, would nominate but one person at a time, that the committee might pass their judgement on that one, before they proceeded to take a second into their consideration.

Mr. Brett. Mr. Brett rose, as the House was rather proceeding to disorder, to beg that gentlemen would be serious, and consider the very great importance of the subject before them.

Mr. Burke. Mr. Burke ironically congratulated the noble Lord on his glorious beginning, and begged that he might be suffered to proceed without interruption through his nomination, declaring he was extremely desirous of seeing the whole *dramatis personæ*, since it was impossible to judge of any drama by a sight of only one or two of its personages, but that the whole must pass in review, not only the King and Princes, but the first, second, and third mob, and all the retinue.

General Conway. General Conway rose with more than common warmth, and declared he felt himself so exceedingly hurt at what had passed, that he hoped the noble Lord would not be suffered to proceed a step further till the House had first determined whether an instruction should be given to the committee, directing them either to nominate members for the commissioners, or strangers. The noble Lord had mentioned Sir Guy Carleton at the head of his list. A man whom he regarded as the most virtuous, the most honourable, and one of the most respectable characters in his profession. He did not know upon the face of the earth a person so dear to him as Sir Guy Carleton, why then must he be reduced to the cruel necessity of putting a negative upon a character so truly estimable and amiable, merely because he did not approve of the measure itself; and why must the name and reputation of an officer of such distinguished merit be bandied about in that committee, when after all, it might happen, that the House would not, upon the report, approve the nomination? He thought it therefore the best and the properest way to resume the House immediately and to discuss the point, and settle decisively whether the commissioners should be members of Parliament or not; for this reason, he desired to move, "that the chair-

man

man leave the chair, report a progress, and ask leave to sit again."

Mr. *Rigby* expressed his astonishment at this motion; he said he had understood, that gentlemen had agreed to go into the committee, and go through the nomination and other parts of the bill. The noble Lord in the blue ribbon, had a little while ago, made an opening for discussing the subject, which the right honourable gentleman who spoke last, had expressed such anxiety to debate and decide upon, but not a word about it was then thrown out. Now that gentlemen were in a committee, without any one good reason, a sudden disposition had shewed itself to settle that, which, if disputed, surely should have been settled before; and what had caused this disposition? No one thing that he could even guess at, excepting the noble Lord's having nominated as a commissioner Sir Guy Carleton, who, according to the honourable gentleman who made the motion, was the fittest man in the world for the situation he had been nominated for, and to whom he did not conceive there would come from any gentleman the smallest objection. Mr. *Rigby* assured the committee that he did not know who were to be nominated commissioners, till after he had entered those doors that afternoon. That he thought such conduct towards the noble Lord so unfair, and so unreasonable, that if the right honourable gentleman persisted in his motion, he would take the sense of the House upon it, for he was determined the chairman should not quit the chair without a division.

Mr. *T. Townshend* rose to second the motion, and prefaced his so doing with a very passionate speech, in which he severely attacked the noble Lord, accusing him of having offered the most gross insult to Parliament that ever a minister dared attempt. He asked why Sir Guy Carleton had been suffered to remain so long idle, if he merited the praises the noble Lord had bestowed on him. Why not give him a command instead of putting a pen into his hand? He reprobated the idea of employing men in direct opposition to their professions, and said making an officer a commissioner of accounts was of a piece with making a commis a colonel of a regiment.

Mr. *Townshend* also objected to Sir Guy Carleton as having an account to make up himself, and therefore he thought him disqualified from sitting in judgment on the accounts of others.

Col. *Barré* coincided in this idea, and advised putting a truncheon into Gen. Carleton's hand, but by no means dis-

grace a brave officer by turning him into a clerk. The colonel recommended permitting the noble Lord to proceed in stating his commissioners, and then when he came to put the question upon the first name, to take the sense of the House upon the general idea, whether Sir Guy Carleton, not being a member, should be a commissioner, aye or no. In order to do this, he advised his right honourable friend to withdraw his motion for the present.

Gen. Can-
way.
Lord North.

General Canway seemed inclined so to do, but Lord North rose, and said, he thought it would be fair to take the sense of the House on the proposition then, and not to suffer him to proceed mentioning the rest of the names till the matter was decided. If the sense of the House was known, he should act accordingly; in case the House should determine that the commissioners should be members of Parliament, he would not mention the name of any one gentleman who was not a member, and so *vice versa*, he could not therefore but think the right honourable gentleman's motion perfectly candid and reasonable; for which reason he must hope that the committee would agree in taking it then, and giving their votes upon the matter, so as to decide it one way or the other.

Col. Barré.

Col. Barré reprobated this, as an unprecedented want of candour; he declared whenever a gentleman desired to withdraw his motion, it was always usual to allow him to do it; he again pressed the propriety of hearing the rest of the names of the commissioners, and afterwards deciding upon the main question.

Mr. Corn-
wall.

Mr. Cornwall was for considering the present question as decisive, and if it were carried for the chairman to leave the chair, to take it as a decision that the commissioners should be members of Parliament; but if it were carried, that he should not leave the chair, to take it the other way, and proceed in the nomination. Mr. Cornwall mentioned the committee for the taking an account of the Irish estates that were forfeited, near the close of the last century, as a proof that committees, which were composed of strangers, had been allowed by that House.

Mr. Dun-
ning.

Mr. Dunning insisted upon it, that so far from the present bill's complying with the prayer of the petitions, or answering the wishes of the people of England, it ran directly counter to both, as well to the latter, as they could be gathered and collected from the petitions, as to the former, stated and ascertained as they were, in those petitions themselves. The people of England most clearly, most intelligibly, most unequivocally

quivocally called upon the House "to correct the gross abuses in the expenditure of public money, to reduce all exorbitant emoluments, to rescind and abolish all sinecure places, and unmerited pensions, and to appropriate the produce to the necessities of the state, in such manner, as to the wisdom of Parliament shall seem meet." The petitioners looked up to the House as possessing the means to go to, and to exterminate the root of the evil, opportunity to trace it to the bottom, by proper and necessary investigation, and power to eradicate it effectually, totally and without danger of leaving the smallest vestiges of its existence. Did the bill shew, in any one sense whatever, that the House possessed the power which the people of England supposed it to possess, or did it amount to a proof, or any thing like a proof, that they were willing, possessing that power ascribed to them, so to exercise it, as to answer the expectation of the people without doors? On the contrary, was not the present bill a solemn and formal renunciation of the powers ascribed to that House by the petitioners? Was it not apparently and substantially a resignation of the rights of the House, if any such rights they possessed, as the petitioners perhaps improperly, perhaps ignorantly, supposed they did possess, and a total abdication of them as far as they could be usefully exercised, in truly, seriously, and solemnly proceeding to afford the relief and redress of grievances which the people of England required at the hands of that House? Did the noble Lord, if the purport of his speech was at all to be relied on, afford the least hopes, that even admitting for a moment, though by no means agreeing to the proposition, that it was either wise, warrantable, or consonant to the constitution of Parliament, to delegate on any occasion those rights which belonged to the House of Commons? Did the noble Lord however, admitting the proposition in its utmost extent, give the least ground for hope, that he wished to delegate the rights of the House of Commons to such hands as were proper to be entrusted with so extraordinary a delegation? Without entering into a discussion, or meaning to question the character, honour, integrity, or ability, of the intended commissioners, and agreeing fully and entirely, as he believed every gentleman would most readily agree, that the two persons, who had been named, merited all the encomiums which the noble Lord had been pleased to pass upon them, and still more encomiums than the noble Lord had passed, was it not fair to conclude that all the commissioners, whom the noble Lord intended to nominate would be placemen? He meant not to say that they would all be placemen in the present sense, but changing the sense,

tense, they would be placemen ; placemen now, or placemen in the highest probable expectancy, placemen in future.

Mr. Dunning then, with infinite poignancy of wit, turned all the three descriptions of strangers pointed out by Lord North, as fit persons for commissioners, into ridicule. The military commanders he objected to as incompetent from their want of familiarity with accounts and papers, the masters in chancery for their characteristic delay, (appealing to the House whether most of the gentlemen present could not feelingly witness the tediousness of the processes in chancery), and the merchants as expectant contractors.

In the course of his speech, he expressed his surprise at hearing Sir Guy Carleton nominated by the noble Lord. That officer had never before been honoured with the nod of Jupiter, nor did he recollect that any of his satellites had on any former occasion shot off to illuminate his character.

After a most ingenious argument, Mr. Dunning closed with expressing his wish, that the noble Lord might be suffered to proceed in the nomination of his intended commissioners, that the House might fully know the extent of the noble Lord's attempt to persuade them to resign and abdicate their rights and those powers with which they were constitutionally invested.

The Lord Advocate.

The *Lord Advocate* rose immediately, and contended that the delegation aimed at by the noble Lord was neither unprecedented nor unparliamentary ; that the noble Lord had no object whatever but the public good, and that the object he had mentioned could not be so well attained as by appointing the commissioners from among the persons without doors. He put the case fairly, if the commissioners had been appointed either from one side of the House or the other, or had been formed from a mixture of both, whether every gentleman must not be convinced, that the three compositions of commissioners would not have been severally objectionable, the two former upon equal grounds, and the third more than either. In order to shew this question in its true light, he asked if gentlemen were not perfectly aware, that in case the commissioners were chosen from the side of the House on which he stood, whether it would not be immediately said, " the commission is a trick, a piece of chicane of the minister ; the commissioners are his friends ! his dependents ! his creatures ! What good can the people at large look for from men chosen to in-

spect

spect the accounts of the noble Lord himself and those about him, who look upon the noble Lord as their patron, their maker?" Gentlemen on the other side of the House, he said, were generally warm, and frequently hot; not that he meant to complain of their warmth or their passion; he was glad to see either, because he was convinced, that men who flew to hard words, and to heat, had no argument to resort to, and substituted passion for pleading, strong expressions for sound reasoning, and ill-language for sober discussion. Those who were on the side of the House on which he stood, were accustomed to govern their passions better, to keep themselves more cool, and to speak with a greater degree of temper and moderation. But temperate and meek, (for meek even to reprehension he sometimes thought they were, to put up with the gross attacks and illiberal abuse of the other side of the House) was it not probable that his honourable friends, in case the commissioners were all named by opposition, would say, "their report was not the result of a fair and candid investigation of the facts which came before them, but an effort of party founded on factious motives, and having no other view but to turn out the ministry and possess themselves of their places." Thus while the report of the one description of men would be termed factious, the report of the other would be pronounced a mere screen for ministerial speculation. Still worse would be the result, were the commissioners to be a mixed number of members of gentlemen on both sides; in that case, business would be put a stop to entirely; the animosity of the one set would operate upon the irritability of the other, both would in consequence be betrayed into ill-humour, spleen, and petulance, and rage and madness would take place of sober investigation, and wise, and deliberate decision. In every one of the three points of view, therefore, the end of the commission would be frustrated, and the people without doors would be dissatisfied, and having cause to complain of the House, would be induced to think meanly of its functions, its inclinations, and its powers to do them benefit, and to do them service. This was surely a feeling which no gentleman, who would pause a moment and think coolly of the present temper of the times, would wish to impress on the minds of the people without doors. One of the chief uses of the intended commission was to afford satisfaction to the publick. Great as the other considerations were which presented themselves to view, they almost sunk before that object, and gave way

way to it. The expences of the war were undoubtedly large, and the burthens imposed on the subject necessarily severe. No earthly consideration, therefore, would be equal to the being able to convince the people at large that their money was not misapplied, that it was not spent in corrupt purposes. The grand aim of the bill was to effect this salutary, this desirable purpose. Could gentlemen seriously think that it was likely to be answered so well as by appointing some of the people themselves to fill the commission? A great deal had been said over and over again of parliamentary influence, if that argument had really any foundation, and deserved to have weight without doors, did it not apply directly in support of the noble Lord's proposition, of having for the commissioners, persons who were not members of that House? Undoubtedly it did.

Having argued this point for some little time, the Lord Advocate adverted to the persons named, and gave Mr. Bowlby and Sir Guy Carleton a great character. He took notice of the objection that had been taken to the latter, on the ground of his being a public accountant, and said, Sir Guy had but one account to pass, and while that was in agitation, he need not be present at the committee. In proof that a commission of the kind alluded to, was no novelty, and that the House had more than once delegated their power and their rights in great instances; he mentioned Mr. Grenville's popular bill, which had been so much praised on all sides the House, and by all parties; that bill, which gave to a small number the rights of the House collectively, in that most essential of all matters to be decided upon, the right of election, and the claim of members to their seats!

Col. Barré.

Colonel *Barré* went through an historical enumeration of all the commissions of account bills that had been brought into Parliament towards the close of the last century, and at the beginning of the present, stating minutely the progress and reception of each, which failed, and which came to completion, with the effects of such as were carried into execution. He rescued the members of that House from suspicions of unfairness from party motives, by saying, that when men of honour met on business, no one commissioner could be supposed capable of acting partially or uncandidly, and even if such an illiberal idea was entertained of them, no gentleman of either side, chosen a commissioner, would dare to do otherwise than to act uprightly, because his character would be at stake, and he would have to answer for

his conduct to that House and to his country. He said, he had no proof that men of all parties deserved a fair prejudication, because he had sat upon a committee with gentlemen of the other side of the House, and that upon the investigation of a contract, when there was no cause for imputing that disgraceful suspicion, which the learned Lord had thought proper to impute to the members of that House, and the reason was obvious—The members elected of that committee were all men of honour, and they had acted consonantly to that character. With regard to the two gentlemen mentioned, he said he had no other objection, but that the one was clearly a placeman, and avowedly bound by gratitude to look up to the noble Lord as his patron and his maker, the other was himself a public accountant. Sir Guy Carleton he had not the honour of living in the habits of intimacy with, but he knew him to be a brave officer. They had served together last war, the one as adjutant master general, the other as quarter master general. What was the office Sir Guy Carleton was now talked of for? Why this—not to wield the truncheon, but to wave the pen; to turn commis, to examine the public accounts! Undoubtedly the talent of writing ably was a great additional qualification in an officer, some officers possessed it in an eminent degree, and some did not; the latter perhaps made it up to their country more than equally by their superior personal bravery, their superior knowledge of the art of war, and their eminence as men of distinguished military character. In France, where military character was better understood than in any country, the talent of writing ably was so far from being thought peculiarly commendatory in officers, that generals so qualified were spoken of with contempt, and in the coarsest terms the French language would admit of. Every officer of that description was called *Bougre de la Plume*. He thought he was not disgracing Sir Guy Carleton, therefore, when he declared that he always understood Sir Guy Carleton was more able as an officer than as an accountant.

The Colonel mentioned Mr. Petchell and General Fawcitt, and asked if the latter was not intended to be nominated as one of the commissioners?

Lord North gave General Fawcitt a very high character as a proper man for the office, and said he at one time had him in his view; but as he was now abroad on the public service, and would probably be put on the staff when he

returned, he no longer intended nominating that gentleman as a commissioner.

Sir Fletcher Norton.

Sir Fletcher Norton, before he entered into a consideration of the proposition that the commissioners should not be members of Parliament, said, he could not help thinking it an extraordinary way of complying with the petitions of the people, the two great aims of which were, "œconomy in the public expenditure, and the diminution of the influence of the crown," to frame a commission, creating new placemen at the nomination of the minister, and to be paid large salaries, with a power to employ as many secretaries, clerks, messengers, &c. as they should think proper, at the will and pleasure of the said commissioners, so appointed by the minister. With regard to the right of delegation, he said, he was most fully convinced no such right existed in that House. They were the representatives of the people, empowered to act for their constituents by themselves, and in their own persons solely. That their powers and privileges were personal, and could only be personally exercised. Their first power, and that which gave them all their weight and balance in the constitution, was the power of the purse. That power was two-fold, it consisted of the exclusive right of voting the public money, and their right of examination, and controul of the public accounts. These two parts of their power were inseparable; it therefore behoved every man who wished well to his country, and who desired to preserve its constitution in its native purity, to watch over both with equal jealousy; because if the one were parted with, no man could say, as the transition was extremely easy, that the other would not follow likewise, though perhaps the exact period of time might not be at hand. That House, therefore, had no right of delegation in any case whatever, they were the holders of the rights of the people, for whom they exercised them. The other House of Parliament was differently constituted; representing the aristocracy, they represented themselves, and consequently could part with that power, which was their own, as they chose, so long as their delegating of it did not affect the commons of England. Hence their right of voting by proxy; but who ever heard of a member of that House voting by proxy? As to what a learned Lord had said relative to Mr. Grenville's bill, he was astonished that any man could suppose for a moment even, that the operation of the bill of Mr. Grenville, was any way applicable to the present bill.

Did that delegate the powers and rights of the House? No such thing. No more than when bills were referred to committees above stairs. In order to make the cases analogous, it must be proved that Mr Grenville's bill turned over the rights of election, and the claims of members to their seats, to the investigation and decision of strangers and foreigners. Every gentleman who heard him knew to the contrary. The present proposition, therefore, he was persuaded was illegal, and if come into, would amount to a forfeiture of the compact between the representatives and the represented, inasmuch as those who adopted it would clearly betray their trust, and forfeit the confidence of those who trusted them with the powers of the commons of England.

He observed that there was a great deal to do in a very little time; the House had solemnly pledged itself to redress the grievances complained of, and comply with the petitions of the people of England; there remained but a short period of the sessions to come, in which all this was to be done. It was high time, therefore, to get rid of measures, which, like the present bill, were idle, nugatory, and frivolous, and proceed effectually and truly to keep their word with their constituents; if they did not keep their word, he knew not with what face they could go into the country, and meet those who sent them to that House of Parliament.

The *Secretary at War* answered Sir Fletcher by a variety of precedents, that the House had on many occasions appointed committees of strangers, and as such committees like that under the present bill were not to decide, but only to enquire into facts, and report to the House the result of the enquiry, that it did not amount to the sort of delegation which Sir Fletcher had said was a matter so studiously to be avoided.

Mr. Fox made a most able and warm reply, enforcing the strongest of Sir Fletcher Norton's arguments, and deeming him very high authority. He drew a simile between a commissioner and the officer in the French courts of justice, called *Le Rapporteur*, whose duty it was to examine into and state the facts; this officer, he said, was generally supposed to be a mere no-body, but it was well known that he had the whole cause in his hands, and that the fate of it depended on his mode of shaping his report. He also instanced the case of Verres the general of Sicily, accused at Rome of abuse of trust by Cicero, and said that Verres escaped by procuring Lucius Sicilius, his officer, who had served under him, and was his dependent to take up the accusation against him; he then in a most animated manner quoted Cicero's

speech to Lucius Sicilius, applying the character of Hor-
tensius to Lord North.

Mr. Mans-
field.

Mr. *Mansfield* replied to Mr. Fox and Sir Fletcher Nor-
ton; and said he presumed there was a Speaker of that
House, in 1667, but he heard nothing of his objecting to a
bill directly similar to the present. Perhaps that gentle-
man had not the present Speaker's tenderness of conscience;
perhaps he was a man, and felt something like firmness of
mind.

After more debate the House divided,

For Mr. Ord's leaving the chair,

Against it,

173

195

Although it was now two o'clock in the morning, Lord
North pressed that the committee should proceed to ap-
prove, or disapprove, of the persons whom he intended to
name.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. *Fox* in a very able speech, remonstrated against the
unfairness and indecency of such a proceeding. Gentle-
men, after sitting twelve hours in a very crowded and heated
House, might well be presumed to be fatigued and exhausted.
The committee was thinning apace; consequently great num-
bers, who supposed that the House would rise immediately
after the division, had gone away; but he would remind the
noble Lord over-against him, of what he believed he was no
stranger to, that proceeding further to-night would not be
following up a point already established, on which the sense
of the House had been fully expressed.—He would tell the
noble Lord what he meant: the negative put upon the
right honourable gentleman's motion, under the gallery,
decided this, and no more, that it was the opinion of the
committee, that it would be proper that the commissioners
under the present bill should not be members of that House.
That question having been decided by a majority of 22 gen-
tlemen, what was the question now before the committee?
Whether Sir Guy Carleton, and Mr. Bowlby, should be
two of the said intended commissioners? Here then a new
principle was to be established; not whether those gentle-
men were eligible, because they were not members, but be-
cause they were placemen. Mr. Bowlby was comptroller of
the army accounts; Sir Guy Carleton was a general, com-
mander of a regiment, and, he believed, enjoyed some other
post, or place of profit, under the crown. If one or both
of those gentlemen were to be appointed commissioners,
where then was the noble Lord's great ground of argu-
ment

gone

gone?—That members of Parliament, selected from either side of the House, would be suspected of partiality; if from his side of the House, of party prejudice; if from that of the noble Lord, of being influenced by places or pensions. —He would add two other considerations, one in reference to the noble Lord himself, the other arising from the bill now before the committee. When the noble Lord snatched the bill, or measure, out of the hands of his honourable friend below him [Colonel Barré] he gave the strongest and fullest assurance to the House, that he was determined that no person enjoying any place, post, or emolument under the crown, should be appointed a commissioner. The noble Lord had for once kept his word. The bill which he produced was framed upon that idea. There is a clause in it, which expressly provides, that no person so described shall be a commissioner: yet, at the very eve of day-break, after twelve hours warm debate, when one half of the members are gone, and the other half tired out and exhausted, the noble Lord, in direct contradiction to his own specific assurances, when he moved the bill, to the bill itself, as it now stands, which amounts to a record of those assurances, takes an unfair advantage of all those circumstances, and endeavours, in the most shameful manner, to precipitate the House upon a false conception of the principle now approved, not only to adopt another principle totally unconnected with it, that of nominating placemen, but to nominate placemen in one clause of the bill, though they are expressly excluded in another clause of the bill.

Lord North acknowledged, that there was a clause in the Lord North's bill, which excluded placemen; but it would remain with the committee to determine whether, if Mr. Bowlby, for instance, should be deemed one of the most fit and proper persons, on account of his general character and known abilities, that his being a placeman would prove an incurable objection. The gentleman who objected to Mr. Bowlby acknowledged his merit, to as great an extent, and in as unqualified a manner as any of his most warm friends; the question would therefore turn upon this single circumstance, whether his being comptroller of the army accounts was sufficient, though qualified in every other respect to discharge a duty, which it was confessed on all hands required the abilities, experience, and knowledge that gentleman was known to possess.

Mr.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox said, he felt the highest indignation at the language made use of by the noble Lord. The abilities and integrity of *Mr. Bowlby* were entirely foreign to the subject now under discussion. The question was not, whether *Mr. Bowlby* was fit or unfit. No man in that House, or out of it, had a better opinion of that gentleman than he had; but the question was, whether in a bill which expressly excludes placemen from being appointed, one of the first gentlemen proposed should be a placeman; a placeman holding his appointment at pleasure, and a placeman obliged, for that appointment, to the noble Lord in the blue ribbon. He did not know any expressions strong enough to convey his sentiments, respecting so shameful, barefaced, and disgraceful a conduct. Where are all the arguments, which passed in the course of a twelve hours debate, and which had been urged by the noble Lord and his friends, with so much confidence? Members of that House, said the noble Lord and his supporters, enjoying places under the crown, would be suspected of being under an improper influence; gentlemen on the other side of the House, of being under party influence; therefore, members of that House were not proper persons to be nominated. Strong as the influence of the crown was confessed to be, he would contend, that even from among the noble Lord's own chief friends and supporters, nine persons might be selected, who, upon every fair ground of probability, and rule of public judgment, would be found much less objectionable than the gentleman whom the noble Lord had proposed.

It was well known to be a rule of law, and well supported by common experience, that the character of the person to whom influence was imputed, made no part of the consideration whether he was or was not eligible. It was sufficient to say, that his situation was such as subjected him to temptation. If an objection was taken to a juror, that he was a relation to one of the parties, whether the matter to be enquired into respected property or a criminal offence, it was never asked whether he was a great, and able, or good man; it was only necessary to know if he was the father, the uncle, near relation, or known dependent of one of the parties, or whether he himself might have an interest in the decision: the law presumed the rest, and with the strongest and most uncontroverted claims to the purest integrity, to the greatest abilities, and the most unbiassed and impartial judgment,

supplied

supplied the want of proof by implication, and deemed him corrupt.

Lord North said, that he most certainly appointed Mr. ^{Lord North} Bowlby to the place he then enjoyed, and likewise that he held it during pleasure; but he could say, that his appointment arose merely from that gentleman's merit; and as to the influence presumed to exist, on his holding his present place of comptroller *se bene placito*, he was ready to remove that objection, by changing the present tenour of it into that of *quamdiu se bene gesserit*, which would render him as independent of the crown as any person within or without that House.

Mr. T. Townshend said he had not the honour of know-^{Mr. T.}ing the gentleman alluded to so often in the course of the ^{Townshend} debate, but by all accounts he was a very worthy man. He likewise entertained a very high opinion of Sir Guy Carleton, as an able experienced officer, to whom his country lay under many obligations. But besides the objections stated against both those gentlemen, one of which was attempted to be softened by the noble Lord, who offered to change a place held at pleasure into a freehold; a very curious method, he confessed, of removing or rooting all prejudices out of a grateful breast; but he would add, that there was still another which equally applied to both. Mr. Bowlby was comptroller of the army accounts: he was therefore in a responsible situation; he held a place, and was answerable in common with others for the faithful discharge of his duty. He would not say that Sir Guy Carleton could be deemed a placeman within the meaning of the clause, though he believed he was; but then if he was not, Sir Guy Carleton, as commander in chief in Canada, and governor of the province of Quebec, was accountable to the nation for the expenditure of several millions of the public money. He would therefore recommend it to the noble Lord seriously to reflect, and feel the ground he stood on; for most clearly he would have something more than meer inconsistency to answer for; more than pledging himself to that House, when he moved for leave to bring in his bill, that no placeman should be appointed a commissioner; more than contradicting that promise, without shame, by superseding a clause actually framed by himself, and inserted in the bill for excluding placemen, and yet proposing the names of two gentlemen who were placemen; his Lordship would have the resentments of the people without

without doors to contend and struggle with, when it shall be known that gentlemen who have accounts themselves to pass to a very great amount, are the very persons chosen to enquire into the expenditure of the public monies, and to propose a reform in time to come. This indeed would be too much; he hoped the noble Lord would conceive it to be so, and that he would desist from proceeding at so late an hour of the night, when so many difficulties, and, in his opinion, insurmountable difficulties, stood in the way.

*Sir Harry
Houghton.*

Sir Harry Houghton said, if the persons proposed were the fittest to fill the commission, he thought that they ought to be appointed. He understood that there was a clause in the bill which excluded placemen. This, however, need not prevent the committee from proceeding; for when it reached that clause, it might be either totally struck out, or so modified and altered, as to render every part of the bill uniform.

Lord North.

Lord North said, that he agreed with the honourable gentleman behind him, that if the committee should agree to insert the name of Mr. Bowlby, the clause which excludes placemen must be altered; but he begged the committee to attend strictly to the ground of exclusion; for in his opinion it went only to that of Mr. Bowlby's being a placeman. The honourable gentleman who spoke lately contended, that Sir Guy Carleton was a placeman within the meaning of the clause: upon both these gentlemen two distinct questions would therefore arise; upon Mr. Bowlby's appointment, whether all placemen were to be excluded. If the committee should so determine, then whether Sir Guy Carleton held any place or post within the meaning and intention of the clause, if it should be retained in its present form.

For his part, when he brought in the bill, he had no intention of proposing Mr. Bowlby; and he could not help saying, that considering all the circumstances, particularly that gentleman's tried abilities and experience, in passing the army accounts, he thought it would be a very unfortunate circumstance if the public should be deprived of his services; and as to any presumed influence which might be supposed to arise from his then situation, he thought his proposal of assuring to that gentleman the possession of his place during good behaviour, instead of holding it at pleasure, would instantly remove every objection of his being a placeman, and such a placeman

placeman as might be presumed to act under the influence of a loss of his place.

The honourable gentleman over against him, Mr. T. Townshend, had started another objection, which was, that having accounts to pass himself, and consequently being subject to the controul of the commissioners, it would be absurd to appoint him to controul his own accounts. He begged leave to let the right honourable gentleman right as to that particular: Mr. Bowlby was comptroller, but for what purpose? Not to receive or pay monies, but merely to examine the accounts of others, and refer them to the treasury. When those references came to the treasury, warrants were issued or struck, and sent back to the comptroller, who drew upon the exchequer under the authority, in favour of those who made the demand. His intended situation would therefore exactly correspond with the duties of his present employment, that of controlling and examining the accounts of others, not his own.

Colonel *Barré* caught fire at what he called the imposition Col. *Barré*. attempted to be put upon the committee by the noble Lord in the blue ribbon. He contended, that Mr. Bowlby, as comptroller, was as liable to come under the controul and examination of the committee, as any other person whatever, and to have the accounts officially certified by him to the treasury inspected; and if any malversation or foul practices should be discovered, to be punished according to his demerits.

It was painful to him to be obliged to explain matters in this strong manner; but he trusted no person present would understand that he meant to insinuate the least reflection or suspicion on the gentleman's character or integrity, whose name had, in his opinion, been dragged so improperly into the debate by the noble Lord. The fact was, that it was in the power of the comptroller of the army accounts, if he had the inclination, to be guilty of the most mischievous frauds. He might certify any accounts, however fraudulent and corrupt, to the treasury; the treasury, on that certificate, might issue a warrant, the comptroller might transmit that warrant to the exchequer, and the public be cheated to an enormous amount, without the possibility of detection, according to the present mode of passing the accounts, unless he should be informed against by the *particeps criminis*: and, said he, I am astonished at the noble Lord's confidence, in asserting that the office of comptroller is the only one that cannot be abused. I do contend, in the teeth of the noble Lord's assertion, that it is the only one that is subject to the greatest and most mischievous abuse.

The treasury, or those who make the demand, cannot defraud the public; but the comptroller may, if he pleases, in concert with the person who makes the demand, effect that, which none of the other officers can. The treasury can issue no warrant but for such sums as come certified to them by the comptroller; the exchequer nothing, but what that warrant orders; and I will tell the noble Lord boldly, what I know to be a fact, that the sum of ten thousand pounds was lately paid to a contractor without the necessary vouchers, through the channel of the comptroller and the treasury board. I know the fact to be true, and I dare the noble Lord to contradict me. The accounts of all the contractors come to the comptroller's office to be passed, in the manner and form I have mentioned; and were I to lay my hand upon any one part of the financial system, more than another, it would be that of the office of comptroller, from which so much good may be derived, and so much mischief be averted. Besides, I will appeal coolly to the noble Lord's own knowledge and experience. I would ask the noble Lord, in the first instance, if the duty and office of the comptroller is not exactly analogous to that of the treasurer of the navy, and I would lead him fairly to this conclusion: if it was believed that there was any peculation committed in the naval department, which could not be the case without the co-operation or permission of the treasurer, I would ask the noble Lord, I say, if a committee or commission was appointed to enquire into the complaint, whether he would have the confidence to rise in this House, and propose the treasurer as one of the fittest persons to be named for that committee, or commission? I am certain there are some things the noble Lord would not hazard; yet the two cases are exactly similar. But the noble Lord thinks, that it is money alone that is infectious, and corrupts the mind, and influences the understanding. His Lordship says, the comptroller handles no money, therefore he lies under no temptation, nor can suffer no imputation. I would wish the noble Lord to recollect, that the auditors of the imprest neither receive nor pay money; yet, would the noble Lord think it decent to name the two gentlemen that fill that office, were they in every other respect eligible? I am clear he would not. Away then with the shameful pretence. I have as good an opinion of the integrity of Mr. Bowlby, as the noble Lord; but independent of that, I look upon him to be one of the most unfit men in this kingdom to be appointed a commissioner.

Mr.

Mr. *Dunning* said a few words, corroborating what had been advanced by his honourable friend. Most assuredly, he said, the honourable gentleman whose name had been so often mentioned, could not be appointed a commissioner, without putting a direct insult upon that House and the nation. The laws of the land, and the law and usages of Parliament, proscribed any man from being a judge in his own cause; he trusted therefore, that both on account of the clause, and the reasons just stated, pointing out the total impropriety of Mr. Bowlby's appointment, he should hear no more of that gentleman as a commissioner. Mr. Bowlby having his conduct to justify in common with others, having accounts to pass in common with others, must have that conduct enquired into, have those accounts passed and controlled, in common with others.

Mr. *Fox* endeavoured to shew how extremely improper it would be to appoint a gentleman who lay under such particular obligations to the noble Lord in the blue ribbon. He had given him a place during pleasure, accompanied with very considerable emolument; he had offered now to render it a place for life; the commission which the present bill proposed, might, as it had been hinted by his honourable friend who spoke last, lay open scenes not very favourable to those whom the noble Lord was known to wish very well; he was of opinion, therefore, that with every good and great disposition it was possible for Mr. Bowlby's warmest admirers to impute to him, it could hardly be expected from that gentleman that he would exercise the powers vested in him by the act, against the very person who had put him into the situation which enabled him to do so.

The *Lord Advocate* observed, that the subject started appeared to him to be of great importance, and of course to be worthy of serious consideration. He did not accede to the arguments used by the other side of the House, but in his opinion, they demanded a fuller discussion than could be expected from the House at that time in the morning.

Lord *North* observed, that two objections had been stated; that he joined in opinion with his learned friend who spoke last, and of course he was ready to wave pressing the matter at so late an hour.

The *Lord Advocate* then moved, that the chairman do report progress, and have leave to sit again. It was now three o'clock in the morning.

General *Conway* rose to give notice of a motion he intended to make next (that) day respecting America. This produced

duced another debate, which continued till half past three; and the Speaker was not in his coach till within a few minutes of four in the morning.

May 2.

Though it was agreed to meet early, and the Speaker took the chair soon after three, there was but a very thin attendance.

Mr. Eden. Mr. Eden moved the House to resolve into a committee of the whole House to consider of the trade to North America.

The House resolved itself into a committee; Sir Grey Cooper took the chair.

Mr. Eden. Mr. Eden then moved to bring in a bill, "To allow the exportation of provisions, goods, wares, and merchandize, from Great Britain to certain towns, ports, or places, in North America, which are or may be under the protection of his Majesty's arms, and from such towns, ports, and places, to Great Britain, and other parts of his Majesty's dominions."

Mr. Hayley. Mr. Hayley seconded the motion.

Governor Pownall. Governor Pownall said, that he had been particularly desired, and had promised not to enter into any debate or opposition in this stage of this business. He also perceived, that the House wished to avoid such for the present. He would therefore, as he did yesterday, suppose himself not to know what the gentleman's propositions were. That he must wherever he met it, oppose the principle of this business, as neither the gentleman who moved, nor the gentleman who seconded the business, had opened the matter, he would not now himself do it, further than to declare and give notice, that when the bill was brought in, he should move to have it printed, that the House might see the dangerous tendency of the measure, and that then a day might be fixed upon for taking this matter into consideration, when he would enter into a full explanation and discussion of it, and opposition to it.

Sir Grey Cooper. Sir Grey Cooper reported to the House, and the bill was ordered to be brought in accordingly without opposition.

Col. Onslow. Colonel Onslow stated to the House that as the law now stands, the tenants of lands on which the landlord has granted annuities, were liable to have their effects seized by the annuitants, without any notice being given them whatever, in case of the annuities not being paid up by the landlord. And that then no remedy could be had for this cruel grievance, unless the legislation interposed; and gave notice, that in case the gentlemen of the long robe did not take up this matter in Parliament, that he would move for leave to bring in a bill to oblige the holders of annuities to give due notice to tenants to pay

pay their rent, before any seizure of effects should take place for the same. And the notice he should propose to be given to the tenants, would be the same as the law requires of mortgagees, to give to tenants before they are capable of coming upon them by distress for their rent.

May 3.

The House having yesterday resolved itself into a committee, Mr. Dempster in the chair, a motion was made by Gov. Pownall, "That leave be given to bring in a bill to repeal so much of the act of the 13th of his present Majesty, intitled, 'An act to regulate the importation and exportation of corn,' as relates to the warehousing of corn."

He then said, he did not wish to avoid the full discussion of this matter. He wished it might be thoroughly considered and fully discussed; and that all which he wished, was to bring it to that issue. He only wished not to lose time, and be prevented from bringing forward the remedy which the country called for.

Lord North agreed to let the Member take the stage; but reserved himself to object to it on the consideration of the bill.

Sir T. Clavering said, he had, in the meeting of gentlemen at the Star and Garter, consented to this measure, so far as it went to stop importation; but that he had his doubts about the repeal of the clause. He wished to stop all importation till next session, by a temporary bill.

Lord Nugent opposed the proposition, but agreed to its taking this step in the proceeding of the business, on the precedent set by the honourable gentleman himself, yesterday, on the New-York bill; but would oppose it when the bill was brought in.

Mr. Sibthorp stated the inconvenience and mischiefs of the warehouse clause, and the operations of the measure, in a very clear and business-like way, which was very much attended to.

Governor Pownall replied to Lord North and Lord Nugent, and afterwards the motion passed without a division.

The House being resumed, Sir George Savile presented a petition, signed by seven thousand persons, and upwards, residing in Halifax, in the county of York, setting forth, that the additional duty laid upon malt, or private brewery, bore particularly hard upon them, and therefore praying relief as should seem meet to the honourable House.

A long

A long and desultory debate thereupon took place, in the course of which a variety of opinions were introduced, as to the manner in which it would be best to dispose of the petition.

Sir Grey
Cooper.

Sir Grey Cooper strongly objected to the receiving it at all, as it was contrary to the established rule of Parliament to accept of any petition against a new tax, under which description of petitions that now presented by the honourable Baronet [Sir George Savile] most undoubtedly was.

Sir George
Savile.

Sir George Savile, however, would by no means be brought to concur with the honourable gentleman, but moved that the said petition should be referred to the committee that was to sit the next day on the malt bill.

The conversation of the House then turned on the question, whether the petition should be referred as moved for, or should only lie on the table, while another opinion was, that the petition should be totally got rid of in the present stage of it, by a vote of the House for that purpose. In the course of this conversation the practice of the House was recurred to, and precedence both for and against, considering petitions respecting taxes, were equally quoted.

Mr. Rigby.

Mr. Rigby said, the petition brought in by the worthy Baronet, was unquestionably a petition against a tax, and as that was the case he should certainly oppose it. Petitions against taxes could only serve to perplex and delay business, and for no other one purpose. The custom of Parliament too had, as far as he had understood, been much against it, and he was one of those who did not wish to depart from old and established rules. Another objection too, and a very strong one against suffering the petition to go to the committee on the malt bill, was on account of the persons who had signed it. For who were they? Interested persons. A set of people immediately in the matter they had petitioned about. But his opinion was firm, that no petitions ought to be received against taxes, and especially that counsel ought by no means to be allowed in support of them, for if that should be the case, there would be no end to the business of Parliament. They might come all the year round, and not finish the consideration of the various petitions they should have presented to them.

The tax itself he verily believed, bore heavy upon the people, and no one could wish more than he did, that it could have been avoided; but in the present situation of things, he thought the minister could not have suggested a better mode
of

of raising the money that would arise from the additional duty laid upon malt. With respect, however, to the petition, he could by no means agree to its going to the committee on the malt bill, and if it should be persisted in, he would certainly take the sense of the House upon it.

Mr. Fox denied, that the petition before the House could be with any kind of propriety kept from the reference moved for. He would, he said, maintain this assertion, even admitting the argument used against petitions against taxes, for this petition, presented by the honourable Baronet, [Sir George Savile] was not a petition against the malt tax, but against the mode of it. The petitioners set forth that the tax was an unequal one, and only prayed to be relieved from that inequality. To refuse, therefore, to refer it to the committee it was moved to be referred to, would in fact be nothing less than a total rejection of the bill itself. Mr. Fox.

The petition was as to the mode of the tax, who then could it be referred to but the committee, who only could modify it? But a strong objection the right honourable gentleman had to the petition, was, the subscribers to it were interested persons. This was, in his opinion, a ground of objection no less extraordinary than curious; for who but interested persons ever petitioned on any matter that was the subject of their petition? Or what was more natural than to suppose that those who signed a petition of any kind were interested persons?

The honourable gentleman reminded the House of the ill-judged rejection of all the American petitions, and the dreadful consequences that followed therefrom. The excise bill too had, in his opinion, better never have been passed, than for the House to have repealed it three years afterwards, and he thought it much better to hearken to petitions in time, than to be obliged to make apologies some little time afterwards for having rejected them.

Lord North said, that if all the persons interested in a new tax might petition the House, all the people in England would come to them, for they were all of them at some time or other interested in the taxes; but as all the people could not petition them, they were certainly to speak through their representatives, and that was certainly the right and constitutional way of proceeding. With respect, however, to the present petition, he did not very well know exactly how to act. His opinion was, that it would be best to let it lie on the table, in order that he might the better inform himself of Lord North.
the

the precedents regarding it, and then it was very possible he might be of another opinion.

Mr. Townshend.

Mr. Townshend was of the same opinion, and thought it might, for the present, lie on the table, as the noble Lord said, he did not know but that he might vote for its going to the committee.

Mr. Rigby.

Mr. Rigby replied, that it would be better to decide upon the petition at once; for if it was not totally rejected, the House would have a hundred petitions, of the same nature, before to-morrow morning.

Lord George Gordon.

The order of the day was then called for, and the matter was going off, when Lord George Gordon asked what was to be done with the petition? And the Speaker answered, that it lay on the table.

Mr. Rigby.

Mr. Rigby upon that rose again, and opposed the order of the day, which being moved for, and put, was carried without a division.

The House then divided upon the question, whether the petition should be referred to the committee on the malt bill, or not, when there appeared 61 for it, and 123 against it.

Lord Beauchamp.

Lord Beauchamp represented to the House, that some of the accounts of the expenditure of the public money, delivered in by a right honourable gentleman, whom he would name [Mr. Alderman Harley] had been much altered since they had been on the table. No one, he said, was more willing than he was, that papers before the House should be communicated to the people through the public prints, provided it was done fairly and candidly.

But this was a very different case. Accounts laid before the House, had, he should suppose wantonly, been mutilated and altered. How to account for it, he was not, his Lordship said, so well prepared for, though he should hope gentlemen did not, in making use of the privilege they had of examining the papers at the table, sometimes put them in their pockets, and leave them accidentally at their homes, affording those about them an opportunity of altering those accounts they might take away with them.

Mr. Alderman Harley.

Mr. Alderman Harley confirmed what Lord Beauchamp had said, and with this addition, that his accounts had not only received many mutilations, but interpolations also.

Col. Barré.

Colonel Barré allowed the fact, as stated, to be exceedingly cruel, and that the vengeance of the House ought to fall upon the authors of it, but wished to wave the matter, as it was not then properly before the House.

Mr.

Mr. Ord thought the matter of the highest consequence, Mr. Ord. and that it ought to be investigated immediately, for it was hard to judge whether any accounts upon the table were right or not.

Mr. Brett esteemed the business equally serious, and called Mr. Brett. upon the noble Lord [Lord Beauchamp] to mention who of the members had carried away any papers from the table.

Lord Beauchamp explained himself, and said, he had not Lord Beau- charged any members with having done it, but had only champ. hoped that none of them had taken any of the papers home with them.

The Speaker thought the matter of a very important na- The ture, and hoped it would not be suffered to pass off without Speaker. some step or other taken to sift it to the bottom.

Lord Beauchamp then moved for a committee up stairs, to Lord Beau- enquire into the fact, and the motion being carried nem. con. champ. a committee was appointed accordingly.

The order of the day was then called for, and the House resolved itself into a committee of supplies, Mr. Elwes in the chair, on the army extraordinaries.

Colonel Barré went into a particular investigation of the Col. Barré. subject, and compared the sums expended in former wars to those lavished in the present one, proving that it had cost the nation less when in the pursuit of real glory, than it did now, when the British sword was only reeking with the blood of our friends and relations. There was, the honourable gentleman said, an immense sum of money, in the extraordinaries of the army, hitherto unaccounted for: it was no less a sum than 1,588,272l. 2s.

Lord North said, that there was no other method that go- Lord North. vernment could take, than to comply with the requisitions made by the commander in chief, who always had whatever sum he wrote for, and all that could be shewn, perhaps, at present for them, was his warrants, which he returned every quarter.

Colonel Barré replied, that it did not surprize him to be Col. Barré. told that, for it was what he expected, but though he was against crippling the commander in chief, he thought the supplies granted him might be given with too lavish a hand, though what he wanted to know, was how and for what the money issued had been expended.

He stated several calculations of a most singular nature. He said that it was impossible to know the real strength of the army thus provided for in North America, as the ministers

would never produce the returns; the only method to gain that information was to look at the account of stoppages made from the soldiers on account of provisions: that these stoppages were at the rate of two-pence half-penny per day from each ration of provisions, which was about 3l. 16s. per annum for each man; that it appeared by those accounts that stoppages had been made from a little more than 40,000 men; that the sum remitted to North America in 1779, which was 1,588,027l. each soldier cost his country in extraordinaries, neither explained or accounted for, about 40s. sterling per annum, over and above the pay, &c. mentioned in the first resolution.

He stated to the House, that the article of provisions for the year of our great armament, 1776, was 404,856l. that in the following year it was 415,259l. that in the year 1778, 628,609l. The minister satisfied the House on this subject, by saying, that the increase was owing to their having sent six months extraordinary provisions to prevent any accident, which might arise from the delay, loss, or capture of victualing ships, which occasion the total ruin of the army.

In 1779, the article of provisions is 803,190l. which is very near double the sum voted for in 1776, and is by no means to be accounted for by any extraordinary reinforcements sent to North America since that time. He stated that the expence of freight, armament, &c. attending the transporting these provisions, amounted to considerably more than 400,000l. which is much above fifty per cent. and in some years that per centage was far higher: that taking the provisions with this additional charge, they amounted to above 1,200,000l. which for 40,000 men was above 30s. for each soldier per annum: that out of this sum the stoppage of 3l. 16s. per annum for each man must be deducted, and then it will appear that the nation pays, in the articles of money and provisions for each soldier, above sixty-six pounds sterling per annum; besides, and over and above his pay and cloathing, the ordnance, the transport service, which are amazingly high, &c. &c. &c.

He concluded with moving, "that it appears to this committee, that the sum of 1,588,027l. 2s. is stated in the papers presented to this House, to have been applied to the service of his Majesty's land forces in North America, from the 31st of January, 1779, to the 1st of February, 1780; of which sum no account whatsoever has been laid before Parliament. The said sum being over and above the pay, cloathing, provisions, with the expence of freight and armament attending them, ordnance, transport service, oats, blankets, expence of Indians,

Indians, pay of certain general and general-staff officers, pay of several commissaries, and other allowances for the said forces."

Sir *William Howe* said a few words upon the method observed in drawing upon government for supplies, and the accounting for the expenditure of the same. *Sir William Howe.*

Mr. *Robinson* enumerated the several quarterly warrants that had been received from America, stating the expenditure of the money, and laid upon the table of the House. These warrants, which were the best vouchers, that in the present situation of the war could be procured, amounted to a very considerable part of the sum in the motion. *Mr. Robinson.*

Some conversation, consisting chiefly of question and answer, took place between Colonel Barré, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Cornwall, Sir William Howe, and Lord North, which it would be difficult to follow minutely, but which in substance went to the manner of issuing the public money to the commander in chief on his requisitions; and he sent quarterly warrants in return, stating the actual expenditure of the money, but his accounts still remained unliquidated, as they could not undergo the course of exchequer, with all its embarrassments and difficulties, for years to come.

These quarterly warrants up to March 1777, had been laid upon the table, agreeable to the requisition of the House, and the remainder to within the last six months, or thereabouts, were ready also to be laid upon the table, if they were called for.

Mr. *Robinson* said, that all the money in the accounts upon the table, stated to be paid to Harley and Drummond, for the army in America, was not in fact destined for that service; 30,000l. had gone to Gibraltar, and 25,000l. to Minorca, by the last fleet. *Mr. Robinson.*

Sir *George Savile* desired that the House might have some less contradictory information of the expenditure of this money. — The accounts said it was gone to America, and the honourable gentleman to Gibraltar. He did not know the meaning of their concealments. *Sir George Savile.*

Lord *North* said the warrant was issued for the money in the name of Drummond and Harley, in order to conceal the expedition from the enemy; and the stratagem had had its effect; for the Spanish Admiral declared he had no reason to believe that Sir George Rodney's fleet was going into those seas, and the warrant being expressed in this manner, it must be so laid before the House. *Lord North.*

Mr. *Cornwall* entered into the argument, and said that in either of the two propositions, — 1st, that there was a better means of accounting for the money in the hands of the commander in America, and he had not pursued it; or 2dly, that

the Treasury had it in their power to contrive a better and more speedy mode of liquidating his accounts, and did not do so; in either of these propositions the motion in its full extent would be extremely proper; but if neither of these propositions was founded in truth, then it would be highly improper to convey the censure which was couched in the conclusion of the motion. The bare statement of the fact, that so much money had been sent to America, for which Parliament had no estimate, was undoubtedly true, but this fact needed not be attended with the warm colouring that ensued.

Sir William Howe.

Sir William Howe explained the manner in which the commander in America accounted for the money, to shew that he had it not in his power to expediate his liquidation; and in doing this he shewed, that though there was a comptroller, yet the whole detail of accounts came under the inspection and controul of the commander.

Mr. T.

Townsend.

Mr. T. Townsend adverted particularly to the very great impropriety of such a load being laid upon the mind of a General in an active campaign, and he wondered how it had been even conceived by the present ministry, that in the heat of service, a commander in chief could be diverted from the chief purpose of the war, by the detail of accounts.

General Conway.

General Conway thought the system exceedingly defective, and very unskilful. In the last war there had been a comptroller-general, who had been invested with the sole charge of the accounts, and who had transmitted regular vouchers monthly to the treasury.

Mr. Cornwall.

Mr. Cornwall gave a detail of the system of the commissariat established last war, and which he said arose solely from the circumstance of the commander's being a foreigner. He then gave a picture of the difficulties and embarrassments of an Exchequer; and, in justice to the officers lately returned from command in America, he said they had come to the Exchequer, disdaining to take refuge in the forms of law, and become amenable for the whole of the money issued through their hands.

Mr. Burke.

Mr. Burke was exceedingly ingenious in his commentary upon Mr. Cornwall's difficulties, and said, that, notwithstanding them all, he thought they would be nothing, if men were to come with a disposition to encounter them.—He was severe on the idea that men, who had been educated in the Exchequer, were unable to get rid of the difficulties; and that the masters in chancery were not fit to instruct them, a new board of ignorant men was to be set up, to disfranchise the

House

House of Commons, and in one twelvemonth dispel the whole mass of difficulty that had been accumulating since the days of Henry VIII. He reverted to the question, and said, all this was no answer to the people, when they demanded to know what was become of their money.

Mr. *Dampster* rose to speak, but the cry of question and withdraw was so great, that he thought it prudent to say, that it was indecent in gentlemen to prevent a member from giving his opinion on a question, and more so to strive to put a debate to an end in so unsatisfactory a manner.

Mr. *Clayton* called him to order, and said that any gentleman had a right to order strangers to withdraw, and he accordingly moved that the gallery be cleared.

Strangers were ordered out.

The House divided,

Ayes 57

Noes 123

Colonel *Barré* then made the three following motions,

That it appears to this committee, that the sum of 3,796,543^l. has been applied to the service of his Majesty's land forces in North America, in the years 1775, 1776, 1777, and 1778, of which sum no satisfaction has been laid before Parliament. The said sum being over and above the sums stated in the accounts for pay, cloathing, provisions, with the expence of freight and armament attending them; ordnance, transport service; oats, blankets, expence of Indians, pay of certain general and staff officers, pay of several commissaries, rum, and other allowances for the said forces.—Negatived.

That it is the opinion of this committee, that the practice of incurring and paying extraordinaries of the army, to so large an amount, without either explanation or satisfactory account, and without authority of Parliament, is not warranted by precedent, is a dangerous invasion of the rights of this House; and one of the gross abuses in the expenditure of the public money, complained of in the petitions of the people.—Negatived.

That it is the opinion of this committee, that the creation of new, unnecessary, or sinecure offices in the army, with considerable appointments, is a profusion of the public money, and the more alarming, as it tends to increase the unconstitutional influence of the crown.—Withdrawn.

The House was up at half past one o'clock.

May 4.

Soon after the Speaker had returned from the House of Lords (where he had been to attend the Lords commissioners empowered

empowered to give the royal assent to such bills as were ready) and had taken his seat in the chair ;

Lord Beauchamp.

Lord Beauchamp brought up the report from the committee appointed to enquire into a complaint stated the preceding evening, against some person who had wantonly altered the accounts presented to the House by the right honourable Thomas Harley.

The report was read at the table, and purported, that the committee had enquired into the matter referred to them, and that they found various alterations, which they stated to the House minutely. Some of them were very extraordinary, such as an alteration of the figures which expressed a charge of 11. 10s. for porters, &c. sorting and telling bags, and doing other business. This 11. 10s. was altered into 7611. 10s. a charge of 21. 2s. was changed into 121. 2s. and various others in like manner.

His Lordship, as soon as the report was read, said it did not appear to the committee that the alterations were made with any malicious design to injure the right honourable Alderman's character, but merely out of sport and wantonness. As a repetition of the same wantonness might however produce very bad consequences, he thought it became the House to come to such resolutions as should appear likely to prevent the repetition of such wantonness in future. His Lordship then made the three following motions :

First, " That it appears to this House, that several alterations have been made by persons unknown, in an account presented to that House on the 23d of March, 1779, by Mr. Alderman Harley, being particulars of the several sums of money remitted, together with the charges and commission attending the same from the 31st of May, 1774, to the 13th of March, 1778, both exclusive, for the use of his Majesty's forces in America."

Secondly, " That it is highly criminal, and a breach of the privilege of this House, for any persons whatever to make any alterations in accounts presented to this House, without the special order of the House."

Thirdly, " That the papers and accounts presented to this House be carefully preserved by the clerk in whose custody they are intrusted, and that no person be permitted to take the same from this House under any pretence whatever; and if any person shall presume to take any paper or accounts from the House, that the said clerk do forthwith

acquaint

acquaint the said Speaker, that the House may be informed thereof."

These resolutions were severally put, and agreed to *without* ~~contradiction~~.

The order of the day being read, for the House to resolve itself into a committee upon this bill, the Speaker left the chair, and Mr. Ord took his seat at the table.

As soon as the first clause was read by the chairman, as far as the blank to be filled up with the date, from which the bill was to be in force,

Sir Grey Cooper proposed filling it up with the words "the 25th of May."

Sir Grey
Cooper.

Sir James Lowther proposed to insert early in the clause, a sentence expressing that the tax of 6d. per bushel on malt should be the duty throughout England "excepting only, in such counties, as should be thereafter excepted," meaning to insert a little lower in the bill, a clause "excepting the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland from the 6d. duty, and putting them on the same footing as Scotland was intended to be put upon."

Sir James
Lowther.

This gave rise to the first debate.

Sir James opened it, by repeating his former arguments respecting the poverty of the soil of the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, and stating, that they produced as little good barley as any part of Scotland, where barley or bigg, or bear was cultivated.

The Solicitor General differed in opinion from Sir James, and entered into a description of the state of the agriculture in those counties, declaring at the same time, that he as much wished for favour to be shewn to those counties as the honourable Baronet; if the clause passed, Mr. Solicitor said he should move that Northumberland be also favoured in like manner.

The Solicitor
General.

Sir James Lowther replied, and said the learned gentleman, from his profession, had not seen those counties so much as he had; that he knew places thirty-five miles from a market town, and that he knew barley grew on the borders of Scotland, and that a river, not bigger than the table, parted the two kingdoms at one portion of the division of Cumberland from the shire of Dumfries, and the Scotch dyke at another. He had ridden across the country, and through every part of it, and knew its state exactly, both in point of inhabitants and produce.

Sir James
Lowther.

Sir

Sir George Savile.

Sir George Savile said, if they went into a general debate on the parts that would be most affected by the tax, he could produce affidavits, stating that certain districts of the West Riding of Yorkshire, near Halifax, were inhabited by an incredible number of manufacturers and their families, who were crammed together in a very narrow compass, where they could get no milk, the common food of every other part of the kingdom, and were obliged to feed their children with what they called portage, being a little mixture of oatmeal and small beer of their own brewing: these people *Sir George* said, would be very greatly affected by the tax, if it were laid in the manner intended.

Sir Grey Cooper.

Sir Grey Cooper shewed the necessity for imposing the tax, contended that it was laid in the easiest manner possible, and said, that every tax, as it would more or less oppress some individuals, would be complained of by some persons of other. He entered into the argument respecting the counties of England where poor barley was produced, as well as in Scotland, and shewed that it was highly necessary to draw the line somewhere. He then went into a minute and nice detail of the exact proportionate effect of the tax on all ranks of people, pointing out with wonderful accuracy and precision the arithmetical proportions of cost, which the new tax would entail on individuals of each description; as in order to do this correctly, he frequently had recourse to manuscript accounts which he held in his hand—He was interrupted by

Sir George Yonge.

Sir George Yonge, who declared, though the honourable Baronet had got his lesson very well, and was saying it with great smoothness, he must interrupt him.

Sir Grey Cooper.

Sir Grey Cooper did not relish the word lesson, and with great warmth said he was doing his duty as a member of Parliament, a duty he owed his country, and which he would discharge faithfully. He did not understand saying a lesson any more than the honourable Baronet, who had interrupted him in so disorderly a manner.

Sir William Meredith.

Sir William Meredith rose to speak to order, and with great adroitness, contrived to cool the growing heat. He then reprobated the idea of attacking in the detail, the parts of a bill for laying a heavy burthen on the poor, which must be acceded to, though it ground the face of the poor, so as to affect every feeling mind. *Sir William* complained of the House not first complying with the petitions of the people, before

before they proceeded to add new misery by imposing new burthens upon an already distressed nation.

Sir George Yonge apologized for what he had said, and made a short speech against the bill in its then form, giving notice that he should move to lower the tax in England.

Sir George Yonge.

Sir Grey Cooper then thanked *Sir William* for having covered his retreat, and proceeded with his detail.

Sir Grey Cooper.

Sir Edward Astley warmly complained of the hardship which the new tax would be upon the maltsters and the poor.

Sir Edward Astley.

Mr. T. Townshend made a short speech against laying any tax before the grievances of the people were redressed.

Mr. T. Townshend.

Several other gentlemen spoke against England's paying so much and Scotland so little. At length,

Lord North said the tax was necessary, that it was not oppressive, that no other distinction was made in favour of Scotland than had been made by the former act; that the line must be drawn somewhere, and that it would be very unwise to make any further local exceptions. He stated the encouragement for complaining against the taxes, which those in the country but too generally received from their superiors, and said he had heard of the old fable of the man getting the better of the lion, which was shewn to a lion, and when that royal beast was asked, how it happened that the man should get the better? the lion was said to have answered, that the reason was, the sculpture was the work of a man. This fable, his Lordship said, had been industriously circulated, and had tended not a little to enflame the minds of people who had been taught from it the declaration, that the reason why the taxes oppressed the poor, and not the gentlemen, was, because the gentlemen laid the taxes. The fact, his Lordship declared, was not so. Gentlemen laid the taxes equally, and the only reason of any apparent difference, was the necessity of the case, and the necessity of keeping the excise officers out of private houses.

Lord North.

The committee divided on the amendment, when the numbers were

Ayes 35 Noes 18

They then proceeded on the exemption of Scotland, and *Sir George Yonge* moved, that England should only pay 5d. per bushel.

Sir George Yonge.

After a long debate, in which Sir Grey Cooper, the Lord Advocate, Sir Edward Aftley, Mr. Sawbridge, Mr. Charteris, Mr. J. Johnstone, Lord Frederick Campbell, Sir Thomas Frankland, Mr. T. Townshend, Sir George Savile, Colonel Hartley, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Baker, Lord Irnham, and Sir Adam Ferguson, took part, Sir Philip Jennings Clerke moved by way of amendment, that England should pay only three-pence per bushel additional duty.

The injustice of any partiality in favour of Scotland, and its ability to bear the burthen of the six-pence per bushel, was argued and insisted on by the gentlemen who spoke for the amendment, while the inability of Scotland to pay the tax was as strenuously maintained by the gentlemen who spoke against it.

Sir Thomas
Frankland.

Sir *Thomas Frankland* loudly insisted on it that the poverty of Scotland was a tax on England. That if Scotland did not grow as good barley as we did, the Scotch sent twenty thousand beasts into England to fatten, horned beasts, he said, and black cattle, which they sold, and took all the money back to their own country.

Lord Irn-
ham.

Lord *Irnham* said, the Scotch brewed as fine ale at Glasgow, as ever he drank in England; and that they exported a great deal of it to Ireland, where also he had frequently drank it.

Mr. Char-
teris.

Mr. *Charteris* said it was very true, but that sort of beer was not the common beverage of Scotland. He acknowledged that they could brew as fine swelling malt liquor as ever the learned Lord, who on a former occasion had used the phrase, could wish for, but that it would take twice the quantity of malt to make it.

Sir Adam
Ferguson.

Sir *Adam Ferguson* said, that Scotland had a right to the distinction made by the former act, and intended to be made now. That the whole question turned upon facts. If it took twice as much Scotch malt to brew the same sort of beer as it would take of English malt, and that it did, he declared as a man of honour, he was convinced most satisfactorily and fully, it was a matter of justice, and not a matter of favour to Scotland, that only half the English duty should be paid by that country.

Mr. Saw-
bridge.

Mr. *Sawbridge* said the House was prostituted, and he expected no good from that Parliament. He complained of the

the injustice done to the people by imposing new taxes, and suffering the produce of those taxes to go into the hands of those who had ruined the country, before any of the public grievances were redressed.

The question being put on the amendment, it was carried in the negative.—The whole clause as filled up by Sir Grey Cooper, was put and divided upon :

Ayes 125

Noes 39

It was then moved, that the chairman leave the chair, and report a progress. The question was put and negatived.

Mr. *Whitbread* said he hoped a clause would be inserted, *Mr. Whitbread.* to prevent the Scotch from importing English barley and brewing it into beer, to export to Ireland at half the malt-ing duty, that the English brewer exported beer at to Ire-land.

The *Lord Advocate* said, as the barley must be exported and carried to Scotland in winter, the length of the voyage, *The Lord Advocate.* from uncertainty of weather, would spoil the barley, there-fore it was not to be feared.

This was denied, and gave rise to another debate.

Lord *George Cavendish* said, to his knowledge, barley was *Lord George Cavendish.* carried by sea, from Suffex and Hampshire, to the ports of Lancashire, and there made into malt.

Mr. *Whitbread* said, as good barley grew near Burlington *Mr. Whitbread.* as in any part of England, and it was but a short voyage from thence to Leith.

At length there being no question before the House on this point, Sir *Grey Cooper* said, if any honourable gentle-*Sir Grey Cooper.* man chose it, he might move for a bill on the report.

The next clause taken into consideration was that which enacted, that the duty should be imposed upon the present stock in hand of the maltster.

Sir *Grey Cooper* moved that a duty of 6d. per bushel be laid *Sir Grey Cooper.* on the stock in hand of maltsters in that part of Great Bri-tain called England, and 3d. per bushel on the stock in hand of the matters in Scotland, the said duty to be charged on their stock in hand on the 25th instant.

Sir *Joseph Mawbey* argued the unfairness of imposing the *Sir Joseph Mawbey.* duty upon the stock in hand of maltsters, while in the dust, describing to the committee, what the nature of malt in the dust was, and stating, that it had in it the dirt, or coom, as it was termed, which formed a considerable portion of it, and which was removed from it, when it was screened, and always prior to its being rendered fit for sale; in which

state only he contended, it ought to be made chargeable with duty. Sir Joseph concluded his speech with moving, as an amendment to an early part of the clause, the insertion of a sentence, which ordained, "that on measuring such part of the maltsters' stock in hand as should be in the dust an allowance of one tenth proportion should be made the maltster, on account of the dirt or coom, which from its unskreened state, would be mixed with the malt."

Sir Grey
Cooper.

Sir Grey Cooper said, the amendment proposed by the honourable Baronet, was totally a new matter, and that no such matter was heard of when the last act for imposing a duty on malt was in agitation, the maltsters at that time not thinking it worth their while to urge any such request to the House.

After the clause had been spoken to by other gentlemen, the question was put upon the amendment, and negatived without a division.

Mr. Whit-
bread.

Mr. Whitbread asked when the duty on the stock in hand was meant to be collected?

Sir Grey
Cooper.

Sir Grey Cooper said they were not come to that clause yet; it was the next; that the old act gave a month from the time of charging the duty, he meant to move the same time now.

At length the chairman proceeded to read the clause onwards, and when he came to the end of it,

Mr. Baker.

Mr. Baker rose, and stated that the maltsters in general had large stocks in hand, that they had strained their capital and their credit to provide those large stocks; that (as they could not expect to sell their stocks at once, and had no likelihood of receiving back any part of the money which they would be out of pocket, provided they paid the new duty immediately, or, within a short time, after it was charged,) it would be a hardship upon the whole trade, and perhaps the ruin of many, if a reasonable time was not allowed them for the payment of the duty; he therefore moved, that some additional words should be added to the clause, putting off the payment for four months; namely, to the 25th of September next.

Lord North.

Lord North rose and said, if the stock in hand of the maltster was not charged with the duty, it would be imposing a tax on a part of the public for the benefit of the maltsters, and not upon the public equally. His Lordship added, that the time allowed by the present bill for the payment of the duty on the stock in hand, was much more in favour of the

the maltsters and brewers, than the time given by the former act, for in that case the duty was proposed on the stock in hand in the middle of January, and the act took place and was in force on the 8th of February, and then a month was given for the payment of the duty on the stock in hand. The intention of charging the duty on the stock in hand now, had been announced to the public above six weeks, and as the charge was only to be made on the stock in hand on the 25th instant, and a month was to be then given for the payment of the duty, as before, the maltster undoubtedly had a very great advantage from the looseness of the present bill, and of the manner of passing it into a law, if such it should become. With regard to what the honourable gentleman had said of the great stocks in the hands of the maltsters at present, he could not quite adopt that opinion, having pretty good information, that it was not, generally speaking, the case, and knowing, as every gentleman must know, that the maltster had enjoyed an opportunity of disposing of that stock, to singular advantage, for some weeks, and that he would enjoy the like advantage, for some weeks to come. His Lordship said further, that he thought if the bill had not been so long in passing, the maltsters and the brewers would nevertheless be able to dip their hands immediately into the public purse, and to derive considerable benefit previous to the period of payment for the stock in hand.

Mr. *Whitbread* rose upon the latter expression, and asked in what manner he could possibly dip his hand into the public purse, when he had only seven weeks' credit from the excise office. He declared he was as ready to pay immediately, as to enjoy the advantage which the noble Lord erroneously thought so great. Mr. *Whitbread* went into a description of the hardship upon the maltster, in case he was obliged to pay the duty upon his stock in hand within a month after it was charged, and shewed that there was no fallacy in the description, by circumstantially stating the nature of the maltster's business, the season in which the malt was made, the time of the brewer's becoming the maltster's customer, of his wetting the malt, and the credit given to the brewer by the maltster. He urged the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, to take the matter into his consideration, and not to insist on terms which would probably do more harm to the public revenue, as well as injury to the malting trade, than the noble Lord could possibly imagine. He concluded with asking

asking why a longer time might not be allowed the maltster to pay for his stock in hand, and why the amount of the duty might not be collected by installments?

Mr. Mayor. Mr. Mayor enforced the arguments of Mr. Whitbread, and declared, that to his knowledge the maltsters of the town which he had the honour to represent, and in its neighbourhood, had not disposed of a handful of malt this year, and that they had no chance of selling to any advantage till September; and then, as it was the custom to give the brewer six weeks credit, the first of the draw-back the maltster would receive would be in November. He asserted that the tax was laid on a sinking marker, which made the case still harder, and he very forcibly described the severe effect the bill must necessarily have upon the maltster, if it were so worded, that he should be obliged to pay a very large sum in a month upon his stock in hand, which money there was no chance of his getting back again but by dribblets, and the whole of which, it was impossible for him to receive for six months at least. He termed it an unfair advantage taken by government of the necessities of the times, and said, it was not only an oppression of the whole malting trade, but must inevitably ruin the little maltsters, who could not possibly stand the shock, the bill, if passed into an act, would naturally give their credit. He asserted that it was for this reason he had on the day the bill was read a first time, proposed a different mode of laying the tax, viz. that of allowing the maltster the drawback on his producing vouchers from the public brewers, of the malt sold them, instead of allowing the drawback on the beer.

Lord North. Lord North rose and said, he was very far from wishing to oppress the malting trade, or any other trade. That as the present was only an additional tax, and no new case, he had been governed by the last bill, and he had already stated to the committee, that the maltsters now, from the loose manner of passing the present bill, would have considerably greater advantages than the maltsters of that day enjoyed. So far, however, was he from being inclined to impose a hardship on any description of the subjects, in the mode of laying either a new or an additional tax, that as far as material considerations of revenue would allow him, he was always ready to listen to every proposal for the alleviation of the burthen, and now, if a reasonable allowance could be pointed out for the payment of the duty on the maltster's stock in hand, he was as willing as the greatest friends of the malt trade could be,

be, that such an allowance should be given. Of all he heard on the subject, the proposition thrown out by the honourable gentleman who spoke last but one, appeared to him the most reasonable, viz. the taking the payment by installments, and, therefore, if the dividing it into three payments, at the distance of one month each, would be accepted, he had no objection to adding a proviso to the clause, stating, that such should be the manner in which the duty on the stock in hand, to be charged on the 25th instant, should be collected.

Colonel *Hartley* rose to enforce Mr. Baker's proposition, as what would prove still more agreeable to the maltsters; it was, he thought, no more than reasonable, considering the circumstances of the case. He assured the committee, that the honourable gentleman, his worthy colleague and he, had been applied to, both personally, and by letter, complaining of the bad effects of the tax, even already, before it was laid; he said, he had himself heard from the maltsters about Newbery, Reading, and the country between those towns and Abingdon, who informed him, that as soon as the tax was heard of, barley fell 2s. a quarter, and that malt had fallen in proportion, by which they could not sell any of their malt without being very great losers.

Mr. *Whitbread* rose again, and after enforcing the descriptions which he and others had given of the state of the malt trade at present, said he hoped the noble Lord would make the three installments extend to four months, viz. the first payment to be made at the end of two, the second at the end of three, and the third and last at the end of four months.

Sir *Grey Cooper* rose and re-stated the difference between the time of passing this act and putting it in force, and the time of passing the last act, shewing, that though the malt tax was then suggested to the committee of supply in December, the idea of taking the duty on the stock in hand was not thought of then, nor was it mentioned in that House till the middle of January, and yet the act was in force the 8th of February; he hoped, therefore, that the first installment would be to be paid at the end of one month, the second at the end of two, and the third at the end of three.

He concluded with moving in form, that there be inserted in that part of the bill, certain words tending to express, "that the stock in hand be charged with the new duty of 6d. per bushel in England, and 3d. per bushel in Scotland, and that

that one third of the amount of the said duty be paid on the 25th of June, a second third on the 25th of July, and the last and third on the 25th of August."

Mr. Ord. *Mr. Ord* in putting this motion, as it was generally agreed to, read it rather quick, and instead of the 25th of August, mentioned the 25th of September, and decided the question by saying, "the ayes have it," before any of the members, who immediately called out "the 25th of August," could make themselves heard; before he sat down; however, or had put the motion out of his hand, an obvious majority joined in saying, "the 25th of August!" "the 25th of August!"

Sir James Lowther. *Sir James Lowther* instantly got up, and insisted upon it, that the question was put and carried for "the 25th of September," and that the committee had no power to alter it, but must report it so to the House.

Several members argued upon the unfairness of taking advantage of an accidental error of the chairman, who had the motion in his hand, at the time he put the question, which motion expressly stated the 25th of August.

Sir Joseph Mawbey. *Sir Joseph Mawbey* endeavoured to persuade the committee, that it was as well to let it go for the 25th of September, arguing that it was not worth the noble Lord's while to stand for a single month; and supporting *Sir James Lowther* in his position, that the question was carried and determined upon, and that it would be imposing on the House to report it in any other words than those which the chairman had delivered originally.

Mr. Baker. *Mr. Baker*, with that fairness and liberality which ever mark a manly mind, said, that though he wished rather to have the third payment made on the 25th of September than on the 25th of August, and though the chairman had said September instead of August, he would scorn to attempt to take advantage of an obvious and an accidental error. Most certainly the sense of the committee was, before the motion was put into the hands of the chairman, that the 25th of June, the 25th of July, and the 25th of August, should be the days of payment, and the honourable Baronet who made the motion had expressly stated those days. Those therefore who endeavoured to wrest an opposite meaning from the mere error of the chairman, in putting the question, an error no sooner committed than it was rectified, were, in his opinion, those who were attempting to impose upon the House, and disgrace the committee. Clearly the motion was for the 25th of August, it ought therefore to be put again, and not report-

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ed to the House differently from the intended resolution of the committee.

Sir Joseph Mawbey warmly answered the idea of his attempting to impose on the House, and said the honourable gentleman was mistaken, it was he and those that were willing to alter a question, after it had been put and decided upon, that were endeavouring to impose on the House.

Sir Joseph Mawbey.

Mr. Ord read the motion, and assured the committee, the mistake was his own entirely, declaring that the motion was properly worded for the 25th of August.

Mr. Ord.

Lord North said there need be no difficulty in the case; that the matter was easily rectified, it was only putting the question, again and taking the sense of the committee upon it.

Lord North.

Sir James Lowther insisted on it, that the sense of the committee had been taken, and that it must be so reported to the House; and then if the House thought proper, it might be altered on the report.

Sir James Lowther.

An altercation took place on this point, which continued near half an hour. Sir George Savile, Sir Adam Ferguson, Sir Herbert Mackworth, Lord Frederick Campbell, Sir Richard Sutton, Mr. Whitworth, and Sir Grey Cooper, arguing on one side, and contending that the question put by the chairman, was not the question proposed; and as he could not put any question from himself, that in fact the question which had been proposed had not been yet put and decided upon, and therefore it must necessarily be put to the committee; Sir James Lowther rising to answer each, and tenaciously maintaining that the committee had determined the question, that it was out of their power to cure the mistake, but that if the forms of the House were not violated, they must report it to the House, and the House might alter it.

Mr. Baker declared if so unfair an advantage was determined to be taken, he should hold himself bound in honour to rise on the report, and move to amend the resolution, by omitting the words "25th of September," and inserting the words "25th of August."

Mr. Baker.

At length Sir Joseph Mawbey agreed, that the sense of the committee had not been taken on the right motion, and Mr. Ord repeating that the mistake was his, Sir James relaxed, and suffered Mr. Ord to put it again, when he read it distinctly as it was worded, viz. for the 25th of June, July, and August, and the committee agreed to it.

Sir Joseph Mawbey.

Sir Grey Cooper then informed the committee, that the next clause was that for the allowance to the public brewer, and

Sir Grey Cooper.

must be altered, he would therefore proceed no further, but, with the consent of the committee, would move, "that the chairman leave the chair, report a progress, and ask leave to sit again." Question put and carried.

Rose at half after eleven.

May 5.

General
Carway.

General Carway began his speech with apologizing for his attempting a task, which would much more fitly have been undertaken by many other gentlemen in that House, of superior abilities to himself; all he could pretend to, in justification of what he was about to offer to the consideration of the House, was a most deep-rooted sorrow for the calamities and distresses which afflicted his country, an anxious zeal to relieve that country from those calamities and distresses, and a thorough conviction that nothing could contribute so effectually to that end, (an end which every man who loved Great Britain, and who remembered her former prosperity, and her present misfortunes, must wish for as ardently as he did,) as peace with America. A ray of hope that peace might be brought about, and that the present was of all others the moment fittest for attempting it, had, he said, broke in upon him. He then proceeded to state to the House, that he had endeavoured to mould and model his ideas on the subject, that they were shaped into a bill, and in drawing that, he had studiously avoided touching upon any topic likely to prove contentious, or to challenge and give room for objection. He said, as he had no personal motive whatever, he had no desire to look to matters retrospectively, or to use arguments which carried in them any thing invidious, or which had the appearance even of the least blame; his desire, his anxious wish was to put an end to the present melancholy situation of our affairs, and to attempt to restore us to a more comfortable and a more promising prospect. He was stimulated to undertake this just at present, from two powerful motives: the one, the necessity of peace with America on our part, from various considerations; the other, the desire and the readiness, which he was inclined to believe, would be shewn by America to make peace with us, provided we took such preliminary steps as should be undeniably convincing to America, that we did not mean to deceive her, but were really and sincerely disposed, to put an end to the war, and to make peace on such conditions as should secure to the colonies the full possession of liberty, and those blessings which belonged to a free constitution.

The General then went into an investigation of the American war, and said it had its origin in the proceedings of that dark committee, which sat fifteen years ago, in that House at midnight, and like a parcel of black conspirators were laying the foundation for all the disgrace that had since befallen us, and all the distress, all the misery which America and this country had suffered, and suffered at that moment. That committee in an evil hour took up the foolish idea, he might say, the fatal idea of obtaining a revenue from the colonies, by taxing those in that House, who were not represented in it. He had, he thanked God, opposed the measure at the time, foreseeing the probable consequences, and warning the committee but in vain, of those consequences. Unfortunately his predictions had proved too true, and we had proceeded step by step, from error to error, till we had brought upon us the present load of debt and difficulties. As if we had been determined to make the Americans rebels, whether they would or no, a cry of independence had been raised, early in the course of the dispute between the two countries, and a clamour had prevailed within those walls, to prove that independence was the sole original aim of America. This clamour could not have began, much less could it have been increased till the Americans listened to it, and gave way to it, had the petitions sent over some years since by the colonies, long before they took up arms, been properly attended to. He would read a few extracts from the first petition, and from that delivered by Mr. Penn, for he had dived into every source of information, that he could possibly find, to make himself master of the subject, and he found none more satisfactory than the petitions he alluded to, because they were explicitly and truly the language of the whole people of America, authentically, formally, and constitutionally brought before the people of Great Britain. He then read the extracts, which contained an earnest prayer, that his Majesty and his Parliament would examine into and redress the grievances that America laboured under, declaring in the most loyal, affectionate, and dutiful terms, that by so doing, harmony would instantly be restored between the two countries, and that America had the most perfect confidence in the wisdom and goodness of the King, Lords, and Commons. This petition, the general said, had been treated as a piece of waste paper, as a matter signifying nothing, and had been brought into that House amidst an indistinguished heap of other papers. Thus, by our own criminal inattention to a most dutiful and loyal petition, was all America forced to attempt to right themselves,

but he was sure when they first began resistance, they had no idea whatever of aiming at independence. He did not mean by this to infer, that there was not some few mad and absurd people, of small note and inferior characters, who were influenced chiefly by a view to their own interest, and hoped to attain it by bringing about independence; in a great and extensive country like America, there might be some such persons; and he should be more mad and more absurd, than the most mad and the most absurd of these speculatists, if he could, for a moment, imagine that there were not. Why then, what had followed after the resistance of America commenced? Instantly the law led the way, and forced us still deeper into error and into mischief. The question then was not how to accommodate the difference, and how to get back to peace and quiet again; but conquest and submission were held up by grave men, and men of the first professional characters; we were to plunge into blood, the Rubicon was passed, the sword was drawn; if you don't kill them, they'll kill you—that was the language of the day, and thus the law followed by those reverend ministers of a religion which taught peace, which enforced brotherly love and affection, and which he had ever imagined pointed to other objects than political fury, war, destruction, and bloodshed, egged us on through all the variety of measures which had marked and disgraced our annals, spreading devastation and slaughter in America, draining us at home of our men and money, and rendering us objects of horror in the eyes of all Europe. The reverend bench had led this dance, and it might truly be said it was the dance of death. The bench had much to answer for, to their country and to their consciences; they had provoked the enquiry of the publick, which sooner or later they might wish had not happened. Such provocation was a matter very unwise at least, because the more it was examined, in all probability, the conviction would be stronger; that the reverend Lords, acting as Peers of Parliament, were the rotten part of the constitution. From this war, which now every one man living, let his political sentiments be what they would, damned and condemned, we had been drawn into a war with both branches of the House of Bourbon; we now therefore stood with an immense increase of debt on our shoulders; at war with America, with France, and Spain, without a single ally, without a single power our friend; on the contrary, every one of the foreign powers, great as well as small, acting either directly or indirectly in a manner inimical to our interests; even the little Lubeckers, the Dantzick-

ers, and the town of Hamburg, against us! What was worse, Holland, our natural ally, adverse to our interest, and refusing the least assistance. We were therefore turned out for the hunt, like the stricken deer, deserted and abandoned by all the herd. Let gentlemen, let the House for a moment seriously reflect on this, and let them ask themselves whether a peace with America was not an object to be attained at any rate, and worth bidding for at any price.

While such was our situation, however, it was not to be supposed that the Americans were upon a bed of roses; most certainly they were not, and it was from a consideration of their present distress, and from other circumstances which he would mention, that he saw a ray of hope that peace might be brought about, and that it was just at that present moment, that a fit opportunity offered for laying a foundation for it. The General then went into a review of the progress of affairs in America, their present situations and difficulties. He ascribed their alliance with France to our having forced them to the necessity of making it. He said the Americans were from nature, from habit, from language, from religion, naturally adverse to the French, and from long connection, and old and laudable prejudices much inclined towards this country. They had now found that their great and good ally was not the friend they expected. They naturally detested the name of a King, and preferred a republic to an absolute monarchy. They had an immense debt, which France did not seem inclined to assist them in the payment of. France sent them soldiers, which they could not bear among them, and the conduct of Count d'Estaing at Savannah opened their eyes to the instructions and designs of their great and good ally. Their paper currency was depreciated to such a degree, that forty of their paper dollars were sold for one silver dollar of 4s. 6d. value. They had this year lately ordered an emission of 15000 dollars a month. Let gentlemen think of the immense burthen. The majority of them groaning beneath the tyranny of those who had got the power into their hands, and ardently wishing for a restoration of the old form of government. Their army both ill paid, and worse clothed. So distressed had their army been last year, he was well informed, that they were reduced in a march, though every means was used to obtain and to coerce provision, to a small portion of peas *per diem* for some days together. From all these circumstances, therefore, it was evident that they were not upon a bed of roses. And as a proof that they were not so zealous in the cause they had embarked in, as had been described,

described, he read an extract from a letter, written over to France from America, from a man of great abilities, who was sent to America by his court a few years since, for the purpose of enquiring into the state of the country, and the condition, temper, inclinations, &c. of the Americans. This Frenchman in his letter observed, that more enthusiasm in the cause of liberty was to be met with in a coffee-house at Paris, than could be met with in any part of America.

In the course of his speech the General said, the Americans were so right, and so justifiable in the beginning of their disputes with us, and we were so manifestly wrong, that he was with them in principle; he had been an American till they had joined with France and Spain, the natural foes of the mother country, and he then became a Briton again. His wish therefore was to put an end to the war with America, the better to enable us to carry our arms successfully against the House of Bourbon. He expressed a belief, that France was much the worse for the war, and Spain had suffered considerably by it, both those powers more than we had, as far as regarded them. Having stated this, and a great variety of other particulars, he at length came to a consideration of the motion he had to offer, and the bill which he meant to move for leave to bring in, framing his ideas and moulding them into the shape of a bill; he said, he had turned his attention to all the measures for conciliation with America, that had been suggested, as well those that had been proposed and rejected, as those which had been proposed and adopted. He mentioned, the conciliatory bill of Lord North, the commission bill, and the bill proposed by the late Earl of Chatham. The latter, he said, he had made the chief model of that he meant to propose, not that he had gone all the length that Lord Chatham went; the times were altered much since that period, and every man must accommodate his political measures to the times, and to the passions, the temper, and the bias of the minds of those on whom his measures were intended to operate, otherwise he would be an idle speculatist, and would never find his measures practicable. Lord Chatham had made the foundation of his bill, an express condition that America should admit the sovereignty of Great Britain, and every assembly should furnish a certain quota towards the public revenue. He was aware if such language was to be held out to America now, America would laugh in our face, and treat those, who should hold it, with as little ceremony as she had treated the commissioners sent out in 1778. The great aim of the bill was to do something certain, to convince America

of our sincerity, and to put it on her to claim the benefit of it, by giving her a right to claim it whenever she concluded a conciliatory agreement with his Majesty; the title of it was,

“ A bill for quieting the troubles that have for some time subsisted between Great Britain and America, and enabling his Majesty to send out commissioners, with full power to treat with America for that purpose.”

In candour, he said, he would read the bill he intended to bring in, (if leave should be given him by the House,) from which they would be better able to see at one view what his intention was, than they could learn it from all he had been saying. He then read the bill. In the preamble, it reminded America of the nature of her alliances, by mentioning despotic and popish powers. It then proceeded to enact, that the tea act, the Boston port act, the tonnage act, the intercourse act, and every other act America had complained of, should be repealed, and trial by jury, the post office, the admiralty courts, &c. restored, from the moment that America claimed such a benefit, on the conclusion of a treaty of peace and conciliation with his Majesty; and it authorized his Majesty to send out commissioners, with full powers to treat with the colonies.

Having read it, the General said he was neither so mad nor so obstinate as to be attached to the wording of the preamble, or of the rest of the bill, or to any part of it, as to refuse to give way to better words or wiser clauses, should the House propose either the one or the other; he only begged them to receive it, to alter it, add to it, diminish it; new mould it, take the bad out of it, and keep only what was good in it; in short to do with it just what they pleased, provided they agreed to something upon the same principle. His objects were to reunite the two countries, and by rejoining the distracted parts of the empire, to add again to the strength of the whole, to assist our trade by reviving commerce with America, to enable us to carry on a vigorous and successful war against France and Spain, our natural enemies; in a word, to restore happiness at home, and procure us glory abroad. This great end he thought might be attained, by something like the bill he had proposed, and therefore he threw it upon the House, to act just as they should think proper respecting it.

Lord Nugent rose and declared, that from what the right honourable gentleman had said of his bill, in the latter part of his speech, he would second his motion. He approved highly of the principle of the bill, though he did not like all it contained. As the right honourable gentleman therefore, had

had said he gave the bill to the House to mould and shape it as they pleased, he was ready to accept it on those terms. His Lordship then made a loose speech on the state of our affairs, not only as they regarded America, but as they referred to the temper of the European powers. He painted our situation as alarming, and said peace with America was certainly a very desirable object. It was true we were without an ally, nay, what was worse, there was an armed neutrality in Europe, those who refused to assist us, arming themselves very powerfully to defend that neutrality, which contrary to treaties, they insisted on maintaining.

The state of affairs, he remarked, had altered very considerably within the last twenty years. The King of Prussia had effected this change, and the House of Austria had as much occasion to be jealous of the King of Prussia now, as it formerly had occasion to be jealous of the King of France. He said further, if the Princes of Europe, who ought to assist us, stood by and saw us overwhelmed, they not only were not honest men, but they lost sight of their own interest; for if they suffered the House of Bourbon to become the great maritime power of Europe, every other European power must fall. His Lordship accounted for their conduct, by saying, that in the pursuit of temporary objects, they gave up the prospect of their best and chief interests, and lost sight of all those great considerations of the future, which wise men never forgot. He declared he was glad to see the bill stop where it did, and leave the rest to be done by the King and his advisers. His Lordship spoke to several other points.

Mr. Eden.

Mr. Eden wished he could have caught the Speaker's eye before, as what he had to say would have come better immediately after the honourable gentleman had made his motion. He then began, by saying, that if it were, as the honourable gentleman had said, a moment of universal gloom overspreading our political hemisphere, it was certain that such a moment was well calculated for gaining the serious regard of all good men to the propositions now introduced—A bill for quieting troubles; a supplement to what the honourable gentleman had called, the want of alliances and of friends; “the restoration of the stricken deer to the herd; the turning of the dance of death” into the music of the spheres; the re-union of warring brethren, and of the distracted parts of our strength; revived commerce with our colonies; successful war with France and Spain; happiness

at home; glory abroad; all these were ideas which must vibrate on the heartstrings of every good Englishman. But in the philanthropy of our sentiment, in the reveries of our fancy, we ought not to lose sight of common prudence and practical policy. The warmth of our imagination might indeed carry us through the measure of the day; but the morrow must come, and the cool hour of recollection would attend it. In that hour we should have to ask ourselves, whether by an unadvised eagerness, we had not in the result produced that desirable end of peace and re-union, which, on both sides of the House, it was wished to approximate. Mr. Eden compared the present pursuit of peace, to that of Apollo in pursuit of Daphne; the object pursued, might indeed turn into laurel, wherever he could catch her; but he feared, that the honourable gentleman's running after her at present, would tend only to drive her to a distance, and in the result, that he would lose both the lady and the laurel.

His great object, he said, was to deprecate the whole discussion of the subject; the introduction of the propositions was well meant, but it tended to do mischief. This was not a moment to say, what Parliament would give, or would not give: Parliament was not asked to give any thing: Every gratuitous offer would be received as an admission of weakness, and not as the result of the generous spirit which dictated to offer; every point omitted to be offered, would from that hour be considered as of importance, and would become a *sine quâ non*.—The discussion might prove an useful weapon in the hands of the rebel leaders, it would be an useless instrument to the well disposed subjects. The generous inclinations and affections of Great Britain were now sufficiently known to all the world. The colonies were now in the very moment of recollection; the “balance of desperate rebellion and returning loyalty, is now, he said, equally poised; it trembles on its center; at such a moment, manly confidence, wisdom, moderation, and the avoiding of untoward events, might decide in our favour; but precipitation in our councils, superfluous discussions, domestic divisions, unadvised and premature overtures, might turn the beam for ever against us.” He once more deprecated the discussion; he wished to dismiss the business with all possible respect to its mover, and therefore moved the order of the day.

Vq. XVII.

P P P P

Lord

Lord George
Gordon.

Lord George Gordon rose to second the order of the day, and said he disliked the present bill for an opposite reason from that which the honourable General had stated. He disliked it because it was not contentious. He then proceeded to comment upon the minutes which he had taken down of many parts of General Conway's speech, answering each position, and endeavouring to controvert it. He ridiculed the idea of sending commissioners to America, unless they were empowered to admit the independence of the Thirteen States in the first instance, and said, that if they were sent without being so empowered, they would go on a fool's errand, and be laughed at for their pains, as the honourable gentleman who had displayed his poetical fancy just now, and his colleagues, were in 1778. He contended, that America had no idea of independency 'till we forced her to adopt it, and said he lived in that country from 1766 to 1769, and was treated with the utmost hospitality and respect by them, they considering him as a young nobleman, a little midshipman, and shewing him every possible instance of regard, as a youth of rank from England, who might one day be sent out to them as one of their governors, receiving him into their houses, and sending him in a coach and four all the way from New York to Boston, and offering him money if he had chosen to take it. He said he had been in the houses of all the principal people in every one of the thirteen provinces, and had always remarked the most rooted marks of affection, loyalty, and regard for this country. As an instance of it, he declared the first toast after dinner always was, "The king;" and the second, "The army and navy;" that he could take his oath of this, and therefore those who had pretended that independence was their object from the beginning, had deceived Parliament. Having gone through General Conway's speech, he took Lord Nugent's into consideration, and began by ridiculing the noble Lord for seconding the motion, after all his speeches formerly against America; "a fine motion truly (said he) and seconded by Lord Nugent, with some embarrassment." [this set the House in a roar] He then went through his commentary on his Lordship's speech, and before he sat down, served Mr. Eden's in the same manner.

Mr. Gruger.

Mr. Gruger contended that the bill by no means went far enough, that it would do no good in America, and would be of no more use than a piece of waste paper. He said, the

American

American war, the real source of all our distresses and burthens, should be put an end to at all events; in order to do this, the independency must be allowed, and the thirteen provinces treated as free states. He made some remarks on Lord Nugent's argument, and asserted that he had seen some letters written by that noble Lord a few years since, in which he talked in a very different stile, and declared that we must have a revenue from America. Before he concluded, Mr. Cruger said, he would not oppose the bill, or vote against it, because the idea it was founded on, was an intention to open the door to a re-union with America, an object so much to be desired, that he had uniformly voted in favour of every proposition of that tendency, though he had been much blamed for voting for Lord North's conciliatory bill. He should pursue the same line nevertheless, and since persons without doors could not be in his bosom and know what passed there, he should be satisfied with what he felt within him, and go on regardless of censure.

Mr. T. Pitt reprobated the bill, as drawing a line much Mr. T. Pitt. short of what America would expect, and without granting of which, all treaty would be vain.

General Conway rose to explain, and said, he did not mean General Conway. that nothing more should be done than his bill laid down, and so far was he from designing to draw a line by it, that it by no means drew a line, but left room for any thing more to be done that was necessary. It only held out something certain to America, and opened the way to conciliation.

Mr. Pitt said, he was perfectly aware of the worthy General's intention and of his view; but he contended that the bill would nevertheless have the effect in the eyes of America of drawing a line, as if great Britain would go no further. Mr. Pitt.

He then proceeded in an admirable speech, to point out the futility and the danger of any such measure, and earnestly cautioned the House against adopting so fatal a proposition, admitting, at the same time, that the worthy General meant it well, and therefore deserved the thanks of the House for his conduct. He said, he would tell ministry what was the proper step to be taken respecting America,—give her a pledge of the sincerity of this kingdom's wish to be reconciled! change the administration! and remove those ministers who had deluded America, and deceived Parliament. He in express terms charged the late commission with being a deception, and said he was divided in opinion which to blame, the

noble Lord who was ambassador at Paris at the time the treaty with America was signed, or the noble Lord in the blue ribbon. When he considered that an honorable friend of his [Mr. Fox] had assured that House long before the French receipt was delivered to Lord Weymouth, that a treaty was actually signed between the court of France and America, he could not think the noble Viscount had been guilty of such extreme criminal neglect, as not to have sent notice of it to ministers at home, and when he reflected on the high station the noble Viscount now held, that he was one of the first officers of the crown, in the very bosom of the King's council, he was convinced, the noble Viscount had done his duty and given notice of the treaty in due time. On the other hand, when he considered the degree of guilt that would be imputable to the noble Lord, could it be proved that he was aware of the treaty being signed, and of the terms of it: when he came down to that House and made his conciliatory propositions, he knew not how to suspect the noble Lord, nor what to think. He surely never could have presumed to offer America so little, when he knew France offered her so much more. That there was a degree of culpable folly in it, which he could not bring himself to believe the noble Lord guilty of, he was therefore puzzled, and knew not how to solve the enigma. Before he sat down, he repeated his declaration, that no good could be expected, unless those ministers who had made themselves so obnoxious to America, that she would not treat with them, were dismissed, and again condemned the bill, as likely to produce great mischief.

Mr. Powys. Mr. Powys made a short speech, but did not approve the bill. In the course of what he said, he was severe on Lord Nugent, imagining that he had said, the prerogative had powers of legislation, equal to the granting America independence, without the authority of that House.

Lord Nugent. Lord Nugent explained.

General Conway. General Conway rose also to explain, and flew into a vehement passion, on its being said that an idea similar to that charged against Lord Nugent was defensible, declaring he wished any minister could dare to hold such doctrine.

Lord George Germaine. Lord George Germaine rose on this, and said if any minister was mad and wicked enough to advise his Majesty, that his prerogative extended to the degree spoken of, he hoped to God, that Minister would meet the just resentment and indignation of the House, and be pursued to condign punishment. His Lordship then said he approved the title of the bill so highly, that he scarcely knew how to oppose a bill so entitled.

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If the dismissal of ministers could produce peace, he said it ought not to be the consideration of a moment; ministers ought to be instantly dismissed. But before that step was taken, it behoved the advisers of it to prove that those who would succeed the present ministers were more likely to make peace with America. Every good man, he said, must wish for peace with America, whenever it could be obtained on good and honourable terms to this country. It was the chief wish of his heart, and he flattered himself the completion of that wish was not far off. The bill, he could not by any means approve, as the honourable gentleman who moved the order of the day had said, it seemed more likely to put peace at a distance, perhaps to prevent it for ever, than to bring it nearer. He declared he verily believed, and his belief was not like the view of the bill, merely speculative, but was founded on recent information, that the moment of conciliation was near. His Lordship described the misery which the Americans felt at this time, and stated, that the majority of the people there, were ready and desirous to return to their allegiance, but that they were prevented by the tyranny of those who had got the power of government into their hands.

He did not believe that the Congress would ever treat for peace, but from the condition of affairs in America, as stated by the right honourable gentleman who had moved to bring in a bill. From the depreciation of their paper currency, from the poverty and distress of the country, from the great debt it groaned under, from the dissatisfaction which all ranks of people expressed at the alliance with France, from the little benefit America had derived from that alliance, from all these considerations he did believe that the people of America, the assemblies of America, would soon come to terms. His Lordship said, that America was not up at auction, as it were, between the Mother Country, and France, and Spain, that we were to bid for her against them. The case was widely different. His Lordship concluded with seconding the motion for the order of the day.

Mr. Fox in a speech of some length, but delivered with Mr. Fox. wonderful ability, though it had much repetition, and old matter in it, replied to Lord George Germain, and ridiculed his argument, and every position he had laid down. Mr. Fox also attacked the Attorney General, though absent, on his being about to receive emoluments and rewards, for what he termed those inflammatory speeches that had caused the loss of America. He might, he thought, have come, and taken his leave of that House, he might have said *valète et plaudite* before he

he was called to the upper region. Mr. Fox did not like the idea of sending out commissioners, but declared as that might be altered hereafter, he would vote for the bill.

Lord North. Lord North replied, and defended the Attorney General from Mr. Fox's attack. His Lordship disliked the bill, and shewed that various of the acts it tended to repeal, were already repealed.

Governor Pownall.

Governor Pownall said he had not meant to speak on this occasion, and that when he heard the propositions read, he had determined to be silent: but having been called upon from different sides of the House, he did not think it proper that he, upon this subject, should suppress his sentiments. That believing as he did, as a matter of fact, not entering into any question of right that America was an independent sovereign power, and would remain so and be maintained and supported as such by other powers; the proposing to repeal any laws of ours which had respect to America, appeared to him like a proposition for repealing the laws which stood in our statute-book respecting Gascony and Poictou. There was an act of navigation respecting Gascony? Would any one now seriously propose the repeal of that? But he said it consisted of two other parts, one declaratory, which he should consider, if the bill passed, as a preliminary of treaty, and as such he should be for it. The other part, respecting the sending out commissioners to treat for peace, would be of no avail, would only expose, and still more humiliate the country, and would begin as the former mission did, in mockery, and end as that did, in disgrace. The noble Lord knew, that even before his Lordship had planned his scheme of commissioners, he had told him that would be the consequence. He said, therefore, as the ground of his own idea of the state of America on his own information, he must think this bill could have no effect. That he rather wished it had not been discussed; but that it would be dangerous to reject it. Whatever therefore were the opinions of its effects, he should simply, as an experiment, have voted for it as he did for the noble Lord's bill for commissioners, although he had at the same time said to a noble Lord, and in the House, that the measures could not succeed. Another reason weighed with him, which was, that as we had lost so many opportunities when we might have made peace, and had so often and repeatedly mistaken our taking up in the year 1775, that which in the year 1774 would have made peace; that in 1776, which would have made peace in 1775; that 1778, which in 1777 might have been grounds of peace; and very lately missing the opportunity which offered

himself to us of making peace, by the intervention and under the guaranty of Spain, who could have effected it for us, as the Americans would have trusted that guaranty, on terms wherein they would not treat with our ministers, nor have trusted them, Spain could have got their preliminaries, and they then might have taken up the definitive treaty.

He said, that two noble Lords, both ministers, speaking from certain and official information, had given him ground, whereon standing by their authority, he must now be decidedly for the propositions of the bill [the commissioners excepted.] They told the House, that the Americans were coming back to those sentiments towards this country, that they would come to treaty as colonists, and on terms submitting to our government. That being the fact, these acts and laws which attached upon the Americans as subjects to this country, should be repealed, to clear the way to the grounds of peace. It was now, upon that state of the case, become absolutely necessary; and he begged to remind the honourable General that there was one he had forgotten, that is the declaratory act; he turned then about to the General, and said, "I hope it is meant to repeal that act," and turning to the House, said, "I find it is so meant." Upon these grounds, and acting on these reasons, he should give his vote for the bill, but hoped to see the clause about commissioners taken out, and several other amendments made in the committee.

Mr. G. *Rous.* A law is proposed, giving authority to the crown Mr. G. to conclude finally with America, meaning on the terms of *Rous.* yielding their independence. If it be a mere delegation of a general power, leaving to the discretion of ministers to determine when or whether it is ever to be employed, such a law certainly admits that the crown ought to have this general unrestrained power—If it be intended as an intimation, that the time may probably soon arrive, when the exercise of this power will be proper, such a law may not only forward the event, but certainly lessens the responsibility of ministers. If, lastly, it be intended to prescribe the immediate exercise of this power, such a law will be a plain assumption of the executive authority by the legislature, an union of powers which ought ever to be distinct, and will exempt ministers from all future examination of their conduct, by giving the previous sanction of parliament to their act; for it were idle to suppose the Parliament could exercise a correct judgment on the subject. To form an opinion on the propriety of yielding independence to America, requires an accurate knowledge of the state of that country, of the temper of the people, of the resources of their government, of our own force,

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its destination and probable success—lastly, it requires a perfect knowledge of the force and resources of our enemies, of the views and engagements of the other states of Europe. Whence could this knowledge be derived, but from the executive magistrate, who has all the means of information in his hands. With his ministers, all ambassadors, and all other persons in a public employ, correspond. To him is confided the secret service money, with every other means of procuring intelligence. His ministers would, therefore, in effect, dictate the judgment of Parliament, yet would an act thus procured operate as an act of indemnity to ministers. Let us not be wiser than our ancestors. Let us permit the executive power to proceed within its proper department, where the abuse of trust is not palpable and clear; and when time shall disclose all the circumstances under which ministers shall have acted, at present known only to themselves, let us judge their conduct with temper, and acquit or condemn, as their merits or demerits may require. The law proposed, in the first view, presumes a defect in the constitution, which I cannot admit; and in the latter view will operate as an indemnity to ministers, pernicious in its immediate effect, much more so in its example.

The question as been proposed, do you contend that the crown can give independence to Ireland, or yield Scotland to a foreign state? Were I disposed to employ the same fallacy, I would ask, can Parliament repeal the habeas corpus act, abolish the trial by jury, or give the force of laws to the proclamations of the crown? All government is a trust. Plain and palpable abuses require extraordinary interposition. Should Parliament forget its duty, the people; should the crown betray its trust, Parliament must interpose—not, I hope, to confound the different orders of the state, but to place the trust in more honest hands. In the present instance, either a cession of territory as the means of peace is necessary, or it is not. In doubtful cases it is scarcely possible that Parliament should antecedently possess the information, without which they cannot decide. The delays of their proceeding, and the public discussion of the information necessary, if such could be obtained, would destroy all the advantages which this country possesses, by placing the executive power in the crown. If the cession be obviously unnecessary, the breach of trust is apparent—Parliament will interpose, by addressing the crown to remove the ministers, to break the convention, which, derived from fraud, would not bind the nation; would punish the ministers, or in cases of urgent necessity, where

where obstinate perseverance involved the ruin of the country, perhaps remove the sovereign and his family from the throne. Writers on the laws of nations have displayed great acuteness in discussing cases in which the nation at large, or the inhabitants of a ceded territory may resist the sovereign. Their principles apply equally, whether the people themselves or their representatives commence the resistance. I am not, however, reasoning on extraordinary cases; I reason, to use Sir William Blackstone's expression, "according to the forms of the constitution."—Neither is the distinction worth much contention. Prevention would in most cases be impossible. The commander of a garrison may yield a fortress, and may deserve death for his conduct; yet to regain the fortress would be difficult. Should the crown at this time withdraw the garrisons of Fort St. Philip and Gibraltar, the breach of trust would be gross, yet most men in the present situation of affairs would despair of regaining the possession. Should the crown recall the fleets and armies of Great Britain from America, is there a man wild enough to re-commence the war from the hope of conquest? The truth is, that where the decision is referred to arms, he who has the direction of the national force always must have it in his power to betray the rights of the community. Fortunately, where the breach of trust is most easy, the temptation is least. All the affections of the sovereign, the love of glory, of power, and of dominion, all the passions which govern men occupied in conducting the affairs of nations, war against the cession of a country which the force of the state can possibly retain. The probability is greater, that Britain will be exhausted in a vain and fruitless struggle for dominion which she cannot uphold, than that the contest should cease before the interests of Great Britain demand a cessation of hostilities; or that the inclination of the sovereign to a disgraceful peace should precede the necessities of the state. The power of declaring war is a more dangerous trust, more liable to abuse: yet this trust is absolute in the sovereign. When the resolution is taken, the ambassador recalled, and war in effect commenced, messages are indeed sent to both Houses of Parliament, and general assurances of support returned in their addresses. Why? because the power of the purse, the grant of men, money, and ships, depend on the pleasure of Parliament. This power operates in some degree as an antecedent restraint, but is not wholly effectual as a preventive. The war is in effect commenced, and defensive warfare at least becomes necessary to the public safety. Every man who has read our history, knows,

that even this power of Parliament was principally insisted upon with a view to a very different object, as a restraint in the internal government of the country. Could the sovereign raise money without the consent of Parliament, Parliaments were unnecessary: could the Sovereign levy troops without the consent of Parliament, he might by force overturn the laws. These grants of men and money are therefore made only for a year; nay, the military laws by which the troops are governed continued for no longer space, that without the concurrence of Parliament by a new grant, by a renewal of those laws, the whole force entrusted to the sovereign may be actually dissolved. This restraint, though principally directed to the internal government, operates likewise as a considerable, but a very inadequate controul to the power of declaring war against foreign states.

Many gentlemen have been misled by the acts of Parliament necessary in the conduct of this war. While the war is carried on against revolted subjects, not acknowledged as independent states by the proper authority [wherever that authority is vested,] every American taken in war had a right by the laws of this country to be tried as a rebel, or to be released; every man had a right to reclaim his property, who had not forfeited that property by conviction. The interposition of the legislature, therefore, became necessary, but this necessity was derived from the forms of our internal government. From the same cause proceeded the act of Parliament authorising commissioners to treat with America. The object of this mission was to settle the terms on which the Americans should submit to be subjects of Great Britain. Their claims were various exemptions from the legislative power of Parliament. Parliament necessarily, therefore, became a contracting party, because the crown could not impose limitations on the power of Parliament. This case was likewise new. Limitations imposed on the supreme legislature, by stipulations with subjects, have no precedents in our history. The thing itself became necessary, and the forms of our government decided by whom the act must be done. But it may be said, acts of Parliament have been made respecting America. Can the crown repeal them? Acts of Parliament have also been made respecting Grenada, St. Vincent's, &c. yet let these islands be ceded in a treaty with France made by the crown, these acts must fall, because the subject of legislation will no longer exist. The reasoning applies equally to America, when a cession of America shall be made by the proper authority. I think, from the analogy of our government,

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that authority resides in the crown. The sovereign cannot by any stipulations vary the rule of internal government, because he is a monarch limited by laws, or by rules of conduct prescribed by the legislature. The external power [where the internal government is not affected] seems to me incapable of such previous laws; in fact, none are given. This, therefore, in the language of Mr. Locke, is "a discretionary power of acting for the public good where the positive laws are silent;" for the abuse of which, if not directed to the public good, ministers are responsible. The acts of this power are in their nature momentary, for the most part incapable of recall, always dependent on circumstances known at the time only to those entrusted with the other parts of executive government. To transfer this power to Parliament, to make the treaty their act, can answer no good purpose, will operate as an indemnity to ministers, and remove the single constitutional controul of which the subject is capable—the punishment of those who abuse it;

At a quarter past twelve the question for the order of the day was put.

Ayes 123

Noes 81

Adjourned to the 8th.

The following is a Copy of General Conway's bill, "for quieting the troubles now reigning in the British Colonies in America, and for enabling his Majesty to appoint commissioners, with full powers to treat and conclude upon terms of conciliation with the said Colonies."

WHEREAS a ruinous and unnatural war has for some years raged between great Britain and the several British colonies in America, destructive at once of that harmony and mutual affection which had so long made the happiness and strength of both countries, and thereby giving every advantage to the known enemies of the British empire in all its parts; the first union of which had, by their cordial and effectual efforts, raised the name of Britain to the highest pitch of human renown and felicity, and had, during the course of many glorious reigns, served as a barrier to the liberties of Europe, and as the strongest support of the Protestant religion, against the baneful schemes of Popery and despotism.

And whereas, in the heat of a contention, hastily begun, many pernicious maxims have been adopted, and many false and dangerous measures pursued on both sides.

Now, in order to heal the said fatal dissensions, and to stop the farther effusion of fellow subjects' blood:

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Be

Be it hereby declared and enacted, by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual, temporal, &c.

That immediately upon the conclusion of any treaty of conciliation between Great-Britain and America, all those rights, privileges, and immunities, which were demanded by the several associated Colonies in their petitions and memorials to the King, and to the two Houses of Parliament [and particularly in the petition of the Congress to the King, in the memorial of the Colony of New-York, to the House of Lords, of the 25th of March, 1775, and in the representation and remonstrance of the general assembly of the said colony of New York, to the House of Commons of the same date] ought to be, and are hereby declared, by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual, temporal, &c. to be conceded and confirmed on the part of Great-Britain to the several associated Colonies, or to any one or more of them, who shall agree on terms of reconciliation as aforesaid, with any commissioners appointed, or to be appointed by his Majesty for that purpose.

And for these ends, and that no doubt may remain of the sincere and friendly intentions of Great-Britain, and of her earnest desire to bring back the ancient affection of her children, and to restore that beneficial intercourse which must ever be the true basis of their grandeur and happiness:

Be it hereby declared and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from the day such conciliation or treaty shall be concluded, all or any of the thirteen associated colonies, so agreeing on terms of conciliation, shall be, and are hereby declared to be, at the peace of his Majesty, and restored to the usual intercourse of friendship and commerce.—And it is hereby further declared and enacted,

That no tallage, tax, or other charge whatever, shall from thenceforth be raised on the freemen of America, without their own consent, by their representatives duly convened in assembly there.

That the powers of the admiralty and vice-admiralty courts be restrained within their ancient limits, and the trial by jury in all civil cases, where the same may have been abolished, restored.

That no subject in America shall, in capital cases, be liable to be indicted and tried for the same, in any place out of the province where such crime shall have been committed, nor be deprived of a trial by his Peers of the vicinage.

That it shall not be lawful to send persons indicted for murder, in any colony of America, to another colony, or to Great Britain for trial.

That the judges in the law courts in the Colonies, shall hold their offices and salaries as his Majesty's judges in England, *Quandiu se bene gesserint*.

That the Colonies in America are justly entitled to all the privileges, franchises, and immunities, granted by their several charters and constitutions; and that the said charters or constitutions ought not to be invaded or resumed, unless for misuses, or some legal ground of forfeiture.

And for the said and other good and beneficial purposes, it is hereby declared and enacted, That the following acts, or so much of the same as have been represented to be found grievous to the subjects in the colonies as aforesaid, namely, the acts of 4 Geo. III. ch. 15. entitled, an act for granting certain duties in the British colonies and plantations in America. 4 Geo. III. ch. 34. To prevent paper bills of credit hereafter to be issued in any of his Majesty's colonies and plantations in America, from being declared to be a legal tender, &c. 3 Geo. III. ch. 25. act to alter certain rates of postage, and to amend, explain, and enlarge several provisions made in the 9th year of Queen Anne, &c. 6 Geo. III. ch. 52. For repealing certain duties in the British colonies and plantations. 14 Geo. III. ch. 54. For better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his Majesty's service in North America. Act 17 Geo. III. ch. 5. For prohibiting all trade and intercourse, &c.* and to authorise persons appointed by his Majesty to grant pardons, &c. or such parts of the same as are found grievous to any of the said colonies;

Be and are hereby repealed from the day they shall have entered into, and concluded terms of conciliation with Great Britain, or with any persons authorized by his Majesty for that purpose.

The said acts also to be suspended and remain without effect in like manner, should any truce take place for a limited time between Great Britain and all or any of the said Colonies respectively, during the continuance of such truce.

And be it farther declared, that the act of 14 Geo. III. ch. 83 For regulating the government of the province of Quebec, shall be re-considered, altered, or repealed.

* Before the bill was brought in, the General meant to insert the declaratory act of 1776, among the acts to be repealed, and indeed to make the whole bill more correct. The House refused to receive this bill, by dividing upon the order of the day, after a debate which lasted till twelve o'clock.

And that no future doubt or jealousy may remain relative to the rights of the Colonies, and the power of their assemblies lawfully constituted, be it declared by the authority aforesaid, that the said Colonies, in their said assemblies, shall, agreeably to the said charters and constitutions, have full power and authority to regulate all matters for the peace and good order of their internal government; the Legislature of Great Britain reserving only to itself the ordering and enacting such things as concern, as well the maintenance of the said charters and constitutions, as the general weal of the empire, and the due regulation of the trade and commerce thereof, upon those principles of equity and sound policy which shall, on full mutual discussion and consideration, be found most conducive to the general good.

And that nothing may obstruct or retard the great work of peace, his Majesty is hereby authorised to appoint commissioners, with full powers to treat and conclude either peace or truce with all, or any of the said colonies, upon such other or farther terms of conciliation, as to his Majesty in his wisdom shall seem fit; always understood, and the same is hereby again declared and enacted, that all the several privileges, immunities, and advantages, hereby granted to all or any of the said Colonies as above mentioned, do serve as the basis of such treaty of conciliation, and are hereby sanctified and guaranteed under the faith of Parliament as parts of the same.

And be it farther declared and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty to empower commissioners to grant free pardon to any person or any number or description of persons, or his full and general pardon to the inhabitants of all or any of the said Colonies respectively, for all acts of hostility, and for all things done or committed during the present troubles, and previous to the signing or conclusion of any treaty of conciliation as aforesaid; and the same shall be considered, and is hereby confirmed as an act of perpetual amnesty and oblivion of such acts of hostility, and of all things so done and committed during the continuance of the said troubles.

So may the ancient affection be happily restored to the two parts of the distracted empire, and a new æra of Harmony days succeed to the horrors and multiplied calamities of civil contention.

May 8.

Sir William
Meredith.

As soon as the Speaker returned from the House of Lords Sir William Meredith rose, and said, he had some time since stated to the House, some extraordinary facts, relative to

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party of the military being armed and ready to come forth upon the people; when he stated them, he had taken them up upon newspaper report, he had since made himself master of the facts as they really happened, and was able to speak to them more fully; but as he did not see certain persons in high military offices, then in the House, he would not take up more time, but would content himself with moving;

"That the proper officer do lay before this House, a copy of any requisitions made by the civil magistrates, and by whom, for any of the foot or horse guards, to be in readiness from the 5th to the 7th of April last."

Mr. Adam submitted it to the honourable Baronet, whether it would not be more candid to withdraw his motion, till the honourable gentlemen alluded to, were present to speak to the facts upon which the motion was avowedly grounded.

Mr. Adam.

The *Secretary at War* declared he knew of no order being sent for the military, for that no order had passed his office. He believed the civil magistrate expecting a riot, had made a requisition to have some of the military ready to assist the civil power in case any riot had happened. That it was a common thing, and he saw no mischief, as the military in such cases were solely at the command and direction of the civil magistrate.

The Secretary at War.

Mr. Burke arraigned the justices in terms of the severest sort, for daring to imagine or suggest that a riot would happen, when no riot was intended, and upon their weak and insolent suggestions to call out the military. He said the justices of Middlesex were generally the scum of the earth; carpenters, brick-makers, and shoe-makers; some of whom were notoriously men of such infamous characters, that they were unworthy of any employ whatever; and others so ignorant, that they could scarcely write their own names. Mr. Burke described the popular meeting on the 6th of April, as a most respectable one, and said the Dukes of Devonshire and Portland, and other distinguished personages had there met the other electors of the city of Westminster, in a legal and constitutional manner, to debate and discuss great, legal, and constitutional points. How dared, then, such reptiles as the Middlesex justices attempt to call out a body of the military armed, upon a peaceable meeting, so respectable in its description?

Mr. Burke.

Mr. Rigby defended the matter, and as an instance that the military so employed, and under the direction of a judicious magistrate,

Mr. Rigby.

magistrate, might be essentially serviceable in preventing riots, declared, that some years since the Duke of Bedford's house would have been rased to the ground, had not Mr. Saunders Welch applied for fifty of the infantry, and planted them behind the wall in the front of Bedford house. Mr. Rigby defended the Middlesex magistrates from Mr. Burke's censure, declaring that the office was a very troublesome one; that no person of distinction or family would undertake it, and therefore it was right to give douceurs to those who would. He said gentlemen who abused the magistrates for doing their duty, were not friends to subordination and good order; that so far from thinking the magistrate blameable, he had often wondered that the police of this great metropolis was so well regulated as it was. Mr. Rigby ridiculed the meetings in general, declaring that a set of gentlemen meeting merely to make orations, and to vote thanks to one another; was a perfectly harmless matter.

Mr. Burke. Mr. Burke made a reply, charging Mr. Rigby with defending those with whom he would not sit down to dinner, to whom he would not speak, nor suffer them to come into a room where he was.

Mr. Eden. Mr. Eden then said, that he thought it superfluous on this occasion, to recur to any particulars, either of the old Bloomsbury riot, or the late Westminster meeting; and equally so, to introduce the names either of dead or living Dukes. That the question turned upon a general principle, in which he agreed with the supporters of the motion, though he should differ with them as to the application of that principle. That he thought them right to entertain a most watchful jealousy of the executive power in the employment of the soldiery; but that this jealousy, should in politics, as in private life, be kept within reasonable bounds, and should not start into action, upon the impulse of trifles light as air. That a respectable and very ingenious Baronet, [Sir George Savile] had justly said, "if I ask for the key of my closet, and you falter, and hesitate, and turn pale, and delay to produce the key, shall I not suspect that something is concealed within the closet?" It was the case of Bluebeard, in some nursery reports; but in the present instance, it had not been stated, that there was any closet to conceal it, or any key to be called for: no case had been made for enquiry; no fact of abuse of the executive power had been charged. It was not just then, to say that information was refused; some grounds must be shewn before information can

be asked. The right honourable Baronet had not laid his nest-egg; he had only stated a loose rumour from a newspaper, and upon the credit of such evidence called upon the House to express an uneasiness, which no man who heard him, in any degree felt; that nothing had been produced, either to prove the fact asserted, or the order which occasioned that fact. Mr. Eden concluded, therefore, with giving his negative to the motion.

Mr. Fox made one of the most extraordinary speeches ever heard in the House of Commons, declaring if it was understood that a set of men were to be let loose on the constitutional meetings of the people, that all who went to such meetings must go armed. Mr. Fox

The House at length divided on the question,
 Ayes 91 Noes 133

As soon as the House was resumed,

Mr. Alderman Sawbridge rose in his place, and in a speech Mr. Ald. Sawbridge of some length introduced his annual motion, "for shortening the duration of Parliaments." The Alderman entered into a long deduction of historical facts, relative to the origin of Parliaments, the duration of them at different periods, the establishment of triennial, and the last regulation effected by passing the bill for septennial Parliaments into a law. He cited the history of the several reigns in which the parliamentary alterations had been introduced, stating the grounds and motives upon which the alterations were made, and accompanying these premises with a declaration what were the consequences, and how far the purposes of the crown had been effected, and the liberties of the people invaded and diminished by each alteration. The original use of Parliaments, he described to have been simply two-fold; to consider of the people's grievances, and to endeavour to obtain redress for them; and to consider of the wants of the state, and after a careful examination that the wants were real, and the occasion pressing, to vote such sums as were necessary. The first of these objects Mr. Sawbridge declared always took the lead, nor would our ancestors, in honest times, ever grant the crown money till the complaints of the people were listened to and redress afforded. As all courts were disinclined to hear of these complaints and grievances, so it had formerly happened, that Parliaments were seldom assembled, and never but when the wants of the state were such, that government could not proceed without money from the people. Mr. Sawbridge traced Parliaments to their being called annually, and then spoke of the long Parliament, in

the time of Henry VIII. which had sanctified all the monstrous sketches of prerogative that marked that reign; and of the long Parliament in the reign of Charles II. At length he came to the triennial Parliaments, which had been introduced after the Revolution, in the reign of William III. and in part of that of Queen Anne, and ultimately arrived at the æra when the septennial bill passed. From all these historical facts he argued, that by the constitution Parliaments ought to be called annually; that the triennial bill was an encroachment on the people's rights and liberties, and the septennial a still more unjust innovation, on the part of the representative body, who had by that law arrogantly assumed to themselves a power which was constitutionally vested in the hands of the people, and which of right belonged to them. He contended that the more frequently the power of election reverted to the people, the better would it be for the general interests of the nation; that if members were aware that their constituents would have a full opportunity of judging of their services and pronouncing on their conduct, annually, those services and that conduct would be more guarded. The means of corruption would be checked within those walls, and the temptation to act dishonestly being removed, the representatives of the people would of necessity act disinterestedly and uprightly. For these reasons, he wished to return to the first parliamentary principles, and to pass a law for Parliaments to be chosen annually: he was aware, however, that much objection would be made to any attempt of that kind, and, therefore, not because he liked it better, but because he thought he could not carry his point, if he aimed directly at restoring annual Parliaments, he should try to obtain triennial Parliaments. After descanting on this for some time, and mentioning that the matter was at present much the topic of conversation without doors, he moved,

"That leave be given to bring in a bill for shortening the duration of Parliaments."

Mr. Alderman Bull.
Ld. Nugent.

Mr. Alderman Bull seconded the motion.

Lord Nugent then rose, and said, as the same motion had been made for some years past, and had been silently decided upon, he hoped the House would not go into a debate upon it then, because as the honourable Alderman had stated, it had been much the subject of discussion elsewhere. With regard to going back to our first parliamentary principles, surely that matter was not sufficiently considered. What was it meant that Parliament should be degraded to that state

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in which it was, when the service was so disagreeable that men were obliged to be paid for sitting and doing the publick business? When that business was so unwelcome, that there were frequent instances of persons begging to be disfranchised, in order to prevent their being sent up to Parliament! He could not believe the honourable Alderman meant to go that length. His Lordship owned himself an advocate for the septennial bill, and declared he had the highest parliamentary authority that ever was, for pronouncing triennial Parliaments in a great measure useless, and extremely unlikely to answer the end proposed, viz. the checking that influence of the crown, which had been said to be "increased, increasing, and that it ought to be diminished." The authority he alluded to, was that of one of the ablest men that ever filled the chair of that House, Mr. Arthur Onslow! He had talked with Mr. Onslow on the subject of triennial parliaments some years ago, and that great man had told him, the proposition was an absurd one, because if it were adopted, the first year would be taken up wholly in hearing petitions on elections; in the second year the House would be able to do business, and in the third, the members would principally be engaged with soliciting votes, and making interest against the next election. Annual Parliaments he objected to, as totally impracticable in the present state of public affairs.

His Lordship observed, that the present motion was not grounded on the petitions of the people, for there was not one word about short Parliaments in those petitions. Much had been said, indeed, without doors, about annual Parliaments, and about adding one hundred Knights of the shire to the representation of the people in that House. Before, however, either of those points were accomplished, a great deal must necessarily be done, even should that House agree that it was right to alter the constitution of Parliament so essentially. Were they prepared just then to take away from the crown the right of appointing Sheriffs for the counties? And if they were not, the power of the crown would be considerably increased, if Parliaments were either annual or triennial. So in boroughs, what regulation was intended respecting the returning officer? In many places that officer was elected by a very small number. In Bristol in particular, which he had the honour to represent in two Parliaments, where the electors he believed, amounted to 5000, the returning officer was chosen by a very, very small

number indeed. These, and other considerations, induced him to oppose the present motion, not only as unwise, but as impossible to be adopted, and carried into execution so as to answer any good purpose.

Mr. T. Pitt. Mr. T. Pitt said, he wished to have remained silent on the question, but when a subject of so much importance was in agitation, he should be ashamed to evade speaking to it, though his voice must go against the motion. He disclaimed all dread of unpopularity on this occasion, and declared, that it was with pain he stood up one of the first to oppose a claim upon that House evidently coming from the people; he could easily account why the people should wish for a shorter duration of Parliaments; it was in human nature to be fond of power; the right of election being placed in the hands of the constituents, they parted with it for a time when they chose their representatives, and it was perfectly natural for them to desire that the right might revert to them as often as possible; but though no man would pay greater deference to the wishes of the people than he would at all times, he should hold himself unworthy of their confidence, if he agreed to any proposition, merely because it was the proposition of the people, when his own judgement and conviction clearly pointed out to him that the proposition was an unwise one, and that the people in making it, were asking for that which would be in its consequences, if complied with, essentially detrimental to their interests. He said, had that House complied with the petitions of the people, and remedied their grievances, as they had promised, the people would not have desired to take away the power of sitting for seven years together in that House, which the representatives of the people now enjoyed, excepting only when the crown, for wise and necessary purposes, shortened the duration (for it ought not to exercise its prerogative in that manner, but for wise and necessary purposes) of Parliament by a dissolution. He was, however, most fully convinced, that so far from diminishing the influence of the crown, annual or triennial Parliaments would considerably encrease it. The influence of the crown was not confined within those walls; if it were, we should be a great and happy people. It was the influence of the crown without doors that was so alarming. The encreased public revenue was the great source of influence. The King in times of peace had fourteen millions to spend annually, and now how much more passed through the hands of government? If corruption would be checked without doors, if the

the people could be enabled to preserve their integrity and their independency, there would be nothing to be feared from the corruption of members of Parliament. It was the purity of the electors that he was most anxious for, conscious, that while they remained uncorrupted, the constitution would be safe from danger. But to return to the idea of annual or triennial Parliaments. Had gentlemen forgot how many great families even now, were ruined by their endeavours to get into that House, and had spent their whole fortunes in election contests? Was it to be learnt how hard would be the case of every honest, independent country gentleman, if the minister was to have the power of starting a court candidate against him every year, or every three years; what fortune could bear the expence? The consequence would be, election contests would become objects of horror, and the minister would soon have his own House of Commons. In his opinion, therefore, the present motion was beginning at the wrong end. A general election was, as matters stood at present, a mischief; if it was to happen oftener, the mischief would undoubtedly be greater. A general election was now not far off; if report were to be trusted, it was very near. The voice and spirit of the people seemed to be raised. He would, therefore, consent to rest the whole argument of the necessity for shortening the duration of Parliaments upon the return of the next Parliament. Wait that issue, see if the people had exerted that right they enjoyed, properly and correspondently with the spirit which now appeared to pervade the kingdom. If they did not send to Parliament a House of Commons at once honest, free, and independent, he would confess, he had been much mistaken, and would join as heartily in supporting a bill for triennial Parliaments, as the honourable Alderman or any other of his friends,

Mr. *Fox* rose next, and said he should be under the necessity of speaking more fully to the present question than he otherwise would do, because, as he had for years voted uniformly against the question, and as he meant to vote for it, it was due to the House, and due to his own character, that he should state the reasons of this difference of conduct. He said, he revered those wise and great men who brought in the septennial bill; because the principle on which they acted, in promoting that measure, was every way laudable, and every way justifiable; at the time of the passing of that bill, the House of Brunswick had been just called to the throne, by the unanimous voice of the people, in defence of their liberties,

ties, and in order to protect them from the alarming attempts of a Pretender, whose family was deservedly become odious for their tyranny, and by their repeated endeavours to subvert the constitution, to change the religion of the country, and to bury the liberties of the people under the fabric of arbitrary power, which it had been their constant wish to introduce and to erect. George I. was a prince beloved by both Houses of Parliament, and looked up to as their guardian and protector, it was very natural under these circumstances to take every precaution to keep out a third person, a pretender to the throne, and to maintain the House of Brunswick in possession of it. With this view it was, that the three branches of the legislature had agreed to take such measures as were most likely to exclude the Pretender, and what measure could be more promising or more likely, than to pass the septennial bill? Therefore, keeping together that Parliament who were so well disposed towards George I. and who doubtless had no idea that a day could ever come when the liberties of the people would be in danger from the House of Brunswick, who never could suppose that the influence of the crown would be so encreased in the reign of a prince of that House, that it should be voted by the House of Commons, to be encreased, encreasing, and that it ought to be diminished. They had therefore acted wisely, and he had ever admired and revered such men. It was from this admiration and this reverence that he had uniformly voted against shortening the duration of Parliament; but what was the case now? The people of England, in whom the sole right of the duration of Parliament lay, called upon that House to shorten it! The people of England made this requisition, a requisition they alone could make, and which, like every other requisition that came from the same quarter, he should ever hold himself bound to comply with, and to obey.

Mr. Fox answered Lord Nugent's question about the sheriffs, and said, undoubtedly if the bill now moved for passed, an act must necessarily pass to make that alteration. He also turned off the objection urged by Mr. Pitt, relative to the frequency of elections, and the enormous expence which would unavoidably follow to private families, and honest and independent men, if Parliaments were chosen either annually or triennially; shewing, that even now Parliaments had no certain time of duration, for that it was in the power of government to put an end to them, whenever it should be most for the purpose of government so to do; and that consequently

government might harass individuals at present, as much as they could do then. One of the arguments upon which Mr. Fox principally rested was, that annual Parliaments would lessen the influence of the crown, declaring, that if any of his constituents were to ask him what our present misfortunes were ascribable to? He should say, the first cause was the influence of the crown, the second, the influence of the crown, and the third, the influence of the crown; to that, and that only, in his mind, could it be owing, that an unpopular and unsuccessful ministry, whose measures had ruined their country, kept their offices. He ridiculed Mr. Onslow's opinion as stated by Lord Nugent, and said, that noble Lord's whole speech was a sample of that contemptuous conduct, which ministry assumed whenever they thought themselves secure; their way constantly was to be afraid, when they first heard of any thing that looked like danger approaching them, and as soon as they began to think themselves safe, to turn the object of their former terror into derision. So it was with the petitions of the people; at first nothing could be more humble than the language of ministers respecting them; they had promised every thing, but now having again their majority, they affected to laugh at, and to deride that, which they had most seriously dreaded.

Lord North began with ironically observing, that as the honourable gentleman who spoke last had constantly gone with him in voting against every motion similar to the present, which had been made from year to year, for some years past, and as no man was more fully acquainted with the principle on which it was objectionable, nor had any man been so able a defender of that principle, he was in hopes on this occasion to have had the honour of being assisted for once by the powerful and brilliant talents which distinguished the honourable gentleman, and that it would have been unnecessary for any other person to attempt to convince the House how mistaken those gentlemen, both within doors and without, were, who imagined, that if annual or triennial Parliaments were restored, the influence of the crown would be diminished. His Lordship having opened his speech in this manner, proceeded in a most masterly stile of argument, to shew the dangerous tendency of the attempt to shorten the duration of Parliaments, should such an attempt be carried into execution. He said, his ideas on the subject were not newly taken up, neither had he acquired them since he had any ministerial office or connexion; that the first time he had
ever

ever presumed to solicit the attention of that House, was to an argument against a motion similar to the present: that the matter he alluded to, occurred many years since, and that his opinion had been considerably strengthened by experience. He quoted the sentiments of a great man, whose name he could not immediately recollect, but who, speaking of triennial Parliaments, had said, that their consequence would be triennial treaties, triennial alliances, and a triennial peace; that, in fact, so far from accommodating public business, they would derange and impede its progress. His Lordship took up Mr. Sawbridge's historical account of Parliaments, and shewed that our ancestors had clearly in view, that Parliaments should sit annually, and said, that by degrees, that end had been drawing nearer and nearer, and was now attained. That the nature of our constitution, as it stood at present, required it. He further said, if Parliaments were to be chosen for less than seven years, no gentleman could possibly think of attempting to begin any great public measure, because he could not be certain that he should continue in Parliament long enough to bring it to perfection. He declared that every innovation ought to be watched with a jealous eye, because when once the spirit of innovation was abroad, it was impossible to say where it would stop. He should, had he no other reason, object to the present motion, because it was evident from what the honourable gentleman who spoke last had said, it was to be necessarily followed by several other innovations. The noble Lord near him had mentioned the appointment of the sheriffs, a matter vested in the crown for centuries; the honourable gentleman had said with the most perfect ease, as if the matter were really trifling and indifferent "that the mode of appointing sheriffs must be altered, if the present motion was agreed to, and the bill passed." This he said, he did not approve, neither should he lightly assent to any alteration of the constitution.

After very pointedly animadverting on the difficulties that would arise in case the elections of returning officers were to be almost immediately followed by the election of members of Parliament, and enforcing other strong objections to the motion, his Lordship concluded with praising the healthiness of the constitution, as it stood, declaring, that every attempt to improve it, put him in mind of the epitaph on the tombstone of the famous Italian valetudinarian, Cornaro.

Stava bene, voleva stare meglio—sto qui.

"I was well, I would be better—and here I am."

Colonel

Colonel *Barré* supported the motion in a short speech, introducing Lord North's commission of account bill, and other temporary topics of oppositional severity, and concluding it with the words *liberavi animam meam*.

Mr. *T. Townshend* very calmly declared, he had not made up his mind to the idea of shortening the duration of Parliament; the motion however was of so much magnitude, that it was at least worth while to give it full discussion; he therefore advised the letting the bill be brought in, and go to a committee; not that he meant to say, he should support it when it came there, but as it was the wish of the people, he thought it deserved at least so much respect.

Mr. *Rigby* ridiculed the new converts, as he termed Mr. Fox, and those other gentlemen who had now for the first time spoken favourably of a motion which they had voted against uniformly before. He observed, that the honourable gentleman who spoke last, had not delivered his sentiments with his usual warmth, or as if he was remarkably fond of the motion. He argued very strenuously against innovation, especially where the House was not made acquainted with the butt or goal to which innovation was to be carried. He took notice of an honourable gentleman's having spoke against the motion, and then walked out of the House [alluding to Mr. Pitt, who had left the House accompanied by his father-in-law Pinckney Wilkinson, Esq.] and said, he liked what was substantial, and should ever prefer a vote to a speech. He also, in very strong language, shewed the inconvenience that would follow an alteration of the duration of Parliament, and stated his reasons at length for being against the motion.

Lord *John Cavendish* spoke against the principles of shortening the duration of Parliaments, but wished the motion might be agreed to and the bill go into a committee.

Mr. *Byng* was decidedly for the motion; and in reply to what Lord North had said respecting triennial Parliaments producing triennial alliances, asked where the noble Lord's alliances were?

Mr. *Burke* spoke against the motion, saying, that if were carried, and triennial Parliaments were introduced, the influence of the crown would be most fatally increased; if annual Parliaments were the sort agreed upon, he asserted, that there would be no contest, and consequently, that in

fact there would be no election. He declared, the question relative to the shortening the duration could not be said to have originated in the wishes of the people, for it never yet had been properly before them; if it had, and they had fairly discussed it in every point of view, he did not doubt but they would have seen the danger of it, and determined wisely against it; *qui cautè deliberant, facile pronunciant*. He said, however unpopular his speech might render him, it was his duty as an honest man to deliver his sentiments on so great a subject, that his constituents might fairly know what sort of a person it was, who offered himself as a candidate for their votes at the next election. He then proceeded to a most ample investigation and discussion of the whole subject, exhibiting with all the power of pencil which he possesses, and with all that glow of colouring, which no man can more beautifully display, that the consequence, of shortening the duration of Parliament, would tend to increase corruption, to ruin individuals, and to extend the influence of the crown. He reprobated the attempt by trying a triennial Parliament, as dangerous in the extreme. If the experiment failed, we could not go back to septennial Parliaments without destroying the weight and importance which the interference of the people at large ought always to carry with it. He gave a detail of the triennial Parliaments in the reign of William the Third, and shewed, that though they were little better than biennial Parliaments, there was more corruption in them, than in any our history recorded to have far. He instanced the case of the East India Company's bribery of their members, mentioning the Speaker's being obliged to put the question on his own expulsion, and the affair of Sir Philip Mulgrave.

After speaking most ably in support of the septennial, or as he termed them sextennial Parliaments, he bid the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, and those near him, not flatter themselves that opposition was a rope of sand, or that the chain was broken, because he did not agree with his honourable friend near him, or the honourable Alderman who made the motion; there was and would be found to be, an essential distinction between an amicable difference of opinion, founded upon principle, and hostile discord. He trusted the noble Lord would find him as tough a link as any in the chain, and he assured the House though he should vote against his honourable friend to-night, he should vote with him again to-morrow.

A. 1780.

D E B A T E S.

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Sir *Joseph Mawbey* rose to speak, but many members being anxious for the question, the House divided on the question : *Sir Joseph Mawbey.*

Ayes 91 Noes 182

As soon as this matter was disposed of, the majority of the members left the House.

Mr. *Eden* moved to have the New York port bill read a second time, giving the House to understand, that the honourable gentleman who meant to oppose it [Governor Pownall] was gone, but had declared to him, that as he should have an opportunity of opposing the principle of it, when the motion was made "For the Speaker to leave the chair," he would not oppose it on the second reading. *Mr. Eden.*

Sir *James Lewther* remonstrated on the impropriety of reading it a second time in so thin a House, and in the absence of the honourable gentleman alluded to, who was gone away, and who had told him in the course of the evening, that he meant to oppose the bill on the second reading, but that no other business would come on that day. To attempt to read now, therefore, would be a catch, and ought not to be allowed. *Sir James Lewther.*

Mr. *Eden* said he did not understand the phrase which the honourable Baronet had used; that he had no view whatever but fairness and service to the trade of his country, in giving himself any sort of trouble about the bill. The honourable gentleman from whom opposition to the bill was expected, had told him just before he left the House, that he should not oppose it in that stage, as he should have an equally good opportunity of opposing its principle, when the question came to be put for the Speaker's leaving the chair. He added, that in fact nothing would be got by reading it a second time then, but a little time, for if the bill was to be thrown out in consequence of the opposition intended, it could as effectually be defeated in either of its subsequent stages. *Mr. Eden.*

The Speaker confirmed Mr. *Eden's* assertion, declaring that the honourable member had assured him that he would not oppose it in that stage, before he left the House. *Speaker.*

A general cry of "put the question," "put the question" prevailing,

The Speaker had nearly finished putting it, when

S f f f 2

Colonel

Col. *Barré*. Colonel *Barré* rose and said, that certainly if there was a doubt whether the honourable gentleman meant to oppose it in that stage or not, it would be but fair and decent not to proceed upon it till the honourable gentleman was present to answer for himself.

Mr. *W. S. Stanhope*.

Mr. *James Luttrell*.

Mr. *W. S. Stanhope* was of the same opinion.

Sir *James Lowther* rose again, and maintained his former argument, declaring that the honourable gentleman in question had told him that very night, nearly twenty times over, that he should oppose it on the second reading, he must therefore recur to his former expression, and repeat, that if it were read a second time, it would be a catch and a trick; if the honourable gentleman had told any body that he should not oppose it in that stage, it must be since ten o'clock, but he did not believe he had said any such thing.

The *Speaker*.

Lord *Beauchamp*.

The *Speaker* again stood up, and declared that he had told him so expressly.

Lord *Beauchamp* said, that let the present difference of opinion arise from a mistake either one way or the other, the honourable gentleman's objections to it, he understood, went solely to the clauses which the Lords had introduced into the old bill, and which were copied into this new one; the honourable gentleman therefore would have ample opportunity of stating his objections when the bill was in a committee; indeed the honourable gentleman had brought in the former bill himself; it was not very likely therefore, that he should wish to oppose this upon the second reading.

The *Speaker*.

The *Speaker* told his Lordship he was mistaken; that it was the principle of the bill which the honourable gentleman meant to object to, and therefore he must object to it either on the second reading, or on the motion for his leaving the chair. He submitted it, however, to the committee, whether it was worth while to lose so much time upon the matter? Why not agree to read it a second time another day?

Mr. *Eden*.

Ay, ay, ay, being echoed though the House; Mr. *Eden* rose again, and begged to say a word or two before the matter was decided. The bill then the subject of discussion, had been brought in by him, merely to relieve the trade of this country from the very great difficulties it laboured under, and which difficulties became more and more serious and severe, the longer the passing of some such

such bill was delayed. He himself had no personal interest in the bill, he begged therefore, to hear no more of catch and trick; it was a language he did not understand, and a language he was not disposed to receive from any man. As far as regarded the bill, he was the servant of the House; he had brought it in, in consequence of their direction; he felt no other satisfaction in the trouble of taking care of it in its Parliamentary progress, than arose from a consciousness of contributing as far as the bill should be suffered to go, in assisting the distressed trade of his country. The honourable Baronet, being a man of much larger property, and standing more distinguished than he did, was more concerned in the fate of the bill than he was; every man of property was interested in it. The honourable Baronet therefore might take it to himself, if he pleased; he was very ready to resign the care of it.

Sir *James Lowther* said, he had nothing to say against the bill, nor should he oppose the second reading, whenever it should be, he only had thought it decent to move it in a fuller House, and in the presence of the honourable gentleman, who it was expected would oppose it. Sir James Lowther.

Mr. *Eden* then agreed to move for the second reading of it the first business to day, and if that was acquiesced in, said, he would move to have it committed for tomorrow. Mr. Eden.

The House rose at twenty minutes after twelve.

May 9.

The House, after dispatching some private business, went into a committee on the bill for permitting, for a limited time, the importation of cotton wool for the Levant and Mediterranean seas.

Counsel were then called to the bar, and Mess. *Erskine* and *Pigot* heard against the bill.

As soon as the counsel withdrew, two witnesses were heard in support of the allegations stated in the petitions on the table, from the towns of *Lancaster* and *Liverpool*.

It being at length moved that Mr. *Rawlinson*, who described himself as agent for the petitioners from the town of *Lancaster*, and whose name likewise being signed to the petition, be called to the bar to give evidence touching the facts stated in the petition, an objection was taken to his competency, which produced a debate of several hours.

It was urged against receiving his evidence, that being a petitioner as well as an agent, he could not be examined to the facts stated in the petition he had himself stated and asserted, as an interested person, to be true.

It was contended, that he could be examined to the facts he had stated as an agent, but not as a petitioner.

It was asserted in reply, that persons, merchants, &c. had been frequently examined, though they were supposed to have an interest in the issue as merchants.

A distinction was taken between information given at the bar to the House, where there was no opposition, and the evidence of parties entrusted in the case of an actual opposition, which was the case in the present instance.

It was said in answer, that though the objection taken went to the credit of the witness, it did not go to his competency. It was at length agreed, the current of the committee running that way, that Mr. Rawlinson be heard on the ground of competency. The speakers, in this intricate controversy about order, were Lords North, and G. and J. Cavendish, Mr. Burke, Mr. Bamber Gascoigne, Mr. Montague, and Sir Grey Cooper, who argued the point of order very ably, Sir William Meredith, Sir William Bagot, Sir Adam Ferguson, Sir George Yonge, Sir Richard Sutton, Mr. Dempster, Governor Pownall, Mr. Eden, Mr. Pultney, Mr. Pennant, and three or four others.

Mr. Rawlinson was then called to the bar, and gave a very long testimony. The principal facts which he stated were, that the average price of cotton wool was in 1774 about 1s. 9d. per pound; in 1776, and 1777, 1s. 6d. per pound; in 1778 1s. 3d. and in 1779 1s. 6d. that the total quantity imported, upon an annual average, was about four millions, of which two millions, or more than two millions, were imported into the towns of Liverpool and Lancaster, and that he did not know how much of the same had been imported from the Levant and Mediterranean seas, but referred the committee to the accounts lying on the table for that information.

May 10.

The House having resolved itself into a committee, and Mr. Ord having taken his seat at the table, the committee proceeded to fill up the blanks in the clauses of the malt tax bill; the first clause that came under consideration was that, which enacted that the public brewer, within the bills of mortality, should be entitled to a drawback, by a stated allowance being made him on each barrel of beer.

Sir Grey Cooper moved, that the blank should be filled up with the words "one shilling and four-pence."

This

This gave rise to a short debate.

Mr. *Whitbread* said, that the London brewer might possibly be able to bear this burthen at present, because malt was at a low price, but declared if malt should rise, the London brewer must either leave off brewing or be ruined. He minded the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, that when he first opened his intention of laying an additional tax on malt, he had stated that he should so conduct and frame the bill, that the burthen should fall upon the private brewery, and not upon the public brewery, observing at the same time, that the latter already paid considerable taxes, not one of which at all affected the former. Mr. *Whitbread* added, that the drawback, if it passed at 1s. 4d. per barrel of beer, was by no means equal to the duty that the public brewer would pay on the quantity of malt used in brewing that barrel of beer; he stated, in proof of this assertion, the number of quarters of malt used by the London brewers in the course of a twelvemonth, and the excise office returns of the number of barrels of beer brewed, whence it plainly appeared, that the drawback was somewhat less than the duty.

Lord *North* said, he had a good deal turned in his mind, the question whether the allowance was sufficient to the public brewers or not, since the committee had last sat upon the bill, and that upon mature consideration, and a careful reference to authentic accounts, he was convinced that a drawback of one shilling and four-pence per barrel, within the bills of mortality, was as much as could reasonably be expected by the brewer, and as much as the public ought to allow. The honourable gentleman had argued upon the presumed ground, of his having declared, that the drawback should be fully equal to the duty. He begged the honourable gentleman and the committee to recollect, that he had laid down no such proposition. The proposition stated by him, when he first opened his intention of laying an additional duty on malt, was, that the private brewery not paying any of the late taxes, which affected the public brewery, and the cruel exigencies of the times requiring that so large a sum as 300,000l. should be raised on the subject, the private brewery struck him as a fair object of taxation; but in order to obviate the objection that might arise, and indeed to prevent the uneasiness and the discontents that in all probability would have arisen, if the exciseman had been suffered to enter the private houses of individuals, he had been obliged to lay the duty in the first instance; to lay it upon malt, though, in fact, it was a tax upon beer. This he owned was but a blundering

Sir *Grey*
Cooper.

Mr. *Whit-*
bread.

Lord *North.*

blundering business, and a round about way of coming at the private brewer, but as long as keeping the exciseman out of the houses of individuals was insisted on, there was no other way of doing it. When he had originally explained this mode of laying the tax, he had said, that he should take care so to lay it, that the Public brewer should have no warrantable cause for raising the price of his beer, so as to make it come dearer to the lip of the consumer. That had been his proposition. Now in making the drawback, he had carefully looked into the state of the brewery, taking it from the year 1760, and examining, in the course of the last twenty years, what had been the burthens laid on it by acts of Parliament, and also examining what advantages the brewers had derived from the public, in opposition to these burthens. The examination he had made plainly proved, that most of the late taxes had been so many new sources of profit to the brewer, who had shifted the burthen from his own shoulders, and laid it with some addition on the shoulders of his customers, who had likewise added still more upon it before the consumer paid for it. Upon an average review of both sides, and a candid striking of the balance, it did appear to him, that 1s. 4d. though perhaps not exactly equal to the new duty, was such an allowance as was reasonable and fair, and that such an allowance being made, the brewer would not be justified in raising the price of his beer to the public.

Mr. Whitbread.

Mr. *Whitbread* rose again, and said, that so far from taxes being a benefit to the trade, they were a very grievous burthen on it. That they affected the trade more ways than one. That if the drawback went at 1s. 4d. some brewers would be induced to draw greater lengths from their malt, and to brew bad and weaker beer; the consequence of which would be, if porter had not that body and strength which it ought to have, it would no longer be salutary and serviceable to those who drank it, it would be disliked, and people would either have recourse to spirits, or strong liquors would be thrown into the beer when they drank it, all of which, he presumed, were matters of great political consideration, and well worthy the attention of Parliament. Besides, had the noble Lord forgot the state the brewery was in four years ago? Had he forgot that the trade was then almost ruined? He thought it his duty to endeavour at least to prevent any of these consequences, by moving as an amendment to the present motion, "that the allowance to the public brewer should be 1s. 6d. instead of 1s. 4d. per barrel." He said, he feared he should not have

weight

weight enough to carry the amendment, but he would nevertheless try its fate.

After some more debate, the amendment was put and negatived; the original motion that 1s. 4d. be the allowance was then put, and carried.

The next clause was that for making an allowance to the country brewers. The blank in this clause Sir *Grey Cooper* Sir Grey Cooper. proposed to fill up, with the words "one shilling and eight pence."

This gave rise to another debate.

Lord *John Cavendish* Lord John Cavendish said, it was always a disagreeable thing to him to meddle with the taxes, or object to the supply, because though he lamented our present difficulties, and thought those who brought them upon us deserved the public execration; he could not say that the supply must not be raised, and adequate taxes imposed on the subject; he left the proposing and providing those taxes, however, in general to the minister, and as long as they were equally imposed, and not oppressive, he should not object to them. On the present occasion he had been applied to by letters from various persons in different parts of Yorkshire, pointing out to him that the new tax for malt, if imposed in the manner in which the noble Lord had publicly declared he should impose it, would be a most unequal tax, and a tax extremely oppressive and severe upon the poor in that part of the county, who in general brewed their own beer. Those letters, he said, stated, that the operation and effect of the tax would be exceedingly unequal. That the brewer, or publican, who lived in a village, where there was no other alehouse, would be induced to draw greater lengths from his malt, and his customers having no other resort, would be obliged to drink very bad beer, or go without any; whereas in towns where there were many publicans who brewed, and where there was a competition who should brew the best liquor, some would unavoidably be ruined by it. His Lordship reprobated the tax as a very unfair one in many respects.

Lord *North* Lord North repeated his former arguments, that it would be impossible to lay any tax that was likely to be productive of a large sum, without some description of persons or other being particularly affected by it. The cyder tax, which he had always thought a fair tax, and had never conceived himself oppressed by it, though he had been one of those who were affected by it, had been, as gentlemen knew, loudly complained of by one part of the kingdom. A small composition would, as that tax was laid, have saved every private

family from what was held out to be a most terrible circumstance, viz. the being liable to the visits of an exciseman. He had been obliged to pay that composition himself, in order to keep his House free from that officer's entering it; but, as he said before, it never struck him as any hardship. In the present case, he could not think that the tax would be so severely felt in those parts of Yorkshire, which the noble Lord had spoken of, because if the poor found it disagreeable to pay more for malt than they paid before, they had nothing to do, but to leave off brewing, and to take their beer of the public brewer. Indeed this was one of the points in which the public brewer would be benefited both in town and country, because as the private brewery might, and probably would, in consequence of the operation of this bill, decrease, the public brewery would naturally increase. He was aware that this effect would not be so much produced in the metropolis as in the country, because in the city he believed very few persons brewed their own small beer. In the environs, however, several, and in the country great numbers did. If any of the latter disliked the tax, it was an easy matter for them to resort to the public brewer. His Lordship again said, that it was necessary to raise the 300,000l. wanted by a productive tax; the present seemed to him to be a fair one, and though it was impossible for him to answer for it, yet he had every reason in the world to believe it would turn out to be full as productive as was expected.

Lord John
Cavendish.

Lord John Cavendish rose again, and said, what the noble Lord had suggested, relative to the opportunity which individuals would have, of resorting to the public brewer, might be a very good argument, when applied to London, but that it would not hold a moment, when applied to the country in general, and for this strong reason; excepting in capital towns, there was no such thing as a public brewer an hundred miles from the metropolis. In Yorkshire, and those parts of it, of which he had before spoken, there was no public brewer for five and twenty or thirty miles together. The poor families never dreamt nor heard of a public brewer, and if they had a desire to have their beer of a public brewer, it was impossible for them to have it so in that part of the country. His Lordship went into a general arraignment of the taxes imposed for some years past, and reprobated them as partial and impolitick. One year the West Indies were to be taxed, and our revenue was to come from thence! Another year the East Indies! Another year America! Another year part of England, and so on. All these ideas of taxation were
piti^{ful}

pitiful, ridiculous and contrary to every rule of sound policy and good government. Taxes, his Lordship contended, should be so laid as to bear equally upon all ranks of subjects, and when so laid, let the amount of the money they were intended to raise be ever so great, the burthen would be a light one, and no description of men would complain of it.

Lord North replied, and justified the present tax from the Lord North's accusations brought against it by the noble Lord.

Sir George Savile stood up in behalf of the poor in York-shire, and repeated that information to the committee, which he had given them last week, relative to the pottage made from small beer and oatmeal, on which the poor near Halifax chiefly subsisted their children.

Sir Edward Ashley also rose an advocate for the poor [in Norfolk] and reprehended the tax on general grounds.

The question was at length put, and the motion was carried.

The next clause debated was, that which ordained what the allowance should be to the public brewery in Scotland, on strong beer.

Sir Grey Cooper moved to fill up the blank with the words "ten-pence."

Mr. Dempster rose, and contended, that if the blank was so filled up, it would be a gross injustice to Scotland. He was aware of the prejudices always entertained against local objections; but he hoped, if the committee would have the goodness to lend him their attention, to be able to convince them, either that the noble Lord in the blue ribbon had proceeded on a wrong calculation, or that he had totally mistaken the state of the brewery in Scotland. He then stated to the House, that as the malt of Scotland was considerably inferior to that of England, the committee had agreed to adopt the rule wisely laid down 55 years ago, and uniformly adhered to ever since, of imposing only half the duty on the malt of Scotland, to what was imposed on that of England, viz, 6d. per bushel on the latter, and only 3d. a bushel on the former. In consequence of this, the noble Lord had proposed to make Scotland only an allowance of 10d. per barrel, forgetting that the allowance was made on the manufactured commodity, and forgetting that the arguments, in compliance with which it had been agreed to tax malt in Scotland only half as much as malt in England, had turned entirely on the strong fact, that Scotch malt would only go half as far as English malt; and that therefore when a barrel of beer was brewed in Scotland, equal in quantity and quality to a

barrel of beer brewed in England, twice as much malt was brewed in it, and consequently that the barrel of beer had paid as much malt duty as in England, and therefore that it was entitled to the same allowance. After arguing this for sometime, Mr. Dempster said, that so far from Scotland's requesting any thing unreasonable, though the public brewer was as fully entitled to an allowance of 1s. 8d. per barrel as the public brewer in England, that the country would be contented with an allowance of 1s. 4d. per barrel. He therefore moved, as an amendment to the motion, that the words "ten pence" be omitted, and the words "one shilling and fourpence," be inserted.

This amendment gave rise to a long debate, in which Lord North, Sir Richard Sutton, Mr. Dempster, Sir Adam Ferguson, Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, the Lord Advocate, Sir Laurence Dundas, Sir William Cunynghame, Sir George Savile, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Cater, and Mr. J. Johnstone, took part.

All the old ground of the poverty of the barley of Scotland in consequence of the climate, was touched upon.

Lord North.

Lord North maintained the original motion, and went into a detail of the expences of brewing a barrel of beer in Scotland, with the addition of the taxes. He took the barley at four bushels, and stated the cost at 6s. 9d. exclusive of the taxes, which he rated at 4s. 5d. making the whole cost of a barrel come to 13s. 11d. whereas it was said to be sold for 14s. 4d. Having stated these particulars, he said it was impossible that the assertion could be just, that the beer sold for no more than 14s. 4d. if four bushels of barley were allowed for each barrel.

Sir Philip Jennings Clerke.

Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, who had but just come into the House, rose, and said, he was for an equality, and if Scotland was paid a drawback of 1s. 8d. he should move that England be allowed the same.

He was told by the whole committee that the clause respecting England had passed the committee, and that the allowance was 1s. 8d. exactly as he had declared it ought to be.

The Lord Advocate.

The Lord Advocate ironically complimented the honourable Baronet on coinciding in opinion for once with the noble Lord in the blue ribbon. He then himself opposed the original motion, and argued in support of the amendment. He declared, among other matters, that as the two-penny, as it was called in Scotland, was now brewed, it was such poor, miserable, nauseous stuff, that the old folks who were yet living, and remembered what the Scotch two-penny was in better

better times, could not drink it, but sickened at the sight of it. He enforced Mr. Dempster's argument, and declared he should vote against the tax, unless Scotland was fairly dealt by.

Sir Philip Jennings Clerke rose to retort upon the Lord Advocate, and said it was the first time he had seen him speaking in opposition to the noble Lord, and he must say, he did not look very well in his new situation. Sir Philip Jennings Clerke.

Mr. J. Johnstone said, Scotland ought to be dealt with equally with England, if the original motion was carried, the allowance would be both unequal and unjust. Mr. J. Johnstone.

Sir Adam Fergusson very ably argued in support of the amendment, and shewed, that it ought to be agreed to, grounding what he said on the facts relative to the brewery in Scotland, stated in an affidavit made by a public brewer. Sir Adam contended, that in Scotland the tax would operate exactly differently from its operation in England, for that there scarcely was any such thing as a private brewer in Scotland, every person taking their beer from the public brewer; the tax, therefore, if a proper drawback was not allowed the public brewer, would be a very heavy burthen upon the public brewery, directly contrary to the professed intentions of the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, when he first proposed the tax to the committee. Sir Adam Fergusson.

Lord North replied, and gave an account of the prices of barley from a public register of the prices of corn in Scotland. His Lordship said, if the two-penny of Scotland, which he presumed took its name from the Scotch pint, and was sold at a penny a bottle retail, was such wretched nauseous stuff as the learned Lord had described it to be, it could have no malt in it, and might as well be brewed from shavings. His Lordship recapitulated his detail of the expences of brewing a barrel of beer. Lord North.

Sir Laurence Dundas rose to say, that though the word *barley* might stand in the register of corn in Scotland, which the noble Lord had seen, that in fact very little grew in that country, and none in many parts of it. He particularly described the grain which grew on his own estates in Scotland. Sir Laurence Dundas.

Lord North said, the register he had looked to, if he remembered right, mentioned Argyle and Bute, which he presumed were not the most fertile parts of Scotland. Lord North.

Sir Laurence Dundas explained this by shewing, that barley was mentioned if a single boll was sold, but that by no means Sir Laurence Dundas.
proved

proved that enough was produced to make it an object of taxation.

*Sir William
Cunning-
hame.*

Sir William Cunninghame mentioned the difference of grain in different parts of Scotland, and particularly the difference between the grain of East and West Lothian.

*Mr. Demp-
ster.*

Mr. Dempster said, the noble Lord's error in stating the cost of brewing a barrel of beer in Scotland, arose entirely from his allotting four bushels of barley, instead of four bushels of malt to each barrel. That every person knew four bushels of barley would yield more than four bushels of malt, and on that alone rested the whole profit of the brewery. With regard to the difference between the Scotch two-penny and English small-beer, he said it was about the same as the difference between the wine of the northern, and the wine of the southern provinces of France; the wine of Languedock, and the *petit vin* of the Isle of France. He called upon the noble Lord to know if he had his information relative to the Scotch beer from the commissioners of excise in Scotland. If the noble Lord would declare he had, he said, he would give up the point, but if he had not, he begged the noble Lord to suspend the matter for eight and forty hours, only that he might inform himself better on the subject, and advised the noble Lord to agree to a motion for the chairman's leaving the chair, reporting a progress, and asking leave to sit again.

Lord North.

Lord North in reply, went over the whole subject again, and said, if the present proposition for ten-pence should be agreed to, and it should afterwards appear that it was too little, it might be increased by an amendment moved on the report; but if it should now be increased, and should hereafter appear to be too much, it could not be diminished on the report, because the forms of the House would not allow that. As to the suspension recommended by the honourable gentleman, it would be full that length of time before the report could be made.

*Mr. Demp-
ster.*

Mr. Dempster said, he now saw clearly that the noble Lord had not informed himself properly on the subject, and indeed he had suspected as much all along, because the noble Lord had given the amount of the duty in Scotland for nothing, but had taken the whole 300,000*l.* upon the English duty.

Mr. Dempster then went into a full detail of the state of the brewery in Scotland, and after a good deal more debate, the question was put, and the committee divided on the amendment, Ayes 35. Noes 113.

The

The original motion was then put and carried.

They next proceeded to fill up the other clauses, and at length divided on the question, whether 6d. or 8d. should be allowed on the barrel of two-penny (for though the committee had made the allowance on two-penny, the mean subject of their preceding debate, the clause really before them was that of the strong beer.) On the division, the numbers were, Ayes (for the 8d.) 17. Noes 116.

Mr. Clayton, while the strangers were out on this division, Mr. Clayton moved that they should not be admitted again.

May 11.

Mr. Clayton having last night given notice that he should move for the strangers to withdraw, as soon as he could come down the next day, no strangers were this day admitted. The plea on which this new and singular objection, (for new and singular it is, considering the custom of late years,) is grounded, is an opinion, that strangers contribute to heat the House, to the inconvenience of the members. It is a little extraordinary, that this objection should be just now taken, when there are rarely so many as two hundred members present at a time, and remarkable thin galleries. There were not thirty strangers in the gallery, when they were excluded, and not one hundred and fifty members below stairs.

The order of the day was read for the second reading of the election qualification bill; the same was accordingly read; and committed for Tuesday the 23d of May instant.

A motion was made, that the act of the 8th of George II. cap. 30. intitled "An act for regulating the quartering of soldiers, during the time of the election of members to serve in Parliament," and the same having been read by the clerk,

It was moved, "that leave be given to bring in a bill to exempt the city of Winchester, out of the said act, so far as relates to removing the troops during an election." After a short conversation, the House divided, Ayes 39. Noes 21.

The order of the day was read for the House to be put into a committee on the state of the war. The Speaker then left the chair, and

Mr. D. Hartley rose, and informed the House, that Sir Henry Clinton had written home for an additional number of troops; but that owing to their not being sent him till the month of March, when it was too late to render him the use he intended them for, he had been disappointed of an important expedition. The honourable gentleman wished to know why the troops had not been sent in time, and moved,

1st, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the prosecution of an offensive war in America is most evidently a measure, which, by employing our great and enormously expensive military operations against the inhabitants of that country, prevents this country from exerting its united, vigorous, and firm efforts against the power of France and Spain, and has no other effect upon America than to continue and thereby to increase the enmity which has so long and so fatally subsisted between the arms of both; can be productive of no good whatever, but, by preventing conciliation, threatens the accomplishment of the ruin of the British empire.

2d, That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, stating the matter of the foregoing resolution, and most earnestly entreating his Majesty to give his most gracious concurrence therewith; to express, at the same time, that his most faithful Commons think it their indispensable duty to lay these their thoughts before him, as conceiving that they should betray his Majesty, and those whom they represent, if they did not distinctly state, that the public affairs of this kingdom are in such a situation, that every possible exertion of prudence and vigour in the public councils must now of necessity be called forth in the public cause; to represent to his Majesty that the two points of restoring peace to America, and of maintaining the honour of the crown of Great Britain in the sight of all foreign powers upon those strict principles of sincerity and public faith, by which alone nations can be holden together, are the nearest to the hearts of his most faithful Commons, who have the fullest confidence, that, assisted by his Majesty's authority in the prosecution of prudent and vigorous councils, they shall be enabled to maintain the honour and reputation of this country against any confederacy whatsoever, and that a reconciliation with America may be effected upon beneficial, just, and honourable terms.

3d, That leave be given to bring in a bill to invest the crown with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and finally to agree upon the means of restoring peace with the provinces in North America.

Lord George
Germaine.

Lord George Germaine said, that no requisition for troops had been received from Sir Henry Clinton, and that those sent, had been ordered for America, merely because it had been thought an advisable measure at home.

Lord In-
ham.

Lord Inham observed, that the House was very thin, and that the matter had, therefore, better be postponed.

After some further conversation, in the course of which Mr. Townshend complained much of the bad attendance of the

the members; it was resolved, that the committee should report a progress, and sit again on the 25th instant.

Sir Grey Cooper then moved, "That the report from the ^{Sir Grey} committee on the malt bill, be now brought up." After a ^{Cooper.} little conversation, the House divided, Noes 22; Ayes 69.

A clause was next proposed on which a short debate arose; and, upon a division, there appeared for it, Ayes 7; Noes 95.

A motion was next made, that this bill with the amendments be ingrossed, Ayes 86; Noes 13.

On bringing up the above report, Mr. J. Johnstone made ^{Mr J.} one more effort in favour of Scotland, relative to the draw-^{Johnstone.} back, but it was fruitless.

Sir James Lowther also divided the House on a motion to ^{Sir James} insert a clause, enacting that the counties of Westmoreland ^{Lowther.} and Cumberland growing big and bear, should be put on the same footing as Scotland. Sir James lost it by a considerable majority.

Sir William Bagot then endeavoured to obtain an exemption ^{Sir William} in favour of Burton-upon-Trent, declaring that Burton ale ^{Bagot.} was brewed more for exportation than home consumption.

Mr. Sawbridge spoke against this, and said, as Sir William ^{Mr. Saw-} was a firm friend of the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, and ^{bridge.} had uniformly supported him in all those measures which had brought ruin upon the empire, he did not see why Burton should not share in the public misfortunes, and pay its quota of the public burthens.

Sir William Bagot's proposition was negatived.

The order of the day was next read for the House to be put into a committee on the militia bill; the Speaker then left the chair, and the committee having made several amendments to the same, ordered the report to be received on that day fortnight.

May 12.

As soon as the miscellaneous business was over, Sir Grey ^{Sir Grey} Cooper moved the bone lace bill—instead of four per cent on ^{Cooper.} foreign lace, ten per cent was moved.

New malt-tax bill engrossed. Sir Grey Cooper moved ^{Sir Grey} third reading. Mr. Powys objected to it, as a motion by ^{Cooper.} surprise, for which the House was not prepared. Mr. Burke, ^{Mr. Powys.} Mr. Powys, and three or four others, spoke in the debate.

Lord North disapproved of passing the bill in the state of ^{Lord North} preparation the House was in; and it was agreed upon by both sides of the House, to put off the third reading till Monday the 22d instant.

Lord North. Lord North now gave notice of the army extras and East-India bill.

Mr. Hussy. Mr. Hussy moved to adjourn the House till Monday the 22d instant. After some debate resolved in the negative, for Monday 22, against 31.

Lord Beauchamp. Lord Beauchamp moved the tobacco bill; after a short debate, bill ordered in.

Mr. Darker. Mr. Darker moved the second reading of the bribery election bill; on the question put, Ayes, 21; Noes 36.

The House went into a committee of supply, voted a million and an half to pay off the navy debt; after a short debate it was resolved in the affirmative.

The House went into a committee upon the Levant trade bill. Much conversation at the bar to very little purpose. The witnesses were desired to withdraw about nine. The debate continued till twelve, when the question was put, that the word cotton be omitted, which was agreed to without a division.

A few minutes after twelve the House rose, and adjourned to the 18th.

May 18.

Agreed to the report of the resolutions of Friday last on the supply: That 1,500,000*l.* be granted towards paying off the debt of the navy. 15,700*l.* to make good the like sum issued in pursuance of addresses of this House.—14,348*l.* for defraying the charge of the convicts on the Thames—11,712*l.* for defraying the charge of additional companies to the militia for 1780, including cloathing.—4680*l.* to make good the deficiency on the pay of additional companies of militia not provided for in 1779.—30,296*l.* for defraying the charge of new-raised levies for 1780.

Came to a resolution on lace, viz. that the duties payable on the importation of foreign thread lace at the rate of 4*s.* per dozen yards do cease;—that in lieu a duty of 10*l.* per cent *ad valorem* be laid on the importation thereof; to be reported on Tuesday.

The bill for better securing the docks and stores at Plymouth, was read a third time, and passed.

The third reading of the malt bill was, upon motion, put off till next day.

Sir Grey Cooper.

Sir Grey Cooper presented a bill relative to the Isle of Man, and for regulating the trade thereof.

The Somerset-house bill was read a second time, and committed for Wednesday next.

Mr.

Mr. *Penton* moved the order of the day for the second Mr. *Penton*. reading of the bill for permitting the troops quartered at present at Winchester, to remain there during the next general election for the county of Southampton.

Colonel *Barré* objected to it, because other expedients Col. *Barré*. might be found, such as removing the election, as had been done upon a former occasion to another place, or putting the regular forces, during the time of election, under the command of the civil power of the magistracy of Winchester.

Sir *George Yonge* and Mr. *Temple Luttrell* spoke warmly Sir *George Yonge*. against the bill, as a manifest innovation, which would open Mr. *T. Luttrell*. the door to others of the same nature, and defeat the purposes of the statute, which was made to secure the freedom of elections.

Mr. *Stanhope* pleaded for the necessity of the measure in Mr. *Stan-* the present situation of affairs, Winchester being so full of *hope*. French and Spanish prisoners; and he stated several inconveniencies in removing the election to another place, particularly the expence to the voters.

Mr. *Penton* informed the House, that if the elections Mr. *Penton*. continued to be made at Winchester; the troops could not be removed on account of the safety of the inhabitants, as there is a distemper broke out amongst the prisoners in the jail, which the physicians say, is of the same nature with that which lately raged at Gibraltar, and is epidemical. The infection arose from some distempered Spanish prisoners, and the vigilance of the troops would be requisite to prevent a communication with the town.

Mr. *Dempster* spoke against the bill, and then took notice Mr. *Demp-* of the humanity of the French to our prisoners on a late oc- ster. casion of sickness amongst them; they sent four physicians to inspect into the nature of their disorder, and to afford them all possible relief, though the distemper was so violent that three of the physicians fell a sacrifice to their humanity. He therefore said, he should move the House at a proper opportunity, that able physicians should be sent to Winchester to examine into the state of the prisoners, and to give them all possible assistance.

Mr. *Penton* assured the House, that proper persons of the Mr. *Penton*. faculty had been sent to take care of the sick prisoners; with which Mr. *Dempster* seemed satisfied.

The bill was then read a second time, and committed.

Colonel *Barré* moved, that it be an instruction to the Col. *Barré*. committee to receive a clause for removing the election from

Winchester to some convenient place near it, which was agreed to.

Mr. Pult-
ney.

Mr. Pultney next moved for leave to bring in a bill to exempt the city of Shrewsbury in the same manner from the statute. This was warmly opposed by Colonel Barré and the other gentlemen who were against the other bill, and they now declared they would vote against both, since the consequence they had foreseen was now demonstrated; and if they suffered one innovation on the act of George II. motion would succeed motion for bills of exception, till the whole force of the statute was taken away. The House divided upon the motion, when there were 58 votes for it, to 24 against it; and leave was accordingly given to bring in the bill.

The House in a committee next proceeded to consider of laying certain duties on tobacco, coming in Dutch bottoms from St. Eustatia and the West-India islands, and of legalizing the importation. After some debate the committee came to several resolutions, which were ordered to be reported this day.

Mr. D.
Hartley.

Mr. D. Hartley complained of the gallery being shut against strangers, and said, the people of England were at this time peculiarly interested in the conduct of their representatives, and that it was neither fair, nor decent, to shut them out, and prevent them from hearing the reasons given both for and against the measures proposed by gentlemen of either side of the House. Mr. Hartley argued this point in a very handsome way on the part of the people, and put the impression, which shutting the doors made upon the minds of their constituents, in various points of view, each tending to shew, that the measure was likely to produce a bad effect without doors, without answering one good purpose within.

Sir Richard
Sutton.

Sir Richard Sutton defended the Speaker by declaring, that there was a standing order of the House against the admission of strangers, and that any member had a right to move to have it enforced. That a member had lately moved to have it read, and that being the case, strangers were necessarily excluded.

Mr. Hart-
ley.

Mr. Hartley rose again, and said, he was not at all obliged to the honourable Baronet for his information, because he was as wise before as he was then. He was perfectly aware of the standing order, but as that had been made long since, and was as potent all the session as just at present, he wished

to know why strangers were now excluded, and he had hoped the Speaker would have been so kind as to have informed him, as it was from his authority only that he wished to learn any thing respecting the orders of that House.

The *Speaker* said, there was a standing order of the House *The Speak-* against the admission of any strangers, that an honourable member had lately moved to have that order read, and that being the case, however much inclined he might himself be to the contrary, he was reduced to the necessity of ordering the gallery door to be shut.

Mr. *T. Luttrell* very strenuously maintained the cause of *Mr. Lut-* the strangers, and said the world would not be satisfied with *stell.* such an excuse as the standing order, nor admit that as a reason, because as the order was not enforced before, they would not be inclined to think there could be any greater reason for its being enforced now, and would rather think the true cause for thus taking it up, was a consciousness that the business in which the House then were, and were likely to be employed, was of too dark, too unjust, and too unwarrantable a kind, to bear the light, or meet the eye of day. He shewed the bad consequences likely to attend the shutting out of strangers, if the measure was persisted in, observing that their transactions would be misrepresented, and the people grossly misled. He pledged himself, however, in case the order was persisted in, to take care that the public should know what was done within those walls, and said, that if one order of the House was enforced, to the prejudice of their constituents, he would move for the enforcing of another, by which means the Speaker would be obliged to come down to the House at ten in the morning, and the business be infinitely longer in its progress than it was at present. He concluded with asking the Speaker why strangers had been let in all the former part of the session? If it was contrary to order now, it had been equally contrary to order all along.

The *Speaker* rose a second time, and said, the reason why *The Speak-* he had not ordered strangers to be excluded before, was, because he had conceived it to be the sense of the House that they should be admitted; that it was his duty to attend to the sense of the House; that they were masters of their own orders, but while they remained upon the book, he was bound to enforce them whenever he was called upon so to do.

Mr.

Mr. T. Luttrell.

Mr. T. Luttrell asked from whence the Speaker derived his opinion, that the sense of the House was more for enforcing the order now, than it had been for some time past?

The Recorder of London.

The Recorder of London put an end to the conversation, by giving notice that he would next day move either to suspend or rescind the order.

Lord North.

Lord North agreed that it should be the first matter discussed next day.

The House resolved itself into a committee on Mr. Burke's bill.

Resumed the committee, and proceeded to debate the clause for abolishing the several offices of master of the buck hounds, fox hounds, and harriers. After some conversation divided, Ayes 49, Noes 75.

Agreed to the clause enacting, that the places of lieutenant and ensign, and all other inferior offices belonging to the body of the yeomen of the guards, after the determination of the offices respectively in the present possessors; and also, that all commission and other offices belonging to the band of gentlemen pensioners, shall not be sold, but filled by officers of the army and navy on half pay, of fifteen years service.

Divided on the clause, for abolishing the office of paymaster of the pensions, &c. Ayes 64, Noes 79.

Divided on the clause, against the private payment of the pensions paid during pleasure. Ayes 79, Noes 115.

Moved to fill up the clause for limiting the secret service money, with the words "three thousand pounds." The clause afterwards rejected without a division.

Divided on the clause for regulating the order in which the commissioners of the treasury are to direct the payments, for which warrants are to be sent by them to the exchequer, viz. the Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper, Speaker of the House of Commons, and Judges to be paid first; the Foreign Ministers second, &c. &c. Ayes 58, Noes 110.

Divided on the clause for issuing a commission, authorizing the lords of the treasury, chief baron of the exchequer, &c. to have power to call the several accountants before them, &c. in a summary way, and to examine and audit, &c. Ayes 31, Noes 68.

Proceeded to the clause relative to limiting the auditor of the exchequer's salary, and limiting the salaries of the two auditors of the imprest, the chamberlain, clerk of the pells clerk of the pipe, and tellers of the exchequer. But a motion being made at half past eleven o'clock, that the chair

man,

man quit the chair, report a progress and ask leave to sit again, the motion was put and carried.

In the conversation on the clause for abolishing the place of paymaster of the pensions, Mr. Alderman *Saw-bridge* observed, that since the vote of the 6th of April, the influence of their own had been in a progressive state of increase. On that memorable night, a majority of 233 gentlemen had voted, "that the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished." Great numbers who composed that majority, had proved the second part of the proposition, in their own persons, in the clearest and most unquestionable manner. They had felt its influence in its fullest extent, but they disapproved of the conclusion, "that it ought to be diminished;" so far from it, in almost every subsequent vote they gave, they declared, that it ought not to be diminished, and they very consistently refused to diminish it, which was such a phenomenon in politics as required some explanation, and he would, as far as he was able, endeavour to account for it.

Mr. Alderman *Saw-bridge*.

Some measures were proposed in the course of the ensuing week, and a few country gentlemen, or county members, from what motives he would not pretend to say, seemed, or affected to be staggered; they divided from their friends, or absented themselves. But this was only the fore-runner of the sudden alteration which was about to take place.

The speaker's illness caused a recess of a few days, and what was then before in embryo, in the interim grew into full maturity. The minister brought over persons of a doubtful description so successfully, that by the time the House met again, so many new converts were made, as to ensure the noble Lord a decided majority; so that, in the space of a few days, influence had suddenly increased, more than it had at any former period, in the course of as many months; and what the friends of their country had been toiling and labouring to effect, during the preceding part of the session, was at once demolished by the magic touch of the minister, with great ease to himself, and, he presumed, with infinite satisfaction to the persons thus miraculously converted. The moment was critical; the accursed system which directed the affairs of this country to the very brink of ruin, was on the very point of dissolution, when by the art and management of the noble Lord, it was established upon a firmer and more permanent basis than ever.

Lord *North* rose with great warmth, and called Mr. *Saw-bridge* to order; said he had most unjustly and falsely accused him; that he might assert what he pleased, but he would

Lord *North*.

treat

treat his assertions with the disregard they merited. He desired him to prove, that he had employed the influence of the crown in an improper manner, or had endeavoured to influence or corrupt a single individual, since his entrance into office. — After betraying some symptoms of being much hurt at the charge, he treated the affair in his usual strain of pleasantry. The hon. gentleman said, he was at a loss to account for the conduct of several of the gentlemen who voted in the majority of the 6th of April. He would help him to a full answer, without resorting to the causes which the hon. gentleman had so unjustly assigned. He believed, as much as the hon. gentleman, that those who composed the majority of the 6th of April, voted agreeably to their consciences, and upon a full conviction of the truth of the proposition that night resolved to be true; but some, upon more mature deliberation, and others from seeing the improper lengths it was meant to extend the effects and consequences of those resolutions, declined to proceed any further; the former had returned to their wonted good sense and confidence in government; the latter refused to proceed further, without knowing whither their partizans intended to lead them. Without, therefore, seeking the cause of their subsequent conduct, in new sources of influence, or as operated upon by corruption, he begged the hon. gentleman to consider, that it was much more likely that men did not think themselves bound to act wrong in every instance, because they had done so in one instance, and that others, who still approved of the vote of the 6th of April, did not perhaps think it necessary to introduce a greater evil, in order to get rid of one which did not seem to them so dangerous to the state in its consequences.

Mr. G.
Rous.

Mr. G. Rous, after meeting several of the noble Lord's arguments, in a very able and spirited manner, observed, that the noble Lord, with his usual dexterity and address, had evidently evaded the implied charge made against him by the hon. member, the worthy alderman, under the gallery. It was, however, of a very serious nature, and required another kind of answer than that which had been given by the noble Lord. Blustering, and flat contradictions, and vociferous calls to order! might answer purposes upon some occasions; he had often known the noble Lord to triumph by those means, but not quite so often as when the noble Lord had recourse to his *forte* in the science of parliamentary debate, that of turning into ridicule, and treating in a light and ludicrous manner, the most grave, important, and interesting subjects. The burning of a town, the loss of a province or army, did not,

not, in the common and vulgar apprehensions of mankind, furnish a proper subject for a witty speech. The blood of thousands, and the waste of millions, did not, in his opinion, furnish a very apt thesis for humour or epigrammatic points, much less the loss of at least one-third of the British empire; yet, though not a very old member, he was of sufficient standing in that House to say, that he heard those several subjects treated in the manner alluded to; but America being at a distance, the fate of the captured army being long since decided, the millions being funded, and the blood spilt, now beyond the power of recovery, no harm could ensue from the noble Lord giving a vent to that witty vein which was so natural to him, and which he was known to possess in a very eminent degree indeed! Here the charge was personal to the noble Lord, and assumed a different shape; so different, as to forbid, in his opinion, the most exuberant fancy from indulging itself in witty declamation. What did it import? It went to accuse the noble Lord of having corrupted members in that House, in order to obtain a majority for the purpose of defeating the petitions of a great majority of the constituent body of the electors of England, and still a greater majority of the people at large. If the charge was not true, why did not the noble Lord insist on having the honourable gentleman's words taken down? This, he said, was the regular and parliamentary mode of proceeding; not by rude and indecent contradictions in one part of his speech, and by an attempt at ill-timed ridicule in another, endeavour to evade it by alternately ridiculing what the honourable gentleman had advanced, or giving it a direct unqualified contradiction, without a tittle of proof or circumstance to support it. He knew the charge to be true himself; and the noble Lord was conscious, if he had put the proof of it on the honourable gentleman, that he would have made it good. The House might vote as it pleased; but the people must see, under the circumstances described, the real means which the noble Lord had employed to procure a majority subsequent to the vote of the 6th of April.

Mr. Alderman Sawbridge maintained, in most direct, Mr. Ald. Sawbridge: manly, and unqualified terms, his former assertion. He was satisfied that the noble Lord had, during the Speaker's illness, influenced or corrupted several of the majority of the 6th of April; and more than that, for he was convinced that he had tampered with many. If the noble Lord was prepared to meet the charge, he dared him to take down his words; for if he did, though perhaps it might be difficult to prove the ac-

tual corruption, he was ready and fully prepared to go into the actual proofs of the tampering, or of offers having been held out to influence some of the members of that House to vote against their former opinions, their perfect conviction, and the interests of their country.

Lord North. Lord North made a short reply; said, he defied his accusers to make any such charge good against him; and if the honourable gentleman was so well informed on the subject, as he pretended to be, it was his business, as the accuser, to bring the charge forward; for as the honourable gentleman had avoided any specification, it was impossible for him to enter into a defence of his conduct till he knew the nature or circumstances on which the accusation was founded.

Mr. Burke. Mr. Burke having declared his intention of not dividing the House upon any of the future clauses in his bill, proceeded to press 42, insisting only to have the clauses read, and negatived, so that he might get rid of his bill, that it should be neither an eyesore to his adversaries, nor call for the tiresome and useless attendance of his friends. One half of the members immediately quitted the House on this notice. The clause for allowing a certain sum only as a salary to the auditor of the receipt of the exchequer, the two auditors of the imprest, the chamberlain, clerk of the pells, clerk of the pipe, and the four tellers, in lieu of all salaries, perquisites, fees, and other emoluments, after the death of the persons who now enjoyed those offices respectively, was then read.

Lord North. Lord North said, he did not approve of the clause as it stood now worded, but he liked the idea extremely well; he should therefore wish to have this clause postponed, and the chairman to report progress, and ask leave to sit again.

Mr. Burke. Mr. Burke said, his patience and his spirits were both exhausted; and begged the favour of the noble Lord to be so kind and merciful, to put an end to his sufferings, and negative this, as well as he had the four preceding clauses. His plan, if adopted upon the large scale on which he laid it down, would have saved to the nation above a million per annum, and it was hardly worth his Lordship's while to torture him still further, by keeping him under the pressure of this unfortunate clause, for the trifling saving which would arise from it.

Lord North. Lord North observed, that it was then within a quarter of eleven o'clock; that the gentlemen who had sat out the whole evening were much fatigued with the multifarious business that had been brought before them; that the clause required some attention; and that as he and the hon. gentleman

man agreed in the principle, they might readily determine on the wording of the clause between themselves, out of the House. He added, that it could make but a difference of one day.

The friends to the bill said, that the noble Lord was as well prepared now as he would be the next day. Why not alter the clause according to his own liking? for he might be assured, frame it as he might think proper, that side of the House would make no opposition.

Lord North replied, that he had not, nor could then make up his mind upon the manner he would wish to have the clause altered, and if gentlemen were determined, he would regularly move, that the chairman do report progress, and desire leave to sit again. The other side insisting that the clause should be disposed of, the question was put, and the committee divided; Ayes 68, Noes 31, to report progress.

The House being now resumed, Lord North, to the astonishment of all present, rose, and moved, contrary to an intimation given early in the day, that the malt-bill be read a third time.

His own arguments, a few minutes before, were now retorted upon him; he was reminded, that gentlemen who had sat out the whole evening, who had done so much business, and gone through such an heap of miscellaneous matter, who were exhausted and tired out, ought not to be pressed to enter into a fresh debate at so late an hour. If it was half after ten when the noble Lord pleaded that circumstance so powerfully, as a reason not to go through the clause, it was now past eleven. In short after some sarcastic observations, delivered in an ironical strain, on the versatility of the noble Lord's conduct, they proceeded to make some very severe reflections on his want of candour. They desired him to recollect, that nine out of ten of the gentlemen who meant to speak or vote on the bill, were gone home under an idea that it would not come on that day; and that consequently, pressing it in their absence, would be no less unfair than shameful and indecent.

—Mr. Robinson got the word, during this discourse, to go and count the House. His report was, that there were 43 members besides the Speaker in the House.

Lord North again rose, and insisted on going into the order of the day.

Mr. Byng, having likewise counted the House, and left one of his friends on his legs speaking, and he and the other eleven went out.

The members or ayes were told in, and the whole House consisted of but 31 ayes, and not a single no.

Lord North. Lord North then moved to have the malt-bill stand the first order as yesterday; but he was informed from the chair, that was impossible, as there was no House, consequently the order must be resumed the next day.

The Recorder of London.

May 19. The Recorder of London made his promised motion relative to giving satisfaction to the people respecting the grievances set forth in their petitions. His motion was substantially this: that there be no more sums of money granted for public services till the grievances stated in the petitions be redressed. The motion was seconded by Mr. D. Hartley.

The Recorder was up for nearly an hour, was very able, and remarkably well heard. The point on which his motion turned was, that the bill upon the table, which stood the first order of the day (the malt-bill) being now the only tax bill which had not passed the House, and the principal money bill of the session, that House would have no further controul over ministers as soon as it should pass that House; they might advise his Majesty to prorogue or dissolve the Parliament, and by that means stigmatize the majority of that House as infamous to the latest posterity. A majority of that House had voted, that the influence of the crown had encreased, was encreasing, and ought to be diminished. They had done more; they had specifically resolved, that it was the duty of that House to redress the grievances complained of in the petitions of the counties, cities, and boroughs of this kingdom, and had, by acknowledging that it was their duty, bound themselves thereby to the people, and to each other, to give the petitioners relief.

But though they had hitherto neglected to perform that solemn engagement to the public, they had it still in their power; but wait, perhaps, but for a few hours longer, and that power would be divested out of them for ever. A dissolution was agreed upon, on all hands, not to be very far distant; consequently, the present Parliament would shortly be no more. He begged leave to explain particularly what he meant. The bill which was to be read the next order, was the malt-bill; that once passed, that House would lose all controul over ministers. The only measure which passed that House towards lessening the influence of the crown, was the contractors bill; what was the fate of it? The principle on which that bill proceeded, was denied by the Lords, who gave the most unequivocal proof of the reality of the influence, which

which they denied to exist. They put a negative on it, by which means the wishes of the majority of that House, and the people without doors, were frustrated. The only means then the House of Commons had left, was not to refuse, but to suspend the supplies, till some one grand effectual measure was carried through both Houses, and passed into a law. It was the only constitutional mode, and had been frequently resorted to when the other House, under the influence and direction of the ministers of the crown, had denied the people redress. He then entered very fully into the question, and proved in a most able and convincing manner, the indispensable necessity there was of taking some effectual step for the relief of the people.

Lord North rose to reply; but the question being called for, the House, at seven o'clock, divided, Lord North.

Ayes 54. Noes 89.

The order of the day for the third reading of the malt-tax bill was then read, which gave rise to three or four different debates.

Mr. Hartley spoke against the bill, on the idea that ministers had broke their faith with Parliament, in having advised his Majesty to assure Parliament, at the opening of the session, that the great supplies he would be obliged to ask from them in the course of the session, would be employed in vigorous efforts against our foreign enemies; whereas, in the course of several months, not a single effort, but what arose from mere chance or accident, had been made against our foreign enemies, but all our exertions had been directed against our American subjects: he, as one, therefore, could never trust men who had so grossly departed from the assurances they had advised their Sovereign to give Parliament, and which they had thus grossly violated. Mr. Hartley.

Mr. T. Luttrell founded his chief objection to the bill on the ground of the misapplication of the grants of parliament. Mr. T. Luttrell. The money was most scandalously and shamefully wasted, or totally withheld; wasted and lavished in corrupting the representatives of the people, and in purchasing venal boroughs; in fine, in sapping the foundations of the constitution—Withheld in many instances, particularly in the naval department. This, he said, was a matter that called for serious enquiry, for if not speedily put a stop to, it might be productive of the most serious consequences. It had hitherto only produced two or three trifling mutinies; but if Parliament did not interfere, probably the contagion would extend itself through the whole fleet.

He

He instanced the late mutiny at Spithead. Many of the seaman, he was well informed, who entered at the commencement of the war, had never received a shilling of their wages; some of them had three years pay due to them. They were shifted over, from ship to ship; and thus, while themselves were naked on board, and in want of every necessary suitable to their situation, and their wives and children starving at home, or left upon the parish as a burden, a few individuals were amassing immense fortunes, earned by the labour, blood, and lives of the oppressed, and much-to-be-pitied seamen.

The Recorder of London.

The Recorder of London opposed the bill upon the same ground on which he supported his motion. He did not rise, he said, to put an absolute negative; the war must be carried on, and a provision made for its maintenance. What he wished was, to suspend the tax, or postpone it till the people had got satisfaction respecting the complaints contained in their petitions. He at length moved, "that the bill be read a third time on that day fortnight." Upon this question the House divided,

Ayes 43.

Noes 103.

Sir George Savile.

The bill was then read a third time. Sir George Savile rose, and gave his reasons at large against its principle, and several of the provisions which it contained. A motion was made to substitute the word *pay* for *charge*; on this question the House divided,

Ayes 29.

Noes 105.

After upwards of three hours debate the question was put, "that this bill do now pass;" this brought on another debate and division, Ayes 136, Noes 56. The bill was ordered to the Lords, and the House rose about a quarter before ten o'clock, and adjourned to the 22d.

May 22.

Col. Barré.

Colonel Barré moved, 1. "That it is the opinion of this House, that the sum of 1,538,017l. 2s. is stated in the papers presented to this House, to have been applied to the service of his Majesty's forces in North America, from the 31st of January, 1779, to the 1st of Feb. 1780; of which sum no account whatsoever has been laid before Parliament. The said sum being over and above the pay, cloathing, provisions, with the expence of freight and armament attending them, ordnance, transport service, oats, blankets, expence of Indians, pay of certain general and general staff officers, pay of several commissaries, and other allowances for the said forces."

ces."—Upon the question being put it passed in the negative without a division.

2. "That it is the opinion of this House, that the sum of 3,796,543^l. has been applied to the service of his Majesty's land forces in North America, in the years 1775, 1776, 1777, and 1778, of which sum no satisfaction has been laid before Parliament. The said sum being over and above the sums stated in the accounts for pay, cloathing, provisions, with the expence of freight and armament attending them; ordnance, transport service, oats, blankets, expence of Indians, pay of certain general and staff officers, pay of several commissaries, rum, and other allowances for the said forces." This likewise passed in the negative with a division.

3. "That the practice of incurring and paying extraordinaries of the army, to so large an amount, without either explanation or satisfactory account, and without authority of Parliament, is not warranted by precedent, is a dangerous invasion of the rights of this House, and one of the gross abuses in the expenditure of the public money complained of in the petitions of the people."

After a short debate the House divided.

Ayes 24.

Noes 44.

4. "That the creation of new, unnecessary, or sinecure offices in the army, with considerable appointments, is a profusion of the public money, and the more alarming, as it tends to encrease the unconstitutional influence of the crown." Passed in the negative without a division.

The House was afterwards put into a committee of supply on the extraordinaries of the army.

The first resolution proposed was, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding two millions, four hundred thousand, and eighteen hundred pounds, be granted to his Majesty, in order to defray the expences of the extraordinaries of the army for the year 1780."

This gave rise to a debate, in which Mr. Rigby was called upon to explain how it happened that such large sums remained in the hands of the paymaster-general at the end of every year.

Mr. Rigby said, that though large sums were apparently in the hands of the paymaster, at the end of every year, in fact, the money was disbursed, by being borrowed for other services, which were paid in advance. He mentioned that he and the late Mr. Grenville had frequently conferred together on the subject, and endeavoured, by every means in their power to lessen the expences of the public, as far as regarded

garded paying the army, and bringing the extraordinaries to a certainty as nearly as possible; that it was idle to talk of reducing them to precise estimates, because from the nature of the service, it was impracticable. As the case stood, it rested in a great measure on the discretion and good management of the commanders in chief abroad; that when they drew, the treasury issued warrants, which were his authorities for large sums, and the secretary of war's drafts for smaller ones; that he had no other vouchers, and was, as all his predecessors had been, without any other security than a reliance on the justice of the House.

Sir George
Yonge.

Sir George Yonge moved by way of amendment, to leave out the words "two millions," and insert "one million."

May 23.

The House in committee on the bill "to explain and amend the several acts for securing the freedom of Parliament, by farther extending the qualification for Members to sit in the House of Commons, and for rendering the same more effectual."

Hon. James
Luttrell.

Hon. James Luttrell observed, that an act founded on principles derogatory to the freedom of the people's choice of representatives, could not pretend to promote the freedom of Parliament; that if property alone made friends to the liberties or purse of the subject, the House of Lords was more free than the Commons; but it proved the experiment to be absurd; for no man could dispute the enormous influence of the crown in that aristocratic assembly. The act of George the Second, relative to qualifications, was carried by surprise at the latter end of a session to court the landed interest, and its inefficacy had been the only reason he could trace why such an act had been suffered to exist. It was unconstitutional, because if the House of Commons could at their pleasure raise qualifications to hold seats, they might either totally abolish Parliaments by requiring the 558 members to have 15,000*l.* a year a piece, or at least raise it, so as to confine the people to a choice of representatives amongst a few of the most opulent families in the kingdom, which would amount to an aristocracy. The question therefore appeared to him, whether we should render more effectual an act of Parliament which ought to be repealed.

Those who thought that evading that act had produced ill consequences, should bring some proof of the fact. It should be proved, that the great majorities of Parliament which had plunged this country into a war with America, and suffered the waste of so much public treasure, where a majority com-
posed

posed of men, who, evading the act of Queen Anne and George the Second, had come into Parliament in needy circumstances, and that their indigence had occasioned them to vote an American war derogatory to their conscience, and that the minister had been followed merely to gain a livelihood. It should be proved, that at the same time all the Lords' eldest sons, the members for the universities, all the Scotch members, all members of high rank and landed property in Parliament, had virtuously endeavoured to oppose all these ruinous measures, and proudly, with their independent fortunes, spurned at the influence of the crown, and shewn themselves above temptation. If that could be proved (the very reverse of which must stare every man in the face) then the honourable member's bill might boast of a reformation of the House; then he might say, make the next Parliament men of landed property, and the liberties and purse of the subject will be better secured; then he might lay the cause of all the grievances complained of by the people of England upon members of that House, who he presumes to have evaded the act he means to render more effectual. But the fact was proved over and over again, that the influence of the crown had been, and ever would be, more powerful among courtiers and men of the first rank and fortune, than with those who were nearer the interests of the people at large.

If the principle of the bill was approved by any, it was upon a doctrine over and over again exploded in Parliament, that the landed interest was the only constitutional mode of representation.

It had been admitted by all men, and all parties, that officers were fit representatives of the people; that their professional information was of use; that they should in a free country hold themselves to be citizens and servants of the state, not vassals of the crown. It had likewise been admitted, that monied men, who pay to every tax, were proper judges of taxation, and it must be admitted that the house tax, and all the tax which monied men pay, took off a burthen from the landed property, as it assisted to raise the supplies of the war. It had been admitted, that gentlemen who come from the East and West-Indies, dependencies of Great Britain, to spend their income in England, had as great a stake in the success of our wars, in the existence of our liberties, and in the taxes his fortune must largely contribute to, as any gentleman of 300l. a year landed estate. It must be admitted, that money was as necessary to raise supplies as land; that

without a market the produce of the soil would not enrich the landlord, and that we cannot subscribe to the loan in kind.

The bill was therefore ill-founded if it rested on a principle that the landed interest would compose the most proper, the most wise and well-informed Parliament, or that an independence of 300*l.* a year in land, would prevent them from looking up to titles, ribbons, high offices, or even places and pensions. He thought it a much sounder principle to lay down, that a free Parliament can alone exist by a free choice in the people to chuse men for their abilities, integrity, love of liberty and useful knowledge, to conduct their business, and support their rights in Parliament.

It had been urged that it would prevent sham qualifications; but it was not adequate to that purpose: for the qualifications for Scotland were to remain at a third less than a qualification for England: and since Scotch members tax English subjects, why were they not to be equally qualified? Theirs would therefore be, in the spirit and sense of our laws, a sham qualification.

The House of Lords contained some Peers without estates, and yet their eldest sons were to be eligible to sit in the House of Commons; and that was a sham qualification. The bill therefore was undoubtedly a partial prosecution of professional men, annuitants upon landed security, monied men, and persons who reside in this country, and spend the whole income of their estates, situated in parts of the British empire though not in England.

The bill was indeed favourable to Westminster-hall: for it laid a foundation for litigious law-suits [there being no fine for a false accusation] and Westminster-hall was to vacate seats in the House of Commons, if the members' qualification was not to the jury's liking.

The bill had another very extraordinary effect, because those who supported it had earnestly opposed a proposition made relative to the Chiltern Hundreds, to enable members to vacate their own seats: and this qualification bill puts it in the power of any member to vacate his seat, by disposing of five pounds a year out of his registered qualification, and enables him to be chosen for any other place, by re-purchasing the same five pounds a year.

Though an annuity of 300*l.* a year upon landed security was a qualification, the bill attempted to make it liable to very expensive law suits; a man out of Parliament was not obliged to produce all the writings of his estate, because he had sold an annuity, and it certainly might lead a man into difficul-

ties in other law-suits, to produce all the settlements under which he claims his estate.

The bill affected the virtue of reformation, while it was striking at the root of the constitution. The grievances of the people did not arise out of an evasion of the act of Queen Anne, and if they have not petitioned to limit more effectually their choice of representatives, Mr. Grenville's bill was the fairest mode of trying the legality of a Member's seat in Parliament, and Westminster-hall ought not to interfere. The House of Lords and Commons would become equally aristocratical if this bill passed; for if the principle of the bill is once admitted, it is easy to add to qualifications, and only admit Lords' eldest sons, and a few great families, to be eligible to sit in Parliament. Mr. Luttrell therefore trusted that on the report it would be rejected.

After a short debate, the House divided, for the bill 89, against it 28.

May 24.

Sir Thomas Clavering moved, for leave to bring in his bill *Sir Thomas Clavering* for empowering justices of the peace to make a proper provision for the wives and children of men impressed into his Majesty's naval service.

Lord Ongley, Sir Herbert Mackworth and Mr. Whitworth severally objected to the bill, on the ground that it would open a door to the like request in favour of the land service, and tend greatly to discourage volunteers.

Lord Nugent and Sir Matthew White Ridley were of different opinions, and thought the bill of a very salutary tendency.

The House then divided on the motion, 28 for it, 36 against it.

In a committee of ways and means, Lord North said, that *Lord North* as many objections had been made to the laying an additional tax on coals, he had ceased to think of it, and would, in lieu thereof, propose an additional duty on sweets or low made wines for sale, of six-pence per barrel, which would raise the sum of 9875*l*. He had also to propose an additional duty of 1*d*. per pound on all starch and hair powder. This tax he thought extremely reasonable, as the present tax upon those articles of 2*d*. a pound were laid so long ago as the 10th and 12th of Queen Anne, and had stood at that impost from those periods of time. This last duty, his Lordship said, would produce upwards of 19,000*l*. as it at present yielded an annual amount of 38,342*l*. those sums put together, his Lordship farther observed, would very well make up the deficiency

cy occasioned by relinquishing the tax proposed to have been laid upon coals. He observed, that the laying an additional duty on coals, would unquestionably lessen the export, and that was the reason for his recurring to other duties.

The several new taxes were then agreed to without a division.

Governor
Pownall.

Governor *Pownall* moved for leave to bring in a bill to empower his Majesty to make peace, truce, or convention with America. He said that there were at this time two factions in America, the one a French faction, the other an English faction, and that as the English faction predominated, he flattered himself a proper conduct on our part might lead to a speedy and happy conciliation.

Mr. Eden.

Mr. Eden objected wholly to the idea of making any proposition for peace, as there was every reason to expect that America would soon be glad to come to us with such overtures as we might accept of with honour to ourselves.

Lord Nu-
gent.

Lord *Nugent* spoke in favour of the bill, and said it was highly proper the King should have it in his power to make peace with America; for when they once knew his Majesty had that power, there was little doubt of their coming to us with terms, and such as we might close with. For his part, he believed in his soul and conscience, that had the King been empowered to have made peace with the Americans at the time they entered into a treaty with France, the war would have been at this time very happily ended.

Lord North spoke against the motion, as did Lord George Germain. The House divided, for the question 50, against it 113.

The following is a copy of the bill.

In order to remove all doubts or disabilities, which may prevent, obstruct or delay the happy work of peace, may it please your Majesty, that it may be declared and enacted, and it is hereby declared and enacted by, &c. &c.

That his Majesty is empowered to make convention or truce, or to conclude a peace with the inhabitants of New-Hampshire, Massachuset's Bay, Rhode Island, and Providence Plantation, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three Delaware counties, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, in North America, convened in Congress, or in any other assembly or assemblies, or with any person or persons authorized to act for and in behalf of the same, in such form and manner as he, by virtue of the prerogative of his crown, hath power to do in all other cases, and on such terms and conditions as in the course of events

events shall become convenient and necessary for the honour and welfare of his Majesty and his people.

And in order thereto, be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the passing of this act, it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty to appoint such person or persons [subjects of Great-Britain] as his Majesty in his wisdom shall think fit, and fully to authorize and empower the same to treat, consult, and agree with the said Americans, or any part of them, or with any person or persons acting for and in their behalf, to the said purpose of convention, truce, or peace.

And be it further enacted, that from and after the passing of this act, it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty to grant safe conduct to any such person or persons whatsoever, as his Majesty shall see cause and judge proper to receive on the ground of treaty for such convention, truce, or peace, in like manner as he is by divers ancient statutes impowered to do in the cases therein specified.

May 25.

Private business. No debate.

May 26.

Lord George Gordon moved, "That there be laid before this House, a copy of the public letter from Sir George Brydges Rodney to the Admiralty, dated off Port Royal Martinique, April 26, 1780, relative to the engagement with the French fleet." Lord George Gordon.

Lord George stated that he did this in justice to Sir George Rodney, to the officers serving under him, and to the nation; that the extracts, as published in the Gazette, appeared to every man who had any naval knowledge, to give a representation which could not be just or true. He went through several particulars, and called on the admirals present to assist him.

The motion was objected to by Mr. Dempster, who thought it dangerous to take away from the discretion very properly reposed in the naval offices, to publish only what seemed expedient and safe, whilst great operations are depending. Mr Dempster.

Mr. Fox supported the motion, and said it was a part of the ministerial system to ruin the characters of officers serving their country. He observed on that expression in the Gazette, which gives so much credit to the French officers, that it implied a most disgraceful idea of the conduct of the British fleet. He animadverted also with some severity on General Vaughan's letter, the publication of which, he said, made a part of the same system; and, he added, that General Vaughan's

Vaughan's expression respecting the example shewn by Sir George Rodney, implied the severest censure of the behaviour of every other officer serving under Sir George.

Mr. Pulteney.

Mr. Pulteney supported the motion, but took occasion, in answer to Mr. Fox, to refer to what he had formerly said, of the dastardly conduct of ministers in not employing Sir Hugh Palliser; and he called on Admiral Pigot to go into that enquiry, as he had pledged himself to do.

Admiral Pigot.

This called up Admiral Pigot, who admitted his having so pledged himself, and appointed Friday next (the first vacant day) for that enquiry.

The Lord Advocate.

The Lord Advocate of Scotland spoke of the impropriety of giving the passages to the public, which it had been thought expedient to suppress; more especially as trials might be depending which ought not to be prejudged. He made some remarks also on the inexpediency of bringing again into discussion the proceedings of the courts martial on Admirals Keppel and Palliser.

Admiral Keppel.

Admiral Keppel expressed himself dissatisfied with some expression dropt by the learned Lord; he spoke for the motion, and also wished for many other communications from the admiralty, that the nation might better know what their fleets are doing, and how they are employed.

Lord North.

Lord North said a few words against the motion; he particularly denied that any thing had been kept back which any officer could wish to have had published. And in referring to the sentence on Sir Hugh Palliser, he persisted in what he formerly said, that it was no conviction of malice, but implied only a charge which had never been discussed.

Mr. Dunning.

Mr. Dunning said, if Sir Hugh Palliser's speaking in his own defence, and calling his own witnesses, was not a discussion, he did not know what was.

Mr. Penton.

Mr. Penton and Sir Richard Sutton spoke against the motion, as calculated to produce communications which hurt the public service in various ways, and could do no good.

Mr. Rous.

Mr. Rous spoke for the motion, and said that the nation was entitled to it.

Ed. George Gordon.

Lord George Gordon added a few words to the debate, and compared Lord Sandwich, Lord North, and the Lord Advocate, to plague, pestilence, and starvation.

The House then divided, Ayes 81. Noes 160.

The House afterwards was put into a committee on the further consideration of the public petitions; the Speaker left the chair, and

Mr. Hufley having taken his seat at the table,

Mr.

Mr. *Dunning* rose, and desired that the resolutions come to Mr. *Dunning* by the committee of the whole House on the petitions, on ^{ring} Monday the 10th of April, be read.

They were read accordingly, and were as follows :

" That it is the opinion of this committee, that for the better preserving the independence of Parliament, and obviating any suspicion of its purity, exact accounts be laid before this House, on the first day of every session, of such sum or sums of money as have been paid in the course of the preceding year, to members of Parliament, out of the produce of the civil list, or any other part of the public revenue, to them, to their use, or in trust for them, or on any other account, specifying when, or on what account, such money was paid."

" That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is incompatible with the independence of Parliament, that persons holding the offices of treasurer of the chamber, treasurer of the household, cofferer of the household and his clerk, comptroller of the household and his clerk, master of the household, and the clerk of the green cloth, be entitled to hold seats in this House."

Mr. *Dunning* then in a very masterly speech, enforced the necessity of reporting these resolutions, and concluded with a motion to that purpose, at the same time reminding such members as had originally voted for those resolutions, that they stood pledged to vote for his present motion. This gave rise to a warm debate, in which Mr. *Turner*, Mr. *Fox*, Mr. *Rigby*, Mr. *Byng*, Lord *North*, and others spoke. At length the House divided on the question for the chairman's leaving the chair, Ayes, 177; Noes, 134.

Mr. *Fox* was warm, in treating those county members with Mr. *Fox*. great severity, who had made a part of the 233 on the 6th of April, and voted with ministry since.

Mr. *Rigby* again called opposition a rope of sand.

Mr. *Rigby*.

Mr. *Turner* said, he did not at all wonder at the right honourable gentleman's approving placemen; that fellow-feeling made a man wonderful kind. Mr. *Turner* ascribed the American war entirely to placemen.

Mr. *Turner*.

After some conversation between Mr. *Powis*, Sir *George Savile*, the Lord Advocate, and others, the Lord Advocate moved to adjourn to the 30th, which at 12 o'clock was agreed to.

Lord *George Gordon* gave notice to the House, that on Friday next, the second of June, he should have the honour of presenting to their consideration the petition of the Protestant

Lord *George Gordon*.

testant Association of London, Westminster, and Southwark, praying the repeal of the late Act in favour of Popery in England. He acquainted the House, that the whole Association proposed to assemble in St. George's Fields, and to accompany their petition to the House in the most humble, decent, and respectful manner. His Lordship then presented a petition from his Majesty's loyal Protestant subjects of High Wycomb, in Buckinghamshire, for the repeal of the same Popish bill. It was signed by the mayor, aldermen, burgessees, recorder, church-wardens, overseers, and the other Protestant inhabitants. After an introductory discourse suitable to the occasion, he moved, "that this petition be now read."

Mr. Polhill. Mr. Polhill seconded Lord George Gordon's motion, and the petition was ordered to lie on the table.

May 31.

Counsel heard on bone lace bill.

June 1.

Lord North brought the following message from the King.
"George Rex,

"That his Majesty, relying on the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful Commons, and considering that in this critical juncture, emergencies may arise that may be of the utmost importance, and may be attended with the most dangerous consequences, if proper means should be not immediately applied to prevent or defeat them; is desirous that this House will enable him to defray any expences incurred, or to be incurred on account of military or ordnance services for the service of the year 1780, and to take all such measures as the exigency of affairs may require.
G. R."

Lord North. Lord North moved, "That the message be referred to a committee of the whole House."

Lord George Gordon. Lord George Gordon declared, that he could not but oppose in every stage any new grant of supplies to the King, till his Majesty and his servants gave complete redress to the grievances of the people, both as to the late innovations in favour of Popery, as well as to the shameful abuses complained of in the expenditure of public money.

The House divided without further debate.

Ayes 39

Tellers for Ayes.

Mr. De Grey,

Mr. Ord.

Noes 19

Tellers for Noes.

Ld. Geo. Gordon,

Sir Geo. Yonge.

The

The House went into a committee on the bill for appointing commissioners to inspect the public accounts. The name of Mr. Anguish brought on a debate; Colonel *Barré* ob-
jected to him as highly improper, said his time was fully employed already as master in chancery, accomptant general, and messenger of the House of Peers. After a few other observations the House divided,

Ayes 79 Noes 32

The name of Mr. Pechell, another master in chancery, was next proposed as a commissioner; similar objections were used against him.

The other names proposed by his Lordship as commissioners, were Robert Pigot, Esq. barrister; Richard Neeve, Esq. merchant; Samuel Beercroft, Esq. and James Shilling, Esq.

Committee divided on motion of adjournment.

Ayes 44 Noes 103

Went through the bill.—The bill to continue in force for one year, to commence from the 5th of July.

Rose at one.

June 2.

This day Lord *George Gordon* presented the petition from the Protestant Association. Above sixty thousand of the petitioners accompanied his Lordship to the lobby of the House.

Lord George Gordon said, he had before him a petition, signed by near one hundred and twenty thousand of his Majesty's Protestant subjects, praying for a repeal of the act passed the last session in favour of Roman Catholics. His Lordship then moved to have the said petition brought up. Mr. Alderman Bull seconded the motion, and leave was given accordingly.

Lord George Gordon having brought up the petition, his Lordship moved to have it taken into immediate consideration, and was again seconded by Mr. Alderman Bull.

After some debate, the House divided, when there appeared only six for the question.

The petition was then ordered to be taken into consideration on the 6th.

His Lordship afterwards appeared in the lobby, to acquaint the petitioners with the fate of their petition. He told them that they had a gracious Sovereign, who would undoubtedly send private directions to the minister to enforce

the prayer of the petition, when he should be informed of the alarm the bill complained of had given; though he assured them no relief was to be expected from the House. After his Lordship had concluded, the reverend gentleman who officiates as chaplain to the House, attempted to win upon the associators to part, and loudly told the noble Lord who had spoken before him, that all the effusion of blood that should be spilt that day would be charged to his account.

The associators understanding the consideration of their petition was postponed, grew extremely riotous, and much disorder ensued.

At nine o'clock a large party of the foot guards, and a troop of horse, with Justice Wright and Justice Addington, came down to the House, and peace and good order was soon after restored.

At eleven o'clock the House broke up and adjourned to the 6th.

June 6.

Colonel
Herbert.

Colonel *Herbert* mentioned the present unhappy disturbances, and after descanting upon them some time, hinted at the expulsion of Lord George Gordon; but the House here shewed the strongest marks of dislike to the idea; it dropt: but Colonel *Herbert* took notice that his Lordship had a blue cockade in his hat, upon which he remarked with some severity, saying, that if he would not take it out, he would go across the House and do it: upon which Lord George took his cockade out of his hat and put it in his pocket.

The House was in a great deal of confusion, and though there was some conversation, it was of a very desultory nature.

Mr. Burke. *Mr. Burke* thought the House and all people should be unanimous; that the people, who were friends to order and good government should associate in defence of themselves.

Mr. Fox. *Mr. Fox* said he was equally a friend to order, but could not support government, because the present ministers were acting upon a system, that however a man might wish well to society, he could not support them, for they had dissolved all the bands of society, and had disgraced every one who had acted with or under them.

Sir George
Savile.

Sir George Savile thanked them for the use of the military in protecting his house.

Mr.

Mr. *Buller* moved and Sir *James Laroche* seconded the three following resolutions, which were unanimously agreed to. Mr. *Buller*.
Sir *James Laroche*.

First, "That it is a high breach of the privilege of the members of this House to interrupt them from giving their attendance therein, or obstructing the public business of Parliament.

Second, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to order the several ministers who have suffered in their own property, or the chapels of their respective courts, through the late outrages committed by the Protestant associators, to be reimbursed the amount of the damages they have received, as also the losses of such individuals as may have suffered on the occasion.

Thirdly, "That the attorney general be instructed to direct a prosecution against the persons found to have occasioned or aided and abetted the late disturbances."

Lord *North* then moved the following resolution, which was also unanimously agreed to. Lord *North*.

"Resolved, That this House will, as soon as the tumults subside that are now subsisting, proceed immediately to the due consideration of the several petitions presented to this House from many of his Majesty's Protestant subjects, and will take the same into their serious deliberation."

The House then adjourned to the 8th.

June 8.

The House assembled very early, and the Speaker having told such members as were present, that it would be impossible for the House to exercise its legislative functions, while the city of Westminster was under martial law, the Lord Advocate moved, "that the House be adjourned till Monday se'nnight, June 19. Agreed to.

June 19.

As soon as the commons were returned from the House of Lords, the King's speech was read.

Lord *Beauchamp* moved an address, which, as usual, was an echo to the speech. He expatiated on the violences committed by the mob, and the necessity the King was under of putting a stop to them by the exertion of that power with which he was entrusted by the constitution. He did not believe that the Protestant associators had intended to commit the outrages that had been committed. Lord *Beauchamp*.

Z z z z z

Sir

*Sir Philip
Jennings
Clerke.*

Sir Philip Jennings Clerke said, he could not approve entirely of the conduct of those in power, with regard to the King's Bench prison, which might have been preserved from the flames, had due attention been paid to the intelligence which he gave to Lord Amherst, and others. He had given them warning of what was intended in full time for the safety both of the King's Bench, and Surry Bridewell. He had gone to the King's Bench in the morning, and was told by the marshal, (who was moving his goods) that the prison was to be burnt that night---and that a clerk of Mr. Thrale's told him, that their house would be burnt that night, unless he could procure a guard for its protection. These things he told to Lord Amherst, and other Lords, and also to the Secretary at War, at twelve o'clock in the forenoon, and yet no guard was sent till nine o'clock in the evening, which just came in time to save Mr. Thrale's house.

Mr. Wilkes. *Mr. Wilkes* said, that if proper care had been taken in the city by the first magistrate, the mischiefs done there might have been prevented.

Mr. Townshend. *Mr. Townshend* said, that if proper care had been taken in time, the mischief that had been done might have been prevented. He asked, why no care was taken to preserve the ambassador's chapel? Hoped the private losses of individuals would be made up to them by that government, whose duty it was to have protected their property.

Mr. Fox. *Mr. Fox* ascribed all the disasters that had happened to the supineness of the magistrates.

--The address was agreed to.

Mr. Sawbridge. *Mr. Sawbridge* presented a petition from the city, praying for a repeal of the bill granting relief and indulgence to Papists.

Mr. Wilkes. *Mrs. Wilkes* opposed the petition. It was procured clandestinely. It was moved in common council, after most of the members, in the belief that all business was over, had gone home. Alderman Bull had taken no pains to quell the rioters; but had, on the contrary, suffered all the constables of his ward to wear the ensigns of riot in their hats, and that he went from the House of Commons, arm in arm, with the great instigator of the tumults, meaning Lord George Gordon.

Mr. Bull. *Mr. Bull* said, it was true the constables of his ward had worn blue cockades, but he had made four of them take them out. The petition was presented.

Lord

Lord *North* said, " I am commanded by his Majesty to Lord *North*. acquaint this House, that his Majesty has caused the right honourable Lord George Gordon, a member of this House, to be apprehended and committed for high treason."

A motion was then made, " That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the thanks of this House, for communicating the reasons for which the right honourable the Lord George Gordon, a member of this House, was apprehended and committed." The same was ordered to be presented to his Majesty by such of the members as were privy counsellors.

The House resolved into a committee of the whole House, on the petitions against the act of the 18th of his present Majesty, for repealing the act of 11th and 12th of King William III. imposing penalties on the Papists, when, Mr. Ellis being voted to the chair, Lord Beauchamp began a speech, which it was understood was to be introductory to certain declarations respecting the act in question.

Sir *Joseph Mawbey* suddenly rose to order, and said, that Sir *Joseph* he had heard his Lordship meant to offer to the House a *Mawbey*. set of resolutions, useless and unnecessary, and some of them ridiculous; asserting truisms, and that black was not white, which all the world knew already; that he therefore submitted it to the House, whether the more regular and proper way would not be to go into the proof of such allegations as were contained in the respective petitions; he wished it the rather, because he had just seen some of his constituents in the lobby, for the first time on this business, who had authorised him to inform the House, that they were ready with evidence in support of such allegations, to prove the increase of Popish schools, seminaries, and chapels, and in particular to prove, that a Popish chapel, which before the act would hold 150 or 200 persons, had been so increased as to receive 3000, and that they could prove 2000 persons had been assembled at a time:—and he was going on, when he was called to order by

Mr. *Montagu*, who contended, that Lord Beauchamp was Mr. *Mont-* first pointed to, and therefore had a right to proceed without *tagu*. interruption.

Lord Beauchamp. Lord *Beauchamp* insisted upon his right to proceed, as the petitions did not contain a word of desire of being heard by themselves or counsel.

Sir Joseph Mawbey. Sir *Joseph Mawbey* contended, he was in order to submit to the House his objections to the manner of proceeding, though it was true, that no desire is expressed in the petitions of being heard by themselves or counsel, yet they contained several allegations of fact, and that he thought those facts ought to be proved; the petitioners themselves were ready to prove them, and unless the truth of the allegations was admitted universally, he thought evidence ought to be called in.

Sir George Savile. Sir *George Savile* said, he was fully of opinion an opportunity should be given, at some time or other, at least, to prove the facts; for if it was true that schools and seminaries had increased, he thought some steps should be taken about them.

Lord Beauchamp. Lord *Beauchamp* then made a speech of considerable length; stated the pains which had been taken to misrepresent the act in question: the pulpit had been employed, and ministers, forgetting their Christian character, had preached against moderation. The extreme tenderness of the House and readiness to receive even ill-founded complaints, had led it to accept the petitions of 85 societies at Glasgow, though the noble Lord who represented that city had declared he knew nothing of such societies; that, in truth, they were no other than little alehouse clubs: that the petitioners had stated, they had no opportunity of resisting the bill in its progress through the House; that, indeed, the proposition for the relief of the cruel restrictions and heavy penalties they were subjected to, had met with little or no opposition, and therefore its progress through the House had been quick, as is usual in bills unopposed; that when it was thought proper to apply for relief, the head of the church had been consulted, who had no objection to it: that the act of King William had been obtained against the wishes of that King, and he quoted Bishop Burnet's account thereof: that the repeal had laid the foundation of toleration in Ireland; that civil and religious liberty go together; that the bill, laying a foundation for the acquisition of landed property, ought to give no alarm; the Papists were double taxed to the land tax; that in a subsequent session he had moved for a repeal of such double tax, which he thought improper, though he had not succeeded.

That

That the complaint about schools and seminaries was ill-founded; that the two principal popish schools would not receive the children of Protestants; but if such proceedings really exist in any considerable degree, it may be proper to make a new law. He could not see how Protestants, as stated in the petition, were in danger of incurring the guilt of perjury, any more than by toleration of Quakers; and he did not think it right to call upon the Catholic to renounce the spirituals of his religion, after he had taken an oath to the state. He then read five resolutions, and moved the first.

Mr. *Ambler* stated that he had originally objected to the *Mr. Ambler* bill; he was a friend to toleration, and averse to all persecution, but he thought the bill went too far; popery ought to be guarded against; the inhumanity of permitting a son to deprive a father of his estate on the score of religion ought not to be enforced. The courts of law, judges, juries, and counsel on both sides, always endeavoured to prevent such persecution, and relaxed the law as much as possible; but he thought they ought not to purchase more lands than they had already; they might vest their money in the stocks, and in mortgages, and they ought not to be permitted to open schools. Popery was intolerant, and he should therefore heartily be for a repeal, in part at least, of the late act; and he thought some enquiry ought to have been made into the riots at Edinburgh.

Lord *North* approved of the act, though he was not the *Lord North* original mover of it. He would attend to petitions, but would not give way to them when made in such a manner, and after such violences, because it would give encouragement to future claims; he would decide on the bill on its own merits: it had been misrepresented; it was not likely to bring on a dangerous toleration, much less an establishment of popery. Could any man think imprisonment for life proper for saying mass? And yet Malony, an Irish priest, had been so sentenced, who had not gone about making proselytes; he had recommended it to the King to pardon him, and he was released after lying in prison a year and a half. If you deprive the Papists from purchasing land, you take one purchaser out of the market, and hurt thereby property. As to influence, he thought that nothing, no additional influence would be created: the Papist must have property, before he could purchase, and that property would always give influence.—He would oppose the repeal on the score of policy; it

was

was impolitic to continue restraints of the sort imposed by the act of King William—there was a total bar left to all ambition, and rising in the various professions, which were of great importance: Popery was on the decline since the revolution; nay, it had declined within the last twenty years, which would appear, among other instances, by the red book—there were no Jacobites now, and few peers professed the Catholic religion.

Sir George
Savile.

Sir George Savile said, he was against proceeding, while there was a mob at the door; he thought, the petitions from the meanest of the people ought to have due weight in that House; and whether the eighty-five societies at Glasgow were an incorporation, or only clubs of men meeting at little alehouses, they had a right to apply to Parliament, stating their grievances or apprehensions, and Parliament were bound to receive and enquire into them. On the present subject, it might be proper to enquire of persons best acquainted with the subject; if it should appear, that many of the clergy had signed the petition, and thought protestantism in danger, it might deserve very serious consideration, which ought to be given in a degree, at least, coming from any quarter; he thought Papists ought to have perfect security in the enjoyment of their properties; and the degree of danger arising from their making new purchases, ought to be the measure of any regulations respecting such new acquisition—an enjoyment of land would take from their connection with foreign lands; every man loved some small domicile around him—it might be thought hard not to permit them to educate their own children; but if Protestant children had been seduced, he thought a bill should be brought in to prevent such practices; he had turned his thoughts to that subject, and would move such bill, though he had not yet made up his mind to the title of such bill.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox said his objection, if he had lived at the Revolution, would have been to the House of Stuart, not because that House had embraced popery, but because popery had embraced the House of Stuart; that the latter was supported in its attempts on the liberties of the nation, by popery in general; there were now no such dangers to be apprehended; the Pretender was out of the question; besides every Papist abjures the Pope in temporals, before he can avail himself of indulgencies. He could not think the Popish religion incompatible with government, nor civil liberty; because, in looking round the world, he saw that in Switzerland, where
democracy

democracy reigned universally in the fullest manner, it flourished most in cantons of that religion. He was a friend to universal toleration, and an enemy to that narrow way of thinking, that made men come to Parliament, not for the removal of some great grievances themselves felt, but to desire Parliament to shackle and fetter their fellow subjects; he wished to know the number and sort of names to the petitions which desired persecution, and called upon the House for an exercise of its judgment merely, instead of desiring grievances of their own to be removed. He wished to know who the petitioners were? He observed many signed their marks; and he finds that men who cannot read and write, find their blood fired that a Roman Catholic should read and write. He differed in opinion from his honourable friend, and confessed he had no predilection for the signatures of the clergy; and he was convinced, if at the Reformation their opinions were to have decided, we should have had no Reformation: it was not likely that men whose interests in general were against the reform, should have been eager to obtain it. He went through a variety of reasons in favour of general toleration, and declared against the repeal of the bill, and all that tended to bridle and restrain conscience.

Sir *Philip Jennings Clerke* then said something in favour of the petitions; and concluded by moving, that the chairman might quit the chair, in order to report a progress, and to afford time for the reception of evidence.

Sir *George Yonge* spoke in favour of toleration; but thought some alteration of the law necessary.

The *Lord Advocate of Scotland* rose to justify himself from the reflection made relative to the not punishing riots at Edinburgh. If any neglect had been shewn, he alone was culpable; he was not restrained by any motives of fear to himself, or by other improper motives: he had caused strict enquiry to be made, but he found the ringleaders had fled, and there were only in custody some of the lowest and meanest of the rabble, against whom he had not sufficient evidence for conviction, and he was unwilling they should triumph by an acquittal. He had promised to bring in a bill in favour of Papists in that kingdom: he did not give over such intention, till the Papists themselves desired it of him. At some fitter opportunity, he hoped, therefore, that measure might take place. He defended the late act, and declared himself a friend to general toleration.

Mr. Spencer
Stanhope.

Mr. Spencer Stanhope supported the right of general toleration, and he thought the act did not go far enough in favour of the Roman Catholics. The petitioners, he believed, were mostly Methodists, and the Methodists in general were composed of the lowest of the people; he was afraid the resolutions offered would lead to a persecution of Papists on the present subsisting laws, and would do mischief, but thought, nevertheless, it might be proper to restrain them from educating protestant children.

Mr. Alderman Bull.

Mr. Alderman Bull. I rise, Sir, to declare my most hearty concurrence with the petitions from the different Protestant Associations: and, Sir, I am happy in having a sanction for this opinion from that corporation of which I have the honour to be a member, and in which there are a large number of my constituents. It gives me pleasure to see, at length, a spirit of opposition to that encouragement which popery has been long receiving from the servants of the crown.

The establishment of that sanguinary and intolerant system of superstition in the province of Quebec ought to have spread a general alarm throughout the nation. The design was too evident to be mistaken. The late toleration of popery within the realm, I firmly believe, is a part of a deep laid ministerial plan; a plan, which has for its objects the destruction of the liberties of the people, and the formation of an arbitrary, despotic government. Popery is most favourable to this design, as passive obedience in the people, whenever the priest chuses to enjoin it, is, on pain of eternal damnation, one of its distinguishing peculiarities.

I would not be understood to be an advocate for persecution; I abhor the idea; it is not on account of any of the religious tenets of the Papists that I object to their toleration; it is because they cannot give any security for their civil obedience under any Protestant government whatever. To a Protestant they are devoted foes; they are bound by every obligation from their earliest infancy, to oppose what they call heresy, and to destroy those whom they call heretics, that is, to destroy those who differ in opinion from them! And is this religion? No, Sir, it is priestcraft and statecraft; and opposition to a set of men holding such horrid opinions is not persecution, much less religious persecution; it is common prudence; it is benevolence to ourselves and our connections: it is self-defence, and ought to be supported by every one who is a friend to the rights of mankind.

What,

What, Sir, was the conduct of our bishops, and the clergy, in the memorable year 1745? They were then indefatigable in warning the people to beware of popery, a religion falsely so called, which had often deluged Europe in blood, and had at that time for its object, the banishment of our good old King and his family, and the ruin of our free constitution! And what alteration has popery undergone since? The Pope remains still supreme, the priesthood is the same, and the people are as fast held in delusion and obedience as ever; yet, because the court and its dependents have thought proper to patronize popery, the bishops and the clergy are silent, and that religion, which not forty years ago excited every horror in the people, without the least alteration in any one of its tenets, we are now persuaded to believe is perfectly harmless and deserving of our countenance and support! An imposition this, which may produce the most melancholy consequences.

We already hear of popish schools being opened to teach the children of the poor gratis, and of priests and jesuits publicly proselyting the people to that system which supplants moral honesty in the world, and which tends to subvert the peace and order of society! And what may not be the unhappy issue? I fear, Sir, it may terminate in the despotism of the prince, and the slavery of the people. Those numerous Protestants who are now applying to this House, entertain the same apprehension, and they are discharging their duty to themselves and their posterity in beseeching us to take a serious review of the late act in favour of the Papists, and to relieve the minds of those particularly who are under scruples respecting the oath of supremacy.

Although, Sir, through the baneful influence of the crown, the former petitions have been spurned at and trampled upon, I yet hope the House will comply with the prayer of these petitions without delay, lest not only the multitude lately at your doors, but the people at large, should suspect that under the specious mask of moderation and tenderness for the Papists, we have a design to sacrifice the valuable inheritance purchased with the blood of our ancestors, and the security of the Protestant religion, to the shrine of popery.

These are my sentiments, which are founded upon those most unequivocal of all arguments, observation and experience.

Mr. Burke.

Mr. Burke reprobated the doctrines of *Mr. Alderman Bull*, and reflected upon him for his ignorance and want of erudition; he stated, that the ablest arguments that ever were used, had that day fallen from the ablest men, and that they were opposed by ignorance, falshood, and fanaticism. He was called to order by *Sir James Lowther*, who said he had reflected in an unbecoming manner on the worthy *Alderman*, and was deviating in an improper manner from the question. After some time *Mr. Burke* proceeded, and said, the petitions had arisen from bigotry and fanaticism; that the church of England was struck at, and the crown itself, and he would defend both from the attempts and malevolence of such men. He went into a full account of the late riots; expatiated on the inhumanity of the mob; that *Mr. Langdale*, with twelve children, had suffered to the amount of 50,000*l.*—he had laid in a great stock against the commencement of new duties—he had since been advised to go to Bath to relieve his mind—at his first arrival there, he was treated with the sight of the chapel at that place in flames—he was obliged to return to the *Devizes*.—The inhumanity of fanatics was such, that after the destruction of the school near the city, a petition had been presented, desiring the poor man, who owned it, might not have a lease of the land again to build another. He attacked the petitioners, and he read the names of several taken from thence with a mark—he threw others into ridicule, and he quoted, in a facetious manner, the names of several women—not being able to read and write themselves, these monsters were desirous of preventing others from receiving education. He had been educated as a Protestant of the church of England by a Dissenter; he read the Bible there morning, noon, and night, and was the happier and better man for such reading: he had afterwards turned his attention to the reading of all the theological publications, on all sides, that were written with such wonderful ability in the last and present century; and at last thought such studies tended to confound and bewilder, and he dropped them, embracing and holding fast the church of England. He went into a large field of reasoning on toleration; vindicated the Papists from the charges brought against them; and decried the baseness of *Payne*, the constable, who, he said, had gone about, trying to find out matter to incarcerate for life, men against whom no complaint was made for any offence, other than saying their prayers in a language which he did not understand, but they did.

did. He had imprisoned Mr. Malony, an honest and inoffensive man, but the humanity of the crown had released him: he had attempted to imprison Mr. Talbot, brother to the Earl of Shrewsbury, but had failed, very happily, in proof. He stated, in a very long speech, the means taken to bring about all the mischief that had happened, and he said it had happened by the zeal of wicked and abandoned men, who had gone about industriously misleading poor, ignorant, and deluded people; and he concluded, by moving a preface to the first motion, "That much industry had been used to misrepresent the intentions of Parliament, &c."

As soon as he had done, the question was called for, many members growing impatient at the length of the debate.

Sir *Joseph Mawbey* rose, and many attempting to prevent his speaking, he declared, that on a business of such importance, he would not be prevented from declaring his sentiments; he knew how little he was qualified to entertain or instruct them; he was never long, and he would not be stopped by the illiberal conduct of any man; he claimed that right as much for his constituents as himself; he had a right to be treated as a gentleman: such as disliked staying longer in the House might depart; but he assured them they might as well avoid noise, for they would sooner get away by it. The House being reduced to order, Sir Joseph then said, that when the noble Lord [Beauchamp] opened his propositions, he did it in so cool and dispassionate a manner as to afford him great satisfaction: he heard him always with pleasure, though he was not always convinced by his arguments. He hoped the subsequent part of the debate would have been conducted with equal temper and moderation, instead of which, the honourable gentleman who spoke last, had with a degree of passion and asperity, very unbecoming himself, and very undeservedly, attacked the character of a very respectable magistrate who spoke before him, in terms not warranted by any provocation, and indefensible altogether. He had attacked the honourable magistrate on the preceding night with similar heat, equal impropriety, and equal violence; nay, the same magistrate, on the preceding night, had also been attacked with as much violence, if not with equal passion, by a brother Alderman [Wilkes] in a manner unsupported by facts, and in a way that if they were true, should have been used by any other man in the House rather than that Alderman; because the worthy magistrate, in times of distress and difficulty, had supported that Alderman, and
he

he thought personal and friendly obligations should restrain him from undeserved abuse. Notwithstanding these attacks, he had reason to believe the worthy Alderman was as honest and as worthy a character as any man in the House, and, he had always understood, was so considered by those that knew him. The heat and warmth that had shewn itself in this business at different times, by a noble Lord now in an unfortunate and unhappy situation (with whom he had no acquaintance), the honourable gentleman who spoke last, and the Alderman, who he did not then see in his place [Mr. Wilkes] had made many doubt who had most zeal, fire, or insanity: sure it was improperly brought forward on such occasions.

With respect to himself, he had no connection with the Protestant Association, nor had conversed with any of them till that day on this business. He had seen in the petition the names of many worthy and respectable men, enemies to riot and friends of order. Some of his constituents had that day applied to him in the lobby, and had stated their desire of offering evidence to the House in support of the petitions; he was no bigot, and detested equally persecution, and the late horrid excesses of men who, he believed, were not connected with the Protestant Association, but friends to plunder only; —he had signed no petition, nor had he ever shewn in the course of his life, a desire to persecute gentlemen of the Roman Catholic religion; on the contrary, he had lived in friendship with some gentlemen of that persuasion, for whom he had great regard, and he believed with one priest, (though he never knew that mathematically) the late worthy Mr. Edward Southcote, his neighbour in the country; and when Mr. Payne, the constable, was said to be travelling about to prosecute the ministers employed in private chapels, he had from friendship desired Mr. Southcote would be studious to avoid any thing in his conduct that might awake jealousy, as it would grieve him to be under a necessity of proceeding against him, which, as a magistrate, he must do if information should come before him. None of them in his neighbourhood were double taxed. But after saying this, he confessed he thought the House should be guarded in their conduct respecting popery: it was a religion, he believed, intolerant in itself, and, if uppermost, would persecute others. They ought not to be permitted to educate protestant children; they acknowledged a foreign jurisdiction in spirituals, which might be hurtful and dangerous.

The noble Lord who opened the propositions, and complained that the pulpit had been employed by some men, forgetting

getting their Christian character, to instigate the people;—he did not know what the noble Lord alluded to; but if he meant the preaching against the errors of popery, he thought that practice not culpable.—Archbishop Tillotson, and every divine of the last and present age had so preached, and he did not know a clergyman of the church of England, he believed, from whom he had not heard at some time or other similar discourses.

The noble Lord in the blue ribbon had said he was against the repeal on the score of policy—if it was to rest on that argument it ought certainly to be repealed. Popery was in general believed more suited to despotism than any other religion; and notwithstanding what an honourable gentleman [Mr. Fox] had said, in one of the best and most eloquent speeches he had ever heard, though in the case of Switzerland there might be a single exception to the contrary, if we look round the world in general, we should see popery and tyranny hand in hand together. In a civil view therefore, any great increase of popery must be dangerous.

A train of circumstances had led the people to believe their religion was in danger. Papists, by the capitulation of Quebec, were to be suffered the free exercise of their religion; but he had heard, our court had not only permitted a Roman catholic to exercise his functions there, fourteen or fifteen years ago, but had actually given him a salary. Popery was not only tolerated, but established, by the execrable Quebec bill, afterwards; a bill founded in despotism and tyranny, and which, in the last Parliament, he had always opposed. These, and other circumstances, had led the people to think it was meant to encourage it by little and little, till it should acquire a strength that might be dangerous. If it was true, what the noble Lord in the blue ribbon said, that popery was decreased since the Revolution, and even within the last twenty years, why would not the noble Lord permit a still further decrease? Why not let it quietly expire in this country, unless political reasons, in his judgement, made it proper to spread and extend it? He was therefore clearly for a repeal of part of the late act; and he objected, on account of the want of proof, to Mr. Burke's amendment.

Mr. *Sawbridge* then vindicated Mr. Alderman Bull's character; expressed himself an enemy to every kind of persecution, civil and religious; thought the papists were at rest before, and this act would tend to encourage persecution; and was

Mr. *Sawbridge*.

was totally against the prefatory amendment proposed by Mr. Burke.

Gen. Conway.

General Conway said, that the other day he was afraid persecution would be encouraged, and the remaining penal laws would be enforced against papists: he had now altered his opinion, and would vote for the resolutions; but hoped they might be hindered from seducing youth.

Mr. Martin.

Mr. Martin spoke a few words professing his attachment to universal toleration, and said he was against a repeal of the act.

The motions, five in number, were then read, and agreed to without a division. The following is a copy of them.

1. That it is the opinion of this committee, that the effect and operation of the act passed in the eighteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act for relieving his Majesty's subjects professing the popish religion from certain penalties and disabilities, imposed on them by an act made in the eleventh and twelfth years of the reign of King William the Third, intituled, an act for the further preventing the growth of popery," have been misrepresented and misunderstood.
2. That it is the opinion of this committee, that the said act, passed in the eighteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, does not repeal or alter, or in any manner invalidate or render ineffectual, the several statutes made to prohibit the exercise of the popish religion, previous to the statute of the eleventh and twelfth years of King William the Third.
3. That it is the opinion of this committee, that no ecclesiastical or spiritual jurisdiction or authority is given, by the said act of the eighteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, to the Pope or the See of Rome.
4. That it is the opinion of this committee, that this House does, and ever will, watch over the interests of the protestant religion with the most unremitting attention; and that all attempts to seduce the youth of this kingdom from the established church to popery, are highly criminal according to the laws in force, and are a proper subject of further regulation.
5. That it is the opinion of this committee, that all endeavours to disquiet the minds of the people, by misrepresenting the said act of the 18th year of the reign of his present Majesty, as inconsistent with the safety, or irreconcilable to the principles of the protestant religion, have a manifest tendency to disturb the public peace, to break the union necessary at this time, to bring dishonour on the national character,

rafter, to discredit the protestant religion in the eyes of other nations, and to furnish occasion, for the renewal of the persecution of our protestant brethren in other countries.

Sir *George Savile* moved he was directed by the committee *Sir George Savile.* to move, that leave be given to bring in a bill to secure the protestant religion in Great Britain from any encroachments of popery, by more effectually restraining papists, or persons professing the popish religion, from teaching, or taking upon themselves the education or government of, the children of protestants. Agreed to.

Sir *Philip Jennings Clerke* said it was not the complaint of *Sir Philip Jennings Clerke.* the protestants that the papists should educate their own children in their schools; but they bribed and seduced the children of protestants. He adverted to the assertion of Lord Beauchamp, that the protestant preachers had influenced the minds of men. He said it was the first time he had ever heard it imputed to the church of England as a crime, that they had preached against popery. He thought it was much better for the members of that church to declaim against popery, than to preach politics, or write Morning Posts. He moved that the committee be adjourned to give the Protestant Association opportunity to prove their allegations at the bar. This motion however, on account of the clamour, he withdrew.

June 21.

No debate.

June 22.

Order of the day to receive the report of Mr. Strutt's qualification. After a short debate the House divided, for it 42, against it 47. So the bill was lost. The following is a copy of the abstract of it.

The bill sets forth, in the preamble, that members shall be, *bona fide*, possessed of their respective qualifications, it then enacts, that the acts of the 9th of Queen Anne, and of the 33d of George II. shall be repealed from and after the determination of the present Parliament; and next enacts that from that period the qualifications of members shall be 600l. a year, in estate freehold or copyhold for life, &c. for every knight of the shire; and 300l. a year in like manner for every citizen, burgess, or baron of the Cinque Ports, and in case any person elected and returned to serve in Parliament as a knight of the shire, or as a citizen, burgess, or baron of the Cinque Ports, shall not at the time of his election or return be seized of or entitled to estate in lands, tenements, or hereditaments, his election and return shall be void.

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It provides, that no person shall be deemed to be qualified by virtue of any mortgage, unless he shall have been in possession of the mortgaged premises for seven years previous to his election.

It then enacts, that every person who after the determination of this present Parliament, shall appear as a candidate, or shall be proposed to be elected to serve as a member of the House of Commons, shall, upon reasonable request to be made (at the time of such election, or before the day for the meeting of the Parliament) by any other person who shall stand candidate, or by any two persons having right to vote at such election, deliver in a particular of the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, by which he shall be so qualified to serve in Parliament as aforesaid.

It also enacts, that after the determination of the present Parliament, every person who shall be elected a member shall, before he presumes to vote in the House of Commons, or sit there during any debate, after their Speaker is chosen, produce and deliver to the clerk of the House, at the table, whilst the House is sitting, a paper or schedule, signed by every such member, containing the name of the parish, &c. and also of the county, in which the lands, tenements, or hereditaments lie, together with the persons who shall be tenants, or in the possession or occupation thereof, whereby he makes out his qualification, declaring the same to be of the annual value of six hundred pounds above reprises, if a knight of the shire; and of the annual value of three hundred pounds above reprises, if a citizen, burgher, or baron of the Cinque Ports; and the said papers or schedules, so signed and delivered in to the clerk, shall be filed and carefully kept by him; which papers or schedules shall be fairly copied into a book, which the clerk of the House shall provide for that purpose, with a reference to the papers or schedules; and such book shall be carefully kept for the perusal of the members of the House.

It recites, the meaning of this act to be, that the members of the House should not only be possessed of such qualification, at the time of their elections, but should continue in the possession thereof, or of lands equivalent thereto, during all the time they sit in the House; and recites, it may be convenient not to prohibit the sale of such lands, or any part thereof, so delivered in to the clerk of the House.

It enacts therefore, That it shall be lawful for any member of the House, as often as he shall think proper, to deliver, in to the clerk, a new schedule of his qualification, to be filed and kept in manner before mentioned.

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It also enacts, that if any person elected to serve in any future Parliament, shall sit and vote as a member of that House, before he has delivered in his schedule, the seat of such member shall be declared void, and a new writ shall be issued, and such member shall forfeit for every day he shall so sit or vote, fifty pounds, one moiety to the person who shall sue for the same, and another moiety to the governors of Christ's Hospital, for the benefit of the said hospital, to be recovered by action, or information, in any of his Majesty's courts at Westminster.

It further enacts, That in case any action shall be brought, in pursuance of this act, against any member of the House of Commons, the clerk of the House shall, upon demand, deliver an attested copy, signed by himself, of the schedule delivered to him by such member, to the plaintiff or prosecutor, or his attorney, paying them ten shillings for the same; which being proved a true copy, shall be admitted as evidence upon the trial.

It enacts, that upon the trial, no lands or tenements, which are not contained in such first schedule, shall be allowed as any part of his qualification.

With a proviso, that nothing contained in this act shall extend to any person who shall at the time of his election be the eldest son of any peer, or any person qualified to serve as a knight of a shire, or to the members for either of the universities, or to the members for Scotland.

There is a proviso for limiting the time of bringing actions, to six months after the commission of the offence.

It then recites, other acts of Parliament have been made respecting the qualifications of members to serve in Parliament; and therefore enacts, that all such acts, and every thing therein contained, shall be construed to relate to such qualification as is settled by this act.

June 23.

Sir George Savile presented his bill to restrain Roman Catholics from educating the children of Protestants. It was read. No debate. Adjourned to the 26th.

June 26.

The bill was read a second time, and a motion being made for the Speaker to leave the chair, in order to go into a committee of the whole House on the said bill,

Sir Joseph Mawbey said, before the House resolved itself into the said committee, he wished to say a few words on the same bill. He then stated that some of his constituents had desired him on a former day to advertise the House, that they

were ready to adduce witnesses in support of the allegations in the petition of the Protestant Association, and he was now desired to acquaint the House, that witnesses attended in the lobby to prove every such allegation.

He was sure the worthy and respectable gentleman, his honourable friend, he hoped to be permitted to call him, had originally brought in the present and former bill, from the purest motives; he had always proved himself a friend to toleration as well as to civil liberty; from the most liberal and praise worthy motives, he had more than once attempted to unfetter the dissenting clergy from subscriptions: two bills for that purpose have been carried through the House, but as they were not supported by administration, a majority of Court Lords, and almost all the Bishops, had rejected them in the other House of Parliament. The bill in favour of papists was supported by administration, and in consequence was not opposed in the other House; and though in the subsequent session the honourable gentleman's bill in favour of the dissenting clergy had passed, he was himself firmly persuaded, from the predilection given to Popery, it would have been again rejected, unless the papist has been first released from the act of the 11th and 12th of King William.

He had his doubts of the propriety of the present bill; because, under the idea of confining papists from educating the children of protestants, he was afraid, by implication at least, it might take off the restrictions contained in an act of the 23d of Queen Elizabeth, which subjects such as should keep or maintain popish school-masters to a penalty of 10*l.* per month, and such school-masters themselves, unless licenced by the bishop of the diocese, to a year's imprisonment. If this was meant, why not say so in direct terms? If the bill, by such restraining from the education of protestants, would virtually authorize them to keep schools for all other purposes, which he feared would be the construction put upon it, he was persuaded instead of allaying the present discontents it would increase them. Whatever might be said of the people's being misled in their interpretation of the late act, he believed it could be said of only a few: there were among the petitioners men of knowledge, ability, and learning, and he thought the alarm against the increase of popery in consequence of that act, had taken deeper root than many gentlemen imagined: all descriptions of men, he found, were loud against the impolicy of the act; because, though none, or but few indeed, wished persecution, they thought the papists had nothing to complain of before; every thing was quiet, and they

they had construed the relaxation of the penal laws into a full toleration; not less than thirty-three schools were since established in the neighbourhood of London; many new chapels and mass-houses had been opened in different parts of the kingdom: that he thought if the papists held the tenets of passive obedience and non resistance, it was a dangerous and damnable opinion in this free country; our government at present was built on other principles, and he thought any considerable increase of popery might be dangerous in a civil view, more especially as they submitted in spirituals to a foreign jurisdiction, an *imperium in imperio* highly improper.

Mr. Ambler said, the repeal of the two clauses in the act of King William will not be endured; especially when he heard a gentleman say in the House, he thought there could be no objection to admit them to a participation of offices; he thought the present bill would not give satisfaction to the petitioners, 60,000 of whom had signed the various petitions, and amongst them were many men of fashion and sober temper. He could not think the giving way to the desires of so large a body of people was to be considered as any humiliation; that act, passed three years ago, does not authorize the keeping public schools: this, by implication, would tend to remove former restraints, and legalize the papist to keep open a public school. They thought that "charity covered a multitude of sins," and they would take pains to seduce protestant children; it was a part of their religion: 32 schools were already set up since the passing of the act. He had seen a list of them, and the truth of the list the petitioners were prepared to prove; the Roman Catholics had rid fast indeed, in two years. This bill certainly authorizes papists to keep schools; proofs are ready of protestant children being solicited for education by the papists; money has been offered for that purpose, and in some cases actually given. As to the penalty laid on protestant parents, it would answer no good purposes; they were usually poor whose children where so sought after, and it might induce the parents themselves to turn papists to avoid the penalty; the bill therefore he could not approve.

Sir George Savile said, if there was any weight in the objection taken by the learned gentleman who spoke last, and his honourable friend who spoke before him, in this act's repealing former acts of restraint on popish school-masters, he thought it might deserve very grave and serious consideration; he believed the objection not founded in point of law; he thought the offer of proofs was not well timed—every gentleman would see the difficulty of drawing a bill to regulate that which

which ought not to be tolerated at all—former restraints were not taken away, and that all barriers against popery were not removed, was certain, for a list had been opened of 10 sanguinary a nature; that nobody thought they should be forced—he had had a list of popish schools given him by a Mr. Swaine, a protestant teacher: this is not a proper time to go into examination, but if true, they prove the fitness of some regulations; further restraints ought to be put if the cases exist. The bill says, they shall not take upon themselves the education of protestant children; it exempts from penalty music-masters, dancing-masters, fencing and riding masters, teaching, and not lodging and boarding: he had prepared some new clauses, which he meant to offer to the committee.

The speaker after this left the chair, and Mr. Ellis took the chair of the committee of the whole House.

Lord Beauchamp.

Lord Beauchamp [on Sir George's Savile's moving an amendment to prevent papists from taking protestant children apprentice] said, he objected to that amendment, as a restraint upon trade and commerce, and, if meant to be abided by, would strongly oppose it. The honourable Baronet over the way had thrown his objections to the bill, as it legalized the opening of Roman Catholic schools; and some gentlemen seemed to think it was great indulgence if they took upon them to educate the children of their own persuasion; as to their educating protestants, he had consulted all the catholic gentlemen, with very many of whom he was acquainted, and they had assured him on their honour, they had made strict enquiry, and had no sort of knowledge of any such practice; there is not a single school in the neighbourhood of London, where enquiries have not been made; the books of such as are maintained by subscription have been examined, and not a single protestant boy, and only one girl has been received there—he himself had inspected the rules of the Roman Catholic school in Moorfields, and one of the first of them is, not to receive the children of protestants; nay, one boy had been rejected on that ground. A parliamentary enquiry is improper; it will subject every school-master to penalties that may be levied against him, especially coming under a parliamentary report. The amendment proposed tends to disjoin persons living under the same government—every blacksmith, who takes a child apprentice, is supposed improperly to have influence over the mind of his apprentice: you might as well say, he shall not marry a protestant. He did not admire the spirit and temper of the present act, but if it will quiet the apprehensions of people, will consent to it.

The learned gentleman supposes it will repeal the act of Queen Elizabeth—he was surprized at that, because no act was repealed, unless particularly so expressed—all the laws against papists were rather accumulative, and this would be such—it ought to be confined to the single purpose of education, and not to interfere with commercial intercourse—No popish blacksmith, or shoemaker, is at present prevented from taking a protestant apprentice, and he thought they ought not to be prevented.

Mr. *Baker* said, the noble Lord in his act of enquiries into Mr. *Baker* the rules of popish schools, had alluded to conversation and examination not in the House. It was true a boy had been rejected in one of those schools, because a protestant, and it did so appear by an entry made in their books; but then the House should know, that such entry was made only on the second day of April last, after all the stir and clamour had been made against them, and being so recent and occasional, in his mind, rather made against than for the practice contended for in such school. The original school had been established ever since 1762, but it had been formed and much increased from scattered seminaries about two years ago; it might be made on purpose to guard against the effects of the petitions; there was no other instance of a similar entry, although the master said, he himself had taken upon him to reject several other children of the protestant religion.

Mr. *Burke* was sorry for the credulity of the age and country in which he lived: he himself had been obliged to enquire, though the *onus* properly lay on such as brought the charge; evidence of the facts complained of there was none; no accusers stand forth; they had been obliged to enquire and examine minutely where every school lay, boys and girls; none of them received the children of the protestant parents; and this had been done to quiet the minds of a set of men, who have no possibility of being satisfied; but as these reports had operated on better minds than their own, he thought it right to give information.

He had observed the words seminary and seminaries had been used by these people indiscriminately; in the proper signification of them (foundations for the instruction of youth, or colleges, or institutions for orders) there were none such in England: he was sorry for it, because he was sure men had better be so bred in England, than in France, Flanders, or Spain: there were no schools teaching liberal science, or classics, not one that had any foundation. There was one in Hertfordshire, which was supplied with boys chiefly from Westminster.

Westminster. There was a boarding-school at Sedgley Park, in Warwickshire, which had 25 or 30 boarders before the act, and had been of 16 years standing, though it had wickedly been said, in a paper he had seen, to have arisen since it. It was supplied by two priests and two lay-assistants, and four-fifths of the boys were educated for business. There were many foreigners, and many from the West Indies, some Latin taught and languages, but it had no foundation. A certain lady of fashion, Lady Stourton, had maintained usually 12 boys at school. He had a list of them; none were the children of protestants. There are now but 9, though sometimes 12; and the suggestion of their taking protestant children was not founded in truth; one school was gone at Hammersmith; one in another place; and one or two more had dropped: in London he was not able to find any boarding-school at all, nor in the northern parts of England, in Cumberland, Northumberland, and those parts, except one that had been set up by a house-painter, the better to procure a living. As to day-schools, they were never the objects of jealousy; there had indeed been brought to town several little schools which had been consolidated into larger; one of this sort was in the neighbourhood of Bloomsbury, another in the Minories; and they may be traced by the fires: the master of one of them had once 81 boys and 25 girls, though the latter were now reduced to 15, and he had refused to teach the children of near protestant neighbours: they teach, what all men of liberal education may know, the Doway catechism. There was, indeed, another school in the Minories, the master of which was terrified and had run mad, of which he had no accounts, and there was not a single boarding-school existing in London.

There were several day schools, one of good character and estimation; a protestant had been employed at one time to teach there, and all teach the catechism of the church of England, and there was not a priest among them; they teach only the little rudiments of grammar.

Lord Arundel of Wardour had, indeed, a little school in his own neighbourhood, where were only day scholars, about forty in all, and the noble Lord in his letter (which he read) had assured, that no boarders are or ever were admitted; there were only two instances of protestant children taught, they were his own tenants, and were taught the catechism of the church of England; children educated in schools were decreased from 355 to 350, and in the same proportion the Roman catholic religion was diminishing; in many

many places a priest cannot be got for thirty or thirty-five pound per annum, salary; such a salary, which was the most they in general received, gave poor encouragement.

There were great numbers of Irish Roman catholics, who do almost all the labour of the metropolis; and he thought they should have some place where they may educate their children. The story of burying children, he was persuaded, originated from similar practices in Ireland. He did not wish to have opened his sentiments on this subject; but he could not now avoid it. There are protestant charter schools in Ireland established, and money is voted and granted every year by the Parliament there to maintain them: the bishops and the crown recommend, and they buy none but the children of papists:—it may be right so far; but when children are taken or bought, they are sent from north to south, from east to west, their names changed, and the ties of affinity are snapped and broken asunder; we secrete ourselves, and yet complain of others doing that which cannot be proved. This blot and blemish should never have been mentioned, if he had not been forced to it; he quoted the opinion of Thomas Aquinas, in the 12th century, against breaking the law of nature, and he contended, that the parent had full right to dispose of the education of the child, and said the darkness of the 12th century rises against the light of the 18th.

There were, he said, 50,000 protestant children maintained at school in this town, and yet we were afraid of a miserable charity school of papists. The reports originated from the loose suggestions of mean and base men, and many of them were false. He was now given to understand they would not be satisfied: why then, in God's name, go on with the bill? The petitioners had formidable names, and formidable hands; they did not petition till the 2d of June, and this was the 26th, and yet no evidence was offered till this day: he wished them to come, he wanted to see those men who were calumniators, and he wanted to know their names.

He saw no objection to shutting up boarding schools from educating protestants, but objected to including apprentices.

Sir Henry Hoghton said he lived in a country where many of his neighbours, many of his tenants, and many manufacturers, are papists; he never heard of any complaint of their tak-

Sir Joseph
Marbley.

ing apprentices, and thought the amendment proposed improper.

Sir Joseph Marbley said, the honourable gentleman who spoke last but one, had complained of the late day of presenting the petition; of no evidence having been offered till this day; and of his wish to see the faces, and know the names of the persons whom he has described, with some violence, as calumniators and falsifiers of truth; for his own part, his knowledge of them in general was recent; but some among them he knew were worthy and respectable men; he had seen two men on Saturday, for the first time, one of whom was a Mr. Swain, who had saved the life (as he was informed) of the worthy chairman, [Mr. Ellis] and was a school-master; the other was Mr. Fisher, who said he was a secretary to the Protestant Association, and had been honourably discharged after being taken up and put in the Tower. These men had put into his hands accounts of schools established since the act, differing widely from the account of the honourable gentlemen: the committee, under whom that secretary acted, were in the lobby, and they were ready to prove, by indubitable evidence, all they had stated in their petition.

With respect to the reasons that induced a delay of presenting the petition, he was not informed of them; this was not the first time proofs had been offered; from the first application of the petitioners to him, amongst whom were many of his constituents, though he himself had not signed, and he had offered in their names to bring the proofs forwards, and this he did a week ago. The adjournment of the House probably prevented an earlier offer; they were peaceable and quiet men, detesting, with himself, the infernal practices of a mob, whom plunder alone had instigated to the commission of acts disgraceful to humanity: he had authority to assert, that not a single subscriber to their petition had been found amongst the rioters; the secretary, against whom, in particular, so much had been insinuated, appeared to him to be an honest, artless young man, that no one would suspect at all to have encouraged such transactions.

He assured the honourable gentleman, that the petitioners, and the committee in particular, never were afraid of their names or persons being known; they were now in the lobby, ready to prove all they had asserted; that nothing had happened hitherto, and nothing could happen in future, in consequence

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DEBATES.

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consequence of any enquiry, that could or would hinder them from appearing, if the House chose to call them in. As to their meeting in a peaceable manner in St. George's Fields, he believed no learned gentleman, either in this House, or any where else, when the trial should come on against a noble Lord, would contend, that such meeting was treasonable in itself; if so, county meetings, meetings for enquiries into, and redress of public grievances, would be treasonable and illegal; and that could never be supposed—not that he justified the propriety of such meeting; inasmuch as a mob took advantage of their peaceable deportment, to commit outrages, that every man, of every religion, must think diabolical and wicked: they can prove, that so far from any of that mob being influenced by religious motives, many of the most active rioters were Roman catholics; not that he would, therefore, insinuate reflections against papists in general—it was no reflection on any profession, that highwaymen, footpads, and housebreakers were of this or that religious persuasion, when no religious tenets, and no belief, appeared to influence their conduct.

He then went into a detail of the Roman catholic schools, and read the names and descriptions, from a paper in his hand, of thirty-three schools established in London and its neighbourhoods since passing the late act, all of which he was instructed to say, they had evidence to prove to the House; and so far from the petitioners deserving severe reflections, for publishing falsehoods respecting Sedgley school in particular, as if established since the late act, he assured the committee, in his paper, it was expressly described as an old one. He stated the increase of mass-houses and chapels, and he read an account of several persons who were ready to prove they had been offered money to permit their children to be educated in the popish religion, and of some who had actually taken particular sums for that purpose.

He talked of the danger in civil view to the public, from any material increase of papists; was sorry the act was repealed, because of the ferment it had occasioned; nobody molested them before; no one was inclined to put the penal laws in execution, and it was dangerous to disturb things at rest, more especially so at a time when the distresses of the public and individuals, had filled the whole country with discontent. Administration was hated, their measures universally condemned, and political discontent, aided by reli-

gious, may prove extremely dangerous; and he concluded by saying he could not approve of the bill, if it really legalized the keeping any schools by papists, and by so doing, virtually repealed the act of the 23d of Queen Elizabeth.

Gen. Conway.

General Conway thought examinations of witnesses unnecessary; because if their evidence should prove all that was contended for, it would only shew the propriety of further restraint on papists educating protestant children, and justify the present bill. The amendment immediately before the committee was offered to prevent the papists from taking protestant apprentices; and the question for consideration was, whether such amendment would injure the common intercourse of commerce, and to that he should give his negative.

Sir Herbert Mackworth.

Sir Herbert Mackworth said he must enquire into the principles of the bill; it contained various regulations, and a proviso respecting music masters, dancing, drawing, and fencing masters, that wanted some explanation. The amendment proposed cannot take place, as something was wanting to render it clear and intelligible.

Mr. Dunning.

Mr. Dunning said, the bill as it stood, most certainly extended to every species of education, teaching and instructing. It had been first suggested as a bill of conciliation to remove the fears and apprehensions that many had entertained. Such is the connection formed by living and boarding in the same house, that it may reasonably be supposed, that the tutor, under such circumstances, will labour to convert, and care was taken to prevent such seduction; but the giving occasional lessons in music, dancing, fencing, drawing, and riding, could not be the object of danger, without residence and living under the same roof, and therefore the bill very properly had a proviso to exempt such from penalties.

The worthy Baronet near him had expressed his ideas, that this bill, if it should pass into a law, would operate to repeal a former act of Queen Elizabeth; and he was more surprised to hear the same objection from a learned gentleman who had spoken in the debate. He had not been used to courts, where such opinions had countenance and weight; the act alluded to had nothing particularly to do with the Roman catholics; and he was convinced, a teacher of that religion would be equally the object of this bill, though he should be licensed by the bishop. He was persuaded, it was in no way necessary; but if it would quiet the fears and alarms, which have no foundation, he had no objection to the

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the reception of a clause or proviso, expressly declaring it should not be construed to extend to a repeal of any existing act; such a clause, though not, in his opinion, at all necessary, was perfectly harmless, and might be conciliatory without doors, and could do no harm within.

Lord *Beauchamp* hoped the honourable gentleman near him would withdraw the amendment respecting apprentices; which appearing to be against the sense of the committee, was negatived, or withdrawn. His Lordship then suggested the fitness of receiving an amendment, that would confine the offence to the keepers of boarding-schools only, by substituting the word *and*, instead of *or*; and then the clause would run, “if any papist, or person professing the popish religion, shall knowingly take upon him or herself the education, teaching, instruction, *and* boarding the child or children of any of his Majesty’s protestant subjects.”

Mr. *Dunning* objected to this amendment, because it would be impossible to convict any man of any offence against the proposed act, unless he should be proved guilty not only of teaching and instructing, but of boarding also.

Lord *Beauchamp* confessed that was his meaning and intention: the restraint was meant to be applied for fear of the conversion of the protestant to popery, and that principle does in no way apply to a day-school, where no such danger could be apprehended.

Mr. *Dunning* again rose to reply, and said he must oppose the amendment suggested by the noble Lord. The master of a day-school, who at present had little or no inducement, might open such school professedly to teach the catholic religion—convert the particle *or* into *and*, and no one can be prosecuted but him that instructs, him that teaches, *and* him that boards. Every man allows the impropriety of Roman catholic schoolmasters teaching the children of protestants: and if the amendment should be adopted by the committee, he thought the honourable gentleman who brought in the bill, would do much better to stop here, than go on with it.

Lord *Nugent* thought the objection might be easily obviated, by leaving other words out, and by substituting the words, “teaching in schools, or places of education, kept by papists, or persons professing the popish religion.” There should be no crime in boarding protestant children.

Sir *George Savile*. No conviction can follow, unless the party actually does educate, teach, and board; his words were,

were, or board; if the particle was changed to *and*, the act would be of no use.

Lord North. Lord North suggested that words might be changed, and when the penalty was named, it might be, "such education, teaching, or boarding."

Mr. Dunning. It may be done by repeating the words, or referring to the preamble; it was not usual for protestant children to be put to Roman catholic families, thereby to be boarded; if the bill be so narrowed, as proposed, it will be of no use at all.

Lord Beauchamp. The practice is for such as do not go into orders, to become language masters, and they almost always receive boarders. A popish recusant convict cannot exercise the profession of an attorney; till convicted he may.

Mr. Dunning. A popish recusant convict most certainly cannot practise as an attorney, nor can he before conviction, because he must take the necessary oaths before admission.

Mr. Burke. The papists are few in number, and extremely scattered, and children of such can have no education; at least such as their parents would wish, if the amendment be rejected. There are no persons keeping day-schools to take the children of papists, and the schools cannot be kept unless the owners of popish schools be permitted to receive protestant children; they will not afford a livelihood. No popish child can be taught if the disjunctive or be admitted to stand in the bill, and no protestant can teach a popish child. He knows that some people get bread now, and this clause will certainly deprive them of it. Little day-schools were not objects of jealousy; no harm could possibly arise from them, and therefore he must resist their abolition and ruin.

Sir William Bagot. Sir William Bagot said, in his country the greatest danger was to be apprehended from day schools, and he was sure the greatest mischief arose from them. It was doing nothing at all in saying popish boarding-schools should not educate protestant children, if you left the children of the poor to be perverted by popish day-schools.

Mr. Mansfield. Mr. Mansfield declared his readiness to go to the greatest length in a toleration of Roman catholics, if that was now the proper consideration; but the circumstance of the times had made it necessary to give relief to the minds of a great number of uninformed persons; one fear has arisen in their minds, of their getting possession of the children of the poor;

poor; and, though it be an ill-founded apprehension, that fear has been directed against day-schools, and therefore the bill, in order to answer the end proposed, must include day-schools; they will otherwise perceive that day-schools are carried on with impunity: they will perceive, that we have passed an act to prevent their taking children of the better sort, but have left the children of the lower class to seduction; therefore against his own ideas and opinion, he is forced to desire this important word, *or*, may stand—when the act shall be passed, he thought the furious rage we had lately seen, could not possibly last any longer; people will return to their old good humour, and if the masters of schools behave themselves decently, quietly, and properly, it is probable that this law, like the former, which, in his opinion was properly repealed, may never be resorted to.

Lord *Irisham* thought if the word *or* was continued in the bill, all would be satisfied; and therefore he was against the substitution of the particle *and*, instead thereof.

Lord *Beauchamp* confessed, it was against his opinion altogether, but he must submit to the temper of the times.

Mr. *Burke* said, gentlemen should consider how they would like to force protestants into popish schools; he was sure they would not like it, and yet this principle was what had been contended for against the papists; for four-fifths of the children of poor popish parents in this country must go without education: this was an improper thing to be done, and therefore, after the adoption of such a principle, he could not attend the bill any longer.

Other amendments, and several new clauses, were afterwards moved and ingrafted into the bill; and amongst the rest, one proposed by Sir Joseph Mawbey, to declare, “That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to extend to repeal, or in any manner invalidate any of the laws now in being respecting papists, or persons professing the popish religion.”

After which the House was resumed, and the report from the committee was made.

June 27.

Mr. *D. Hartley* moved for leave to bring in a bill to invest the crown with power to make peace with America.

After some debate, the House divided:

For the question,

Against it

The following is a copy of the bill.

Draught

Mr. D.
Hartley.

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*Draught of a proposed Bill for Conciliation with America.
A Bill to invest the Crown with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and finally to agree upon the means of restoring peace with the Provinces of North America.*

Whereas many unfortunate subjects of contest, have of late years subsisted between Great Britain and the several Provinces of North America, herein after recited, viz. New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three Lower Counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, which have brought on the calamities of war between Great Britain and the aforesaid Provinces: to the end therefore, that the farther effusion of blood may be prevented, and that peace may be restored, may it please your Majesty, that it be enacted, and be it enacted, by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same; that it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty, by letters patent, under the great seal of Great Britain, to authorise and empower any person or persons, to treat consult, and finally to agree with any person or persons, properly authorised' on the part of the aforesaid Provinces of North America, upon the means of restoring peace between Great Britain and the aforesaid Provinces, according to the powers in this act contained.

And be it further enacted, That in order to facilitate the good purposes of this act, his Majesty may lawfully enable any such person or persons, so appointed by his Majesty's letters patent, as aforesaid, to order and proclaim a cessation of hostilities, on the part of his Majesty's forces by sea and land, for any time, and under any conditions or restrictions.

And be it further enacted, That in order to lay a good foundation for a cordial reconciliation and lasting peace between Great Britain and the aforesaid Provinces of North America, by restoring an amicable intercourse between the same, as soon as possible, his Majesty may lawfully enable any such person or persons, so appointed by his Majesty's letters patent, as aforesaid, to enter into, and to ratify from time to time, any article or articles of intercourse and pacification, which article or articles, so entered into and ratified from time to time, shall remain in full force and effect for the certain term of ten years, from the first day of August, one thousand seven hundred and eighty.

Provided also, and be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that in order to remove any obstructions which
may

may arise to the full and effectual execution of any article or articles of intercourse and pacification, as before mentioned; that it shall, and may be lawful for his Majesty, by any instrument under his sign manual, countersigned by one or more of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, to authorise and empower any such person or persons, so appointed by his Majesty's letters patent, as aforesaid, to suspend for the term of ten years, from the first day of August, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, the operation and effect of any act or acts of Parliament, which are now in force, respecting the aforesaid Provinces of North America, or any clause or clauses, proviso or provisos, in any such act or acts of Parliament contained; in as much as they, or any of them, may obstruct the full effect and execution of any such article or articles of intercourse and pacification, which may be entered into and ratified as before mentioned, between Great Britain and the aforesaid Provinces of North America.

And be it further enacted, That in order to establish perpetual reconciliation and peace, between Great Britain and the aforesaid Provinces of North America, it is hereby required, and be it enacted, that all or any article or articles of intercourse and pacification, which shall be entered into, and ratified, for the certain term of ten years as before-mentioned, shall from time to time be laid before the two Houses of Parliament for their consideration, as the perpetual basis of reconciliation and peace, between Great Britain and the aforesaid Provinces of North America; and that any such article or articles of intercourse and pacification as before-mentioned, when the same shall have been confirmed in Parliament, shall remain in full force and effect for ever.

And be it further enacted, That this act shall continue to be in force until the thirty-first day of December, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.

Sir *George Savile* moved, "That the prosecution of an offensive war in America is most evidently a measure, which by employing our great and enormously expensive military operations against the inhabitants of that country, prevents from exerting its united, vigorous, and firm efforts against the powers of France and Spain; and has no effect upon America, than to continue, and thereby to encrease, the enmity which has so long, and so fatally subsisted between the two countries, can be productive of no good whatsoever, but by preventing conciliation, threatens the accomplishment of the final ruin of the British empire."

After a debate the House divided, Ayes 34; Noes 105.

VOL. XVII.

D d d d

Mr.

Mr. Wilkes.

Mr. Wilkes moved, that there be laid before the House, for the inspection of members, against next session, copies of all the proceedings that have been taken to quell the late disturbances, in so far as the Lord Mayor and Common Council of the city of London were concerned. Agreed to.

Mr. Sawbridge.

Mr. Sawbridge then drew the attention of the House to the letters of Lord Amherst, directed to Colonel Twilleton. The measure of taking arms from the hands of the protestant subjects of this metropolis, and the discretionary orders which were given to the military were not only violent infringements of the rights of the subject, but were also in a great measure the cause of the shocking increase of those tumults. He mentioned an instance of this: at the time when Mr. Langdale's houses were attacked, he saw 400 men stationed at the Mansion house. He applied to the commanding officer for a detachment of the troops, but he refused, saying, that he was stationed there, and he would not leave the place. By the orders which had been given, he was divested of his power as a magistrate; the military acted agreeably to their discretion, and not under the direction of the civil magistrate. He desired the bill of rights to be read, and this being done, he moved.

1st. "That it is the undoubted right of his Majesty's protestant subjects to be armed for their own defence without any commission from the crown for that purpose." The previous question was put and carried.

2d. "That to take away arms from his Majesty's protestant subjects, upon pretence of their not being authorized by the crown to be armed, is contrary to law, and a violation of the rights of the subject as declared by the act of the first of William and Mary, declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession of the crown." The previous question was put and carried.

June 28.

Sir George Savile's bill for preventing popery, passed.

Mr. Burke.

Mr. Burke said, he had received a petition, which he held in his hand, from several Roman catholic school-masters, setting forth the grievances they would labour under if the bill should pass into a law, and praying to be heard by counsel at the bar of the House; a trifling debate took place, and on the question being called for, there appeared for the petition 8, against it 33. Adjourned to July 3.

The following is a copy of Sir George Savile's bill, after it had been amended in the committee.

A bill [with the amendments] to secure the protestant religion in Great Britain from any encroachments of popery, by more effectually restraining papists, or persons professing

the popish religion, from teaching or taking upon themselves the education or government of the children of protestants. (The words printed in *Italics*, and the clauses marked (A), (B), (C), (D), and (E), were inserted by the committee).

Whereas the minds of many of his Majesty's subjects have been disquieted, and apprehensions of the growth of popery in this kingdom have been entertained, from a belief that proselytes have from time to time been made to the church of Rome, by the means of the boarding, educating, or teaching the children of his Majesty's protestant subjects, in schools and places of education kept by papists, or persons professing the popish religion:

For removing such apprehensions, and for the more effectually preventing any such unlawful practices for the future, May it please your Majesty, that it may be enacted; and be it enacted, by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That from and after the *first day of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty*, if any papist, or person professing the popish religion, shall knowingly take upon him or herself the education, teaching, instruction, as tutor, schoolmaster, schoolmistress, or the boarding, for the purpose of education, of the child or children of any of his Majesty's protestant subjects; or if, after the said *first day of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty*, any person, being a protestant, shall knowingly cause, or suffer his or her child or children, or any child or children entrusted to his or her care or guardianship [such child or children so entrusted not being the issue of popish parents] to be educated, taught, instructed, as *aforesaid*, or boarded, for the purpose of education, by or with any papist, or person professing the popish religion; every such person so offending, and being lawfully convicted thereof, by information or indictment, shall, upon such conviction, forfeit and pay the sum of *one hundred pounds*, and such offender, so convicted as *aforesaid*, shall also be adjudged to suffer *twelve months* imprisonment.

Provided also, and be it enacted, That no such prosecution shall be brought, except within *six* calendar months after the said offence shall be committed.

Clause (A). Provided always, and be it enacted, That nothing in this act shall extend, or be construed to extend, to the teaching the arts or exercises of music, drawing, dancing, fencing, or riding only, the school or academy where such arts or exercises shall be taught, and the names of the persons employed in teaching them therein, being registered, as is hereinafter directed, and no protestant child or children who shall be there taught, being permitted to lodge or board therein, or in the same house with any such teacher, being a papist, or person professing the popish religion.

Clause (B). And be it enacted, That all schools or academies whatsoever, where the abovementioned arts or exercises shall be taught, and the names of the persons employed in teaching therein, shall be registered at the quarter sessions of the county, city, riding; or places; in which the said schools or academies shall be kept:

Clause (C). Provided also, and be it enacted, That nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to the giving lessons in the arts, sciences, exercises, or languages, in any school or academy kept by a person or persons being protestants, or in the private house of any person being a protestant, the persons so giving lessons not residing or boarding in the said school, academy, or house, respectively:

Clause (D). And be it hereby further enacted, That one moiety of all and every the penalties to be levied by virtue of this act, shall be paid to the prosecutor of such information or indictment, and the other moiety thereof to the poor of the parish in which the said offence shall be committed.

Clause (E). Provided also, and be it enacted, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to extend to repeal, or in any manner invalidate, any of the laws now in being respecting papists, or persons professing the popish religion.

July 3, and 4.

No debates.

July 5.

Mr. Burke.

Mr. Burke presented "A bill for the more perfectly uniting to the crown, the principality of Wales, and the county palatine of Chester, and for the more commodious administration of justice within the same; as also for abolishing certain offices now appertaining thereto, for quieting dormant claims, ascertaining and securing tenant-rights, and for the sale of all forest lands, and other lands, tenements, and hereditaments, held by his Majesty in right of the said principality, or county palatine of Chester, and for applying the produce thereof to the public service."

Mr. Hartley.

Mr. Hartley moved, "That an humble address to be presented to his Majesty, setting forth with what abhorrence his Majesty's faithful Commons beheld the late riotous proceedings and tumults, and which being now subsided, humbly to desire that his Majesty would be pleased to order the military power to be again under the controul of the civil magistrats." After a short debate the House divided, Ayes 6, Noes 50.

July 6.

No debate. Adjourned to the 8th.

July 8.

The King went to the House of Lords, and after a speech from the throne, both Houses were prorogued. And on the first of September following, the Parliament was dissolved.

THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH VOLUME.

Clause (B). And be it enacted, That all schools or academies whatsoever, where the above-mentioned arts or exercises shall be taught, and the names of the persons employed in teaching therein, shall be registered at the quarter sessions of the county, city, riding, or places, in which the said schools or academies shall be kept.

Clause (C). Provided also, and be it enacted, That nothing contained in this Act shall extend to the teaching of languages, sciences, exercises, or languages, in any school or academy kept by a person, or persons being a protestant, or in the private house of any person being a protestant, the person or persons being not residing or boarding in the said school, academy, or house, respectively.

Clause (D). And be it hereby further enacted, That one moiety of all and every the penalties to be levied by virtue of this Act shall be paid to the poor of the parish or parishes in which the said offence shall be committed.

Clause (E). Provided also, and be it enacted, That nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to extend to repeal, or in any manner invalidate, any of the laws now in being.

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